A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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HAROLD MILTON BERGSMA
1969

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PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

presented by

Harold Milton Bergsma

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ABSTRACT

A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE
PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

By

Harold Milton Bergsma

This historical study traces the development of Sixth Form or Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria, from the earliest attempts at planning up until June of 1967. In addition to the tracing of the historical development of Higher School Certificate programs, this study presents an analysis and commentary on the development of the curriculum of the Sixth Form, on the products of this program, and on the social and administrative problems which occured in the establishment of Sixth Forms in Northern Nigeria.

The research for this study was performed in Nigeria from May to July in 1967. During this period the writer travelled 5,500 miles in Northern Nigeria and visited eighteen schools which had Sixth Forms. At these schools Principals and teachers were interviewed. Prior to these visits, a questionnaire had been sent to each school, and a follow-up letter was sent from the Ministry of Education. The questionnaire method proved to be only partially successful and the person-to-person interview method was widely employed.

The writer began a collection of various types of written documents in Nigeria in June of 1965. This collection

was continued until July of 1967, at which time the research tour was completed.

The study has dealt with four major problems:

First, what were the outstanding events which occured in the historical process which resulted in the establishment of the type of Sixth Form programs presently in operation in Northern Nigeria?

Second, how did these schools operate and what unique problems faced them when Higher School Certificate classes were added to the normal programs?

Third, what were the programs of instruction established in the Sixth Forms; how did each institution deal with the problems which arose out of staffing the Sixth Forms; how were the student bodies affected by the addition of the Sixth Forms to the normal secondary school program; and what were the effects of the Ministry of Education policies for Sixth Forms on the schools?

Fourth, what relationship did Higher School Certificate have to university programs in Nigeria, especially in the Northern Region?

This study is divided into eight sections. Chapter One, "The Problem", outlines the problem to be studied and presents a rationale for the study, a section of which defines terms, and a section defining the method of the study. Chapter Two, "Introductory Section", presents a brief historical overview of the development of the Higher School Certificate in England. Chapter Three, "The Historical Background To The

Development of Sixth Form Programs in Northern Nigerian Society", briefly outlines and analyzes the major planning for education that occured prior to 1950. Chapter Four, "The Phase of Higher School Certificate Expansion in Northern Nigeria", is a description and analysis of the planning for and establishment of Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria between 1951 and 1967. Chapter Five, "The Higher School Certificate Program and Its Curriculum", describes and compares the curricula presently existing in the Higher School Certificate institutions. Chapter Six, "The Product - H.S.C. Leavers", outlines placement procedures of the Ministry of Education. It discusses the problem of student wastage and failures. Chapter Seven, "The Social and Administrative Climate in the Schools", describes the student "societies" in the schools, their attitudes to their own and other schools. Chapter Eight, the summary chapter, discusses the need for further study on the whole matter of Sixth Form and the Higher School Certificate Examinations and the feasibility of considering alternatives to the Sixth Form program.

A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

By

Harold Milton Bergsma

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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To My Wife,

Ruth Elizabeth Bergsma

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To Dr. Cole Brembeck, Chairman of the advisory committee at the time of the oral examination, the writer expresses deep appreciation for the influence he has had both upon this study and the professional life of this student. His friendship, encouragement, advice and sensitive criticism have been a profound help in completing this thesis.

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The writer acknowledges the help given to the study by the Principals of the schools visited in Northern Nigeria during 1967, to the administrators, university personnel,

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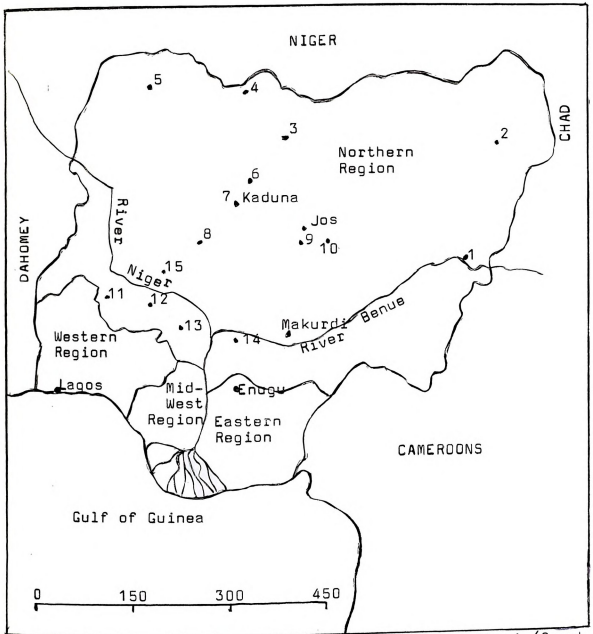

KEY: 1. Yola
2. Maiduguri
3. Kano(2 schools)
4. Katsina
5. Sokoto(2 schools)
6. Zaria(2 schools)
7. Kaduna(2 schools)
8. Keffi
9. Kuru
10. Gindiri
11. Ilorin(2 sch.)
12. Titcombe
13. Okene
14. Aliede
15. Bida

Figure 1

HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE SCHOOLS IN JUNE 1967

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

I. THE RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

During the last twenty years the role of formal education has become increasingly important in Northern Nigeria. Most of the educational programs which existed in the North before Independence were traditional Moslem, Koranic schools. Since Independence, however, the Northern Region, because of its geographical size, and because its peoples constituted a majority of the Nigerian population, has been thrust into the political arena. The Northern Government recognized that formal education was an essential part of the process of equipping its citizens with the knowledge, skills and qualities required for self-government as well as for national political and social participation. Therefore, since the Independence of Nigeria, the Northern Region has, at an ever increasing rate, attempted to catch up educationally to the regions bordering on the coast. Soon after Independence was achieved, the Northern Region opened many new secondary schools and established Higher School Certificate programs at older established schools. This educational "institution" called Sixth Form, represented an important link between the normal secondary, or School Certificate programs, and the university or other institutions of higher learning.

At the time of Independence the Northern Region had only a handful of men who had been trained up to, or beyond, the university graduate level. The Region lacked indigenous scientists, technicians, political scientists, educators and doctors, and relied greatly upon expatriate British colonial staff to serve in these capacities. In order to accelerate the training of this greatly needed body of high-level manpower, the Region invested heavily in primary schools and in secondary schools. Higher School Certificate programs were started so that Northern students would be able to enter university training. Two years after Independence the Northern Region opened its own university, the Ahmadu Bello University.

This study traces the development of the Sixth Form or Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria from the earliest attempts at planning up until June 1967, by which time eighteen Higher School Certificate programs had come into existence.

This study also presents an analysis and commentary on the development of the curriculum of the Sixth Form, the product, and on social and administrative problems which occured in the establishment of Sixth Forms in Northern Nigeria. An attempt has been made to interrelate relevant information from one part of the study to another.

The roles and functions of these Higher School Certificate institutions have not been described in any published work to date, other than in a few magazine articles, or in

brief references made in books dealing with education. The history of Higher School Certificate programs has been buried in numerous government and private documents, letters and files. This study is intended to present a descriptive, historical account of the development of Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria, by means of bringing together and analyzing much fragmented data.

Nigeria is in an era of change due to political subdivision, war, national upheaval, the breaking up of the Northern Region as an entity, and the decentralization of files which occured after 1967 when new states were organized. Therefore the collection, recording and analysis of historical data which would otherwise perhaps be lost in the shuffle, is necessary, in order to preserve a unique aspect of Nigeria's history, that is, the development of Higher School Certificate programs.

In summary, this study deals with four major problems.

1. First, what were the outstanding events which occured in the historical process which resulted in the establishment of the type of Sixth Form programs presently in operation in Northern Nigeria?

2. Second, how did these schools operate and what unique problems faced them when Higher School Certificate classes were added to their normal programs?

3. Third, what were the programs of instruction established in the Sixth Forms; how did each institution deal with the problems which arose out of staffing the Sixth

forms; how were the student bodies affected by the addition of the Sixth Forms to the normal secondary school program; and what were the effects of Ministry of Education policies for Sixth Forms in the schools?

4. Fourth, what relationship did Higher School Certificate have to university programs in Nigeria, especially in the Northern Region?

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

An understanding of terms relating to Higher School Certificate work is in order prior to any discussion of the development of this program in Northern Nigeria.

Sixth Form, as usually understood in British educational terminology, refers to the two years of academic work directly after secondary school which lead to taking examinations for entry into a university. The first year is called Lower Sixth, the second, Upper Sixth. These two years of work were, in past years, called H.S.C. or Higher School Certificate, which is the name of the examination to be taken at the end of that period of work. Upper and Lower Sixth work in England usually is limited to the study of two or three specialized subjects, although in times past as many as five or six subjects were taken. In Nigeria these terms have been used with similar meanings.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's in Nigeria, a secondary school that had reached the senior level, that is, had five classes, often was required by the Ministry of Education to have an additional year added to it. During this extra year the students prepared themselves for either London Matriculation, School Certificate, Cambridge Overseas Certificate Examinations, University College Ibadan Entrance Examination, or the West African School Certificate. In some cases this sixth year of secondary school was thought to be insufficient preparation and another year was therefore added. These two additional years of secondary school were

variously termed, but the usual designation for them was Form Six, or Sixth Form, or Sixth Form A and B, or Middle Six.[1] It is necessary to understand clearly the difference between the terms for these additional secondary school classes and the Upper Sixth and Lower Sixth which were traditionally involved with work and study toward the Higher School Certificate. After 1963 newly established Northern Nigerian secondary schools were no longer required to have the 'sixth' class,[2] and schools were approved to offer the West African School Certificate after a five year program.

The examination taken by candidates at the end of Upper Sixth in Nigeria is termed Higher School Certificate. Other candidates at this academic level not enrolled in a secondary school may take the examination termed the General Certificate of Education, (Advanced Level). Students could apply privately for this examination, though they were in Teacher Training Colleges, or in the old Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Zaria. Both certificates are accepted as qualification for university entry. The major

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[1] Matriculation means to enroll or register in a university after a formal course of study or individual study under tutorship. It later came to mean completion of secondary level work.

[2] These terms have been casually used by many writers concerning Nigerian education so the distinctions are not always clear, but must be understood in context. In regard to this terminology in the British educational system this ambiguity of terms ceased to exist after the 1944 Education Act at which time Sixth Form came to mean only H.S.C. H.S.C. is presently the accepted term in Northern Nigeria for the Sixth Forms. The School Directory for Northern Nigeria, 1967, lists this level of work as H.S.C. Year 1 and 2.

difference between these examinations is, the 'H.S.C.' is offered to students in groups or classes after a formal course of study in a school. The 'G.C.E. (A Level)' is offered to individuals only.

Educational Systems of Africa[3] outlines the systems for examinations which have been organized by examining bodies in England and Wales. It states, "There are nine examining bodies in England and Wales which offer a General Certificate of Education including the Cambridge and the University of London which are the two operating most exclusively in Africa."[4]

The difference between the two examining bodies is that the University of London offers its examination (G.C.E. "A" Level) to individual candidates, whereas the Cambridge Syndicate offers its examination (Overseas Centers) which must be taken in approved schools by the students who are enrolled at the time. In Nigeria, the examination first offered by the Cambridge Syndicate was the School Certificate. Later the University of London offered the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level). These were both offered to students who had completed Form V or its equivalent or, in some cases, the additional Sixth Form A and B as well. The G.C.E. at this level is termed "O Level", that is, Ordinary Level.

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[3] Martena Sasnett, and Inez Sepmeyer, Educational Systems of Africa, University of California Press, 1966, p.1463.

[4] Ibid.

Students completing Upper and Lower Sixth are offered the Joint Examination for Higher School Certificate and the General Certificate of Education, (Advanced Level) under the aegis of the West African Examinations Council. The Cambridge Syndicate had introduced the H.S.C. examination in 1923 for Nigeria, which replaced the Senior Cambridge examination.[5] Sasnett states that the G.C.E. (A Level) examination was introduced for Nigeria by the University of London in 1959. The Joint Examination for Higher School Certificate and General Certificate of Education was initiated in 1964 by the West African Examinations Council in Lagos. The name "Overseas Certificate" was coined for use in Nigeria and other African countries. Even though the School Certificate in England was dropped in favor of the G.C.E. (1951) the informal use of this term persisted in Nigeria until 1961.

In Nigeria the West African Examinations Council, which was established in 1950, collaborated with the University of London and Cambridge University in offering examinations more adapted to the needs of West African students and more closely related to the syllabuses of the Nigerian schools.[6] The West African Examinations Council was an offshoot of the Cambridge Examinations Council and drew up the syllabii for secondary schools and administered the

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[5] Ibid, p.1464.

[6] J. Deakin, "Changes in Examinations for West African Secondary Schools", West African Journal of Education, June, 1964, pp.71-78.

examinations for the West African School Certificate.[7] During the entire period covered in this study the examination given by the West African Examinations Council for Ordinary Level work was termed West African School Certificate. The examination offered to West Africa for those who had completed Form VI (or Upper Sixth) was called Cambridge Higher School Certificate.

The area which was called Northern Nigeria prior to May 1967 has, at other stages in its history, also been termed Northern Provinces and the Northern Region; however, the geographical area in question is the same. This area has recently (1967) been divided into six states and is no longer called Northern Nigeria. There are four different types of secondary schools in this area classified according to their controlling agencies.

The most prestigious type of secondary school was the "Government College", and was the elite school of the Region supported by the monies of the Region, under regional control and to which selected students from all the provinces in the Northern Region were sent after careful screening by entrance examinations and interviews.

The Provincial Secondary Schools, after being up-graded from Middle-schools in the early 1950's, were supported by Provincial funds, Regional funds and Native Authority funds.

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[7] John W. Hanson, Education, Nsukka, A Study in Institution Building Among the Modern Ibo, Michigan State University Press, 1968, p.81.

Native Authorities (the local and Divisional governments) controlled the Governing Boards of these schools because they appointed the majority of the Board members. Substantial amounts of the tax monies received by the Native Authorities were allocated for the support of students in the Provincial Secondary Schools. Later these same schools were taken over by the Northern Region Ministry of Education at Kaduna (1966) and were then called Government Secondary Schools.

Voluntary Agency Schools were those schools supported to a certain extent by Mission groups or by individual or community efforts. These groups were called "Proprietors" and had the controlling vote on the Boards of Governors of these institutions. The Proprietor also financially assisted in the support of these schools and was responsible to the Ministry of Education to maintain them according to the regulations in Northern Nigerian Education Law.

For girls' education in the Region, the Queen Elizabeth Secondary School at Ilorin was the counterpart for girls, of the Zaria Government College for boys. It was the best equipped and most elite school conducted solely for girls in the Region. Other Voluntary Agency schools were also established for girls' education. The Government Secondary School for girls established at Kano was not as well equipped and staffed as was the Queen Elizabeth school.

The fourth type of school was the Federal Secondary School such as the institution at Sokoto. This type of institution (and there was one in each Region) was financially

III. METHOD : REFERENCES EMPLOYED

An Overview

The method of research employed for this study is termed "historical research". This type of research has been described in various ways by various writers who have outlined the methods and techniques of historical research. Walter R. Borg in his Educational Research, An Introduction,[8] lists three essential steps in the performance of historical research. The first step is to clearly define the problem to be studied. The second step is to gather the data, and the third step is to evaluate and synthesize the data into "an accurate account of the subject investigated."[9] Borg's format is very similar to that of other writers. Carter V. Good[10] for instance, uses almost the identical terms when he lists the steps as being the problem, the data collection, the evaluation and the preparation of the report. Homer C. Hockett[11] in like manner describes these same major aspects of historical research.

These writers, when discussing the selection of a problem in historical research, point out that the problem must be of a nature conducive to the historical research

---

[8] Walter R. Borg, Educational Research, An Introduction, David McKay Co., Inc., New York, 1967, p.418.

[9] Ibid, p.189.

[10] Carter V. Good, Introduction to Educational Research, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1959, Chapter 4.

[11] Homer C. Hockett, The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing, MacMillan Co., New York, 1955.

supported and controlled by the Federal Department of Education and was intended to serve as a model school, having excellent facilities for science studies. This school was located in the North and served many Northern students but was not under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education of the Northern Region as were the other secondary schools.

Other terms appearing less frequently within the text of this dissertation will be explained in context.

III. METHOD : REFERENCES EMPLOYED

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[11] Homer C. Hockett, The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing, MacMillan Co., New York, 1955.

approach. That is, the problem must be realistically related to the possibilities for gathering data. If written records, or references and sources of other sorts, are not available, or if available but not accessible for a variety of reasons, the problem should be discarded. Borg states, "The student carefully defines his problem and appraises its appropriateness before committing himself fully to it."[12]

Part of this defining process involves an analysis of the complexity of the subject to be studied, the selection of the historical period or time to be studied, and a realistic appraisal of the problem in terms of its eventual relevancy to a given subject area. The pure history of any subject is of some value; however, the understandings acquired from the history which can be applied to other disciplines should be a major consideration in the selection of the problem. "Obviously, historical research is important in education. Outside the intrinsic value of history, it is necessary to know and understand educational accomplishments and developments of the past in order to gain a perspective of present and possibly future directions."[13]

Prior to the collection of data, hypotheses or questions must be carefully outlined. The student's attention is thus aimed at or focused on a particular question while he

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[12] Borg, loc. cit.

[13] Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, Educational and Psychological Inquiry, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1965, pp. 698-699.

searches for information. Without a clear understanding of the general problem to be researched, and without specific questions which could be asked regarding this problem, the researcher will wander through the maze of documents and collect vast amounts of material of limited value for any analysis or outlining of the historical sequences. Borg states that questions can be employed as tentative "hypotheses" prior to data collection in this historical research methodology.[14] The researcher will be studying past events and therefore will be unable to construct hypotheses to be tested in one manner or another as would be done in a purely empirical study. He also states that once these questions have been clearly formulated the student or researcher must exercise strict self-control not to gather other information not precisely relevant to the study at hand.

Having established the problem and having set the parameters and perimeters for his study by means of questions to be answered, the student is faced with the problem of method of data collection. Louis Gottschalk's work, Understanding History : A Primer of Historical Method,[15] is most helpful. It describes in a very practical way how footnotes should be indicated, the various methods of note-taking that can be employed, the storage and processing of the materials

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[14] Borg, op. cit., p.190.

[15] Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History : A Primer of Historical Method, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1951.

collected, and the preparation of a draft. The first five chapters of Harvard Guide to American History,[16] also outline rather extensively, various methods the researcher can use when collecting historical data. This work also describes the types of material available for the researcher, and the possible sources of data collection that should not be overlooked in an historical study.

The final phase of historical research is perhaps the most difficult. This is the phase in which it is necessary to make judgments about the accuracy of data collected and to discern "certain sequences of previous events that appear to repeat themselves . . . to derive generalizations and to make predictions about the future . . . ."[17] This means that judgments must be made about previous writers' judgments related to the topic. This process of historical criticism is described very clearly by Gilbert Garraghan.[18] Garraghan notes that he borrowed heavily from the classical work of Bernheim in the German language, Lehrbuch der Historischen Method. Two aspects of criticism are discussed in Garraghan's work. These are, internal criticism of the material itself

---

[16]Oscar Handlin, Arthur Schlesinger et al, Harvard Guide to American History, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1954.

[17]Robert M.W. Travers, An Introduction to Educational Research, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1958, pp. 62-63.

[18]Gilbert Garraghan, A Guide to Historical Method, Fordharm University Press, New York, 1946.
See also: Thomas Woody, "Of History and Its Method", Journal of Experimental Education, 1947, pp. 175-201.

to check its validity, and external criticism of the material thus criticised to determine relevant historical trends and lessons to be learned from the material collected.

Method Employed

Four major problems were proposed for this study. The first was to ascertain what historical events occured in the process of the establishment of Higher School Certificate in Nigeria. In order to deal with this problem it was first necessary to look for data. The literature that was available dealing with Higher School Certificate was limited to a few magazine articles, passages in periodicals, and references in a few books on education. Thus it was necessary to search for relevant historical prime source data and secondary source data in Nigeria itself. The writer began a collection of various types of written documents in June of 1965. This collection was continued until June of 1967. It was necessary to visit the Northern Region Ministry of Education frequently to obtain current information and documents on Higher School Certificate establishment, planning, testing and operation. The writer obtained permission during this period to peruse original documents in the Federal and Regional Archives at the capitol in Kaduna. The West African Examinations Council at Lagos made available past records and examinations. The library and collections at Ahmadu Bello University, which include government annual reports, were also checked and read for information about the subject. Letters, statistical

reports, minutes of meetings, planning committee proceedings, school files, school log books, discipline registers and school annuals were part of the data collected in Nigeria. Many of these documents were copied photographically, others obtained were the actual copies or duplicates of letters and Ministry of Education publications. The writer also copied manually many other valuable documents for future reference.

The second problem dealt with the present operation of Sixth Form and the administrative problems incurred by the individual schools concerned when they added Higher School Certificate classes. The open-ended interview method was widely employed with school Principals. A questionnaire was also sent to each Principal one month prior to the interview date to be filled in and retained until the time of interview.[19] The Ministry of Education sent a follow-up letter to each Principal after a two week interval, reminding them of the impending interview and encouraging cooperation with the interviewer. The questionnaires proved to be only partially successful as few administrators bothered to complete them, or did so only perfunctorily. Therefore the person-to-person interview was employed. This method met with good success. Sixteen out of the eighteen Principals who were interviewed by the researcher provided the information

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[19] The writer visited each Northern Region secondary school which had a Higher School Certificate program established by June of 1967. This involved a trip of 5,500 miles over a period of six weeks. See Figure 1,(map).

requested if it was available to them.

The third problem involved researching the staffing, the student body and the administrative problems unique to each school. The material collected during interviews with Principals and staff members was cross-checked for accuracy against the Ministry of Education documents, annual statistics and Governmental Archive records and files.

Data about the problem of the relationship between Higher School Certificate and the universities and other institutions of higher learning was gleaned from the Government Archives, from documents in the Ahmadu Bello University library, from Ministry of Education documents and from interviews with educators in the secondary schools and university. All of the material was then put into an historical sequence and order, and the body of this dissertation comprises the eventual analysis of the material thus collected and described.

Types of References Employed

The types of references employed in Chapters II and III which deal with the rationale for the study, methods of procedure, and historical backgrounds in British education, were drawn in most cases from secondary bibliographical source material, although information was also gathered during interview sessions with school administrators. The historical overview of the establishment of Sixth Form or Higher School Certificate work described in these chapters, closely relates to the planning and policies made in Nigeria

by Colonial Officers whose educational heritage was rooted in the educational systems of England. Educational historians in the past have given fairly detailed accounts of the parallels to British education which assisted in the development of Nigerian education. Williams in 1950 wrote A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, in which he presented various important stages of development leading up to the establishment of senior secondary schools as well as higher education in Nigeria. C.A. Okere wrote a Master of Arts thesis for the Institute of Education of the University of London in 1945 titled, Education in Nigeria, Considered in Connection with Educational Development in British Tropical Africa. He described many of the early developments in education in this colonial period. Later James S. Coleman in his Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, presented perhaps the most detailed account of early educational development in Nigeria prior to Independence.

In 1964 Dr. Okechukwu Ikejiani edited a book, Nigerian Education, and Otonti Nduka also published a book, Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background. Both of these books provide extensive background for insights into the early developmental phases and post-Independence phase of educational development. These as well as other works are referred to in the Bibliography. It is noteworthy that no history of education has appeared which was solely authored by a Northern Nigerian. Textual material written about schools and education in Northern Nigeria is singularly

lacking.

During the years of development prior to Independence there were a variety of commissions, study groups, enquiries, reports, annual reports and educational surveys which provided a wealth of historical data relevant to educational development in the North. These sources comprise the majority of references for all the chapters in this dissertation dealing with planning and establishment of Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria. The majority of these documents were located in the Government Archives either in Lagos or at Kaduna. Primary source references are also quoted which are in the form of 'Minutes' of meetings, official memorandum, letters, institutional reports, financial reports, inspection reports, items laid before the legislature, schools' logs and examination records. These materials were located in the Archives at Kaduna, school files at the schools themselves, or in the files of the former Northern Region Ministry of Education, Kaduna. Perhaps the most complete collection of documents belong to private individuals who have worked for many years with the educational system in the 'North'. The most important documents obtained by the writer, which relate to the actual establishment of the first Higher School Certificate program are quoted in full in the Appendices at the end of this study. Finally, materials obtained by personal interviews with those who were involved in the initial phases of Higher School Certificate work are also quoted within the text.

IV. OVERVIEW OF SUBSEQUENT CHAPTERS

Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria were modeled after similar programs in England by Colonial educators. Chapter Two presents a brief historical overview of the development of the Higher School Certificate in England. Many of the changes which occured in the Higher School Certificate programs in England were related to the social needs in various historical eras. These changes were brought about by means of policy statements embodied in Education Acts. The Higher School Certificate was eventually replaced with the General Certificate of Education, (Advanced Level). In Northern Nigeria, however, the Higher School Certificate programs continued to be valued and remained basically similar in content and structure to earlier Higher School Certificate programs which had existed in England prior to the introduction of the General Certificate of Education, (Advanced Level).

Chapter Three, "Historical Backgrounds to the Development of Sixth Form Programs in Northern Nigerian Society", briefly outlines and analyzes the major planning for education that occured prior to 1950. During this period of planning, secondary school administrators, administrators of the University College Ibadan, and representatives of the Ministry of Education, Lagos, met together and established broad outlines for the development and expansion of Higher School Certificate programs. These programs were considered essential for bringing School Certificate holders to the level for university entry. During this period an effort was made

to begin a Higher School Certificate course at Government College Zaria, but the program failed and was abandoned.

Chapter Four is a description and analysis of the planning for and establishment of successful Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria between 1951-1967. During this period the role played by the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology in training students for university entry was important because this institution bore the burden for Higher School Certificate or Sixth Form training, as no other school in the North had such programs. In 1959 the first successful Higher School Certificate program was started in Government College Keffi. Ahmadu Bello University was established in 1962 and took over the program of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. This University instituted an intermediate or "preliminary" course designed to train secondary school leavers who had insufficient academic background for university work. This preliminary course in the University supplemented the Higher School Certificate programs which were unable to provide sufficient candidates to fill the first year program of the University during this period.

Chapter Five, "The Higher School Certificate Program and Its Curriculum", describes and compares the curricula presently existing in the Higher School Certificate institutions. Various changes in the curricula were brought about by policy decisions of the Ministry of Education.

Chapter Six, "The Product - Higher School Certificate

Leavers", outlines the placement procedures of the Northern Region Ministry of Education. This Chapter also describes the attempts made by the school authorities to provide career counseling for the Higher School Certificate leavers. The problem of student wastage and failure in the Higher School Certificate programs is also discussed.

Chapter Seven, "The Social and Administrative Climate in the Schools", describes the student "societies" in the schools, their attitudes and reactions to their own schools as well as to other schools. The communities around these schools are shown to be instrumental in the development of unique school styles or school tones. Various administrative problems in the schools are also described.

Chapter Eight presents a brief summary of the historical account of the establishment of Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria. In addition it discusses the need for further study on the whole matter of Sixth Forms and the Higher School Certificate Examinations. Three alternatives to this program have been mentioned by a study committee. In addition to these, the writer suggests that the feasibility of additional alternatives also be considered.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTORY SECTION : THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND FOR PLANNING AND ESTABLISHMENT OF INITIAL HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS IN BRITISH SOCIETY

I. EARLY BACKGROUNDS

The history of the Higher School Certificate in England is tied closely to a series of education 'acts' and 'reports'. At varying points in the history of British education changes were made in the structure and control of the educational system which affected the role and purpose and program of the Higher School Certificate. Any attempt to understand this institution, (or the General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) which is its present day 'equivalent' in Britain), should be in the light of social events and the socially expressed needs of various historical eras. Higher School Certificate programs have played an important role during such historical periods as the post-Victorian period, the period following the Second World War, and the era of attainment of independence for many British Commonwealth countries.

British universities have played a leading role in the development of the program of Higher School Certificate or Sixth Form. This program has been used in various ways as a grid or academic screening device for university selection. Consequently it has been the focus of a great deal of public

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criticism[1] which has related this university entrance examination device to the preservation of an elitist class type of education.

Prior to the turn of the century the role of the secondary school in British society was discussed. The public school, (actually privately maintained schools)[2] as well as state supported grammar schools, were the channels by which students gained entry into a university after a five year program of secondary school. Because of the inter-school competition, the headmasters of leading grammar schools were under pressure to obtain entry for their candidates into the leading universities, especially into the two universities of highest reputation, Oxford and Cambridge. The University of London developed a screening device called the London University Matriculation.[3] In an attempt to bring about a more uniform

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[1] See: Supplementary Bibliography of References to Higher School Certificate in the United Kingdom.

[2] T. W. Bamford, The Rise of the Public Schools, (A Study of a Boys' Public Boarding School in England and Wales from 1830 to the Present Day), Thomas Nelson Ltd., London, 1967, p.267.

The definition of a public school has been difficult ever since the earliest days of Victoria when seven held the field and Samuel Butler had already outlined their distinguishing features as prosperity, national recruitment, (and thereby boarding), ample endowment, ancient lineage and sound scholarship.

[3] H.C. Barnard, A History of English Education from 1760, University of London Press, London, 1963, p.266.

"In addition, many secondary schools of all types entered their pupils for the London University Matriculation, which was originally intended as a preliminary qualification for a degree course, but it became more and more used as a school-leaving examination and was demanded as a qualification by employers."

selection device for entry into other universities, the headmasters requested the universities to establish certificates which would be of similar nature for all the universities and which would be available to all the schools.[4] A variety of certificates were instituted which candidates could apply for at the end of their training periods. Certificates of a higher nature were designed to be taken by candidates who were eighteen or over.[5] "In 1884 a lower certificate was introduced for pupils leaving at the age of about fifteen or sixteen and in 1905 a school certificate for those aged about sixteen or seventeen."[6]

During this period, around the turn of the century, the future of the educational system, its structure, and its function were again discussed. Bamford states,

> Further in the period 1896-1902 a choice of three future patterns of secondary education presented itself. The first was to encourage the upward development of the lower-class elementary education through higher grade schools. The second was to develop along middle class

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[4] G. Baron, Society Schools and Progress in England, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1965, p.114.
"It did however, prompt the headmasters of leading schools to approach the universities of Oxford and Cambridge with a view to there being set up an examining body to conduct school-leaving examinations. The result was the institution of the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board. Other boards subsequently came into being . . . ."

[5] Barnard, loc. cit.
"At first a higher certificate alone was instituted to be taken by candidates aged eighteen or over."

[6] Ibid.
"In 1884 a lower certificate was introduced for pupils leaving at the age of about fifteen or sixteen, in 1905 a school certificate for those aged about sixteen or seventeen."

> grammar-school lines with traditional literary and public school influences. The third was to compromise between the two.[7]

It appears that the second of the three alternatives eventually was put into practice because of the strong role played by headmasters whose conservative attitudes were dominant factors against change.

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[7] Bamford, op. cit., p.261.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EXAMINATIONS SYSTEM

The Education Act of 1902

The Act of 1902, also termed the Education Act of 1902, though not dealing specifically with secondary education, did, however, bring about changes because of the requirements for entry into higher educational institutions. External examinations were established to provide avenues of entry into specific universities, at this time seven in number.[9] The confusion brought about by these examinations resulted in a meeting of the Board of Education.

> The Board of Education made some attempts to deal with this problem and finally referred it to the Consultative Committee. In a Report, published in 1911, this committee expressed the opinion that the presentation of young and immature pupils for external examinations is mischievous.[10]

The Act of 1902 had been viewed by some politicians and civil servants as establishing grounds for the development of a broader type of grammar school system for the general public, especially the middle classes. Bamford states

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[8] Ibid, p. 274.
The Education Act of 1902 did not specifically mention secondary education. It was concerned, on paper, with both elementary and higher education. A great deal was left to the interpretation of the President of the Board of Education and other policy makers.

[9] Barnard, op. cit., p. 267.
"As a result the university examining bodies-there were seven of them at this time-recast or modified their schemes and there emerged two standard examinations-the first school (or school certificate) examination, with a general curriculum, and designed for pupils aged about sixteen . . ."

[10] Ibid.

that by 1907 a strong parallel system of education of high quality, with a curriculum comparable to the boarding schools, had developed.[11]

> Each area soon had its own grammar school with boys able to graduate from the slums to Oxford or Cambridge, and in this way a national grammar school system was built up and paid for by rates and taxes.[12]

Of the future patterns of secondary education which had been considered, the second solution was adopted, that is, to develop the grammar school along middle class lines.

> The adoption of the second solution exclusively, meant that a wide interpretation of education was lost and lower-class (elementary school) aspirations were delayed for a generation or more. With these aspirations went any hope of a massive development of technical and scientific education that the scientists and industrialists had been urging for half a century. The

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[11] Bamford, loc. cit.

[12] Ibid.
See also: H.C. Barnard and J.A. Lauwerys, A Handbook of the British Educational System, Harrap Co., London, 1963, p.106.
"When the Bryce Commission made their investigation shortly before the turn of the century they found in their survey of seven counties that 4% of all boys and girls aged 14 or 15 were in school, and 1% of those aged 16 or 17. But the numbers and sizes of secondary schools were to be greatly increased by the provisions of the Education Act of 1902 which enabled the new local education authorities to aid and to establish them. About this time too there were further important additions to the number of examining bodies. By 1903 the London University Extension Board and the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board had joined the Local Examination Delegacies of Oxford and of Cambridge and the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Board started examining in 1911. All these bodies conducted examinations at various levels for differing purposes. Prominent among these was the old 'junior certificate' taken at 14 or 15. Each examination had its own list of compulsory subjects and its own pecularities of syllabus and was designed to provide a passport to one university or profession. All these examinations were taken in the 'secondary schools'."

result was a triumph for traditional thought and the adoption of a public-school cloak for the higher parts of the system as a whole.[13]

The beginning of Higher School Certificate in England.

The result of the decisions made by the Consultative Committee of 1911[14] was that a new examination scheme was introduced for secondary schools. This scheme was labelled Higher School Certificate, and the label has stuck to this examination even to the present day,[15] and has been introduced in all of the British Colonial educational systems as well.

Secondary Schools Examinations Council

The School Certificate examination came into operation in 1917 after the Board of Education brought under its control the examinations systems being used by the Oxford and

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[13] Bamford, op. cit., p.261.

[14] Barnard and Lauwerys, Loc. cit.
"Once again a public commission found it necessary to draw attention to the dangers for the schools of this un-coordinated growth of examining bodies. 'The existing multiplicity of external examinations' said the Report of the Consultative Committee in 1911, 'the claims of which at present so frequently interfere with the best work of the schools should be reduced by concerted action. All external examinations' it continued, 'should be so conducted as to assist and emphasize the principle that every secondary school should provide for pupils up to an average age of 16, a sound basis of liberal education which . . . would service as a foundation upon which varieties of further education could be based'."

[15] H.C. Dent, Growth in Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1964, p. 116.
". . . the drastic change in the external examination system which took place in 1951, when the General Certificate of Education replaced the School and Higher School Certificates which had held the field since 1917."

Cambridge Joint Boards. A Secondary Schools Examinations Council was established which represented the teachers and headmasters of the grammar schools as well as the examining bodies. The pattern for the educational system for the next half a century was set by this body. G. Baron states,

> From this time examinations taken in secondary schools followed a single pattern. A School Certificate could be obtained by success in at least five subjects taken at the age of about 16+ . . . After two years of further study, normally in three subjects on the Science or Arts side, a Higher School Certificate could be won.[16]

S.J. Curtis mentions that Higher School Certificate " . . . examinations came into operation in 1917. Although the Board of Education had emphasized that it should be a 'cardinal principle that the examination should follow the curriculum and not determine it', that precept was largely ignored."[17] The Secondary Schools Examinations Council which was constituted in 1917 had proposed two standards of examinations. The first and lower level was called the School Certificate examination. This was taken by students at the age of sixteen and was the result of about four years of work in secondary grammar school. This proposed examination was to test the general level of educational attainment by

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[16] Baron, loc. cit.

[17] S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, University Tutorial Press Ltd., London, 1966, p. 355. (Sixth Edition).

the student in groups of subjects.[18] The next examination was called Higher School Certificate, which allowed for more specialization in subject matter choice and was taken two years later, after studies were completed in Lower and Upper Sixth Form. Initially the Higher School Certificate examination was intended to be given in groups of subjects and to be external in nature.[19] Curtis also mentions that it was the 'form'[20] that was the unit being examined, not the pupil.

Growth of specialization. As the school systems grew in size and the possible number of curricular choices were increased, students could select from a wider range of these offerings. However, rather than encouraging a diversified individualistic choice of subjects by students, the student became " . . . fitted to a uniform mold instead of being

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[18] Barnard and Lauwerys, loc. cit.
"The School Certificate examination was designed to test the results of the course of general education which preceded the more specialized course leading to the Higher School Certificate. In order to pass, a candidate had to attain the required standard in three main groups of school subjects, the group and not the individual subject being the unit in respect of which success or failure was determined."

[19] Curtis, op. cit., p. 354.
Also: Barnard and Lauwerys, loc.cit.
"Schools normally had to present forms as a whole and not individual pupils, so that the examination determined the pattern of secondary school courses and gave a sense of direction to grammar school education. This may well have been valuable to many schools at a time when the provision was being rapidly extended; though from the outset there was some opposition in the schools to the idea of a 'group' examination."

[20] The term 'form' is used to designate the various levels of the secondary school program. Thus Form I-V comprise the normal five year secondary school program, and Forms VI A and B are the Higher School or G.C.E. (Advanced Level) classes.

accommodated within the contours of his or her ability and interests."[21] Most "average" students selected only a limited number of subjects because of the difficulty of the subject matter and the amount of rote memorization required for the final examinations. The exceptionally brilliant student, that is, one who possessed the ability to memorize great quantities of subject matter, could by reason of this skill, choose a greater number of subjects which he studied with the final examination in mind. Because most students already had in mind a particular university, they also bore in mind the particular academic emphasis held by that university for entry purposes. The concept of a "liberal education" was not widely held. Instead specialization took place in most cases even during Forms IV and V. Though the stated function of the Certificate examinations at both levels was that of testing for achievement and ability in a general area of subject matter, to the groups who sat for the examinations, their function was altered by social pressures exerted primarily by employers, but also by the universities which accepted varying standards of entry based on the results of these examinations. Thus the School Certificate examination came to have a dual function. First, it tested the Form V secondary school candidate, and if he failed it became in essence a terminal examination. Secondly, it was used as a means of exemption from matriculation

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[21] Baron, loc. cit.

if the standard attained was sufficiently high.[22] The Higher School Certificate in the same way, came to be looked upon as a means of entry to an honors course in the university. Because such a 'course' is limited in scope, the students who sat for their Higher School Certificate examinations opted for a limited and specific group of subjects in order to enhance their chances of doing well.[23]

Employers "quite erroneously, . . . regarded the possession of a Matriculation Certificate as something very much superior to the ordinary School Certificate."[24] It has been noted that some universities would accept a high-level pass in the School Certificate examination in lieu of their usual matriculation requirements. However, students who were interested in being able to get jobs when they left school were faced with the possible demand of employers for a Matriculation Certificate. The Matriculation Certificate, or exemption from it,[25] thus became a means to control the students' choices of subject matter to fit future employment demands

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[22] Matriculation was an entrance examination of a sort to certain universities, such as the University of London. This examination was given to individual applicants in order to screen the more capable for university level work.

[23] Curtis, loc. cit. See Curtis' treatment of this development on pp. 354-355.

[24] Ibid.

[25] In other words its equivalent, a School Certificate pass at high level, or a Higher School Certificate pass.

or university requirements.

The Higher School Certificate Examination in England was the result of various attempts to reform the educational system.

The Spens Committee, 1938

By 1938 the situation was such that the School Certificate examinations began to control the entire curricula of the schools, and also it became the concern of educators and parents alike, because of the tremenduous psychological and social pressures placed upon young people whose future depended upon one examination.

The Spens Committee which reported its findings in 1938[26] " . . . recorded that witnesses were almost unanimously of the opinion that despite all safeguards, the School Certificate (and Higher School Certificate)[27] . . . now dominates the work of the schools, controlling both the framework and the content of the curriculum."

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[26] Barnard and Lauwerys, loc. cit.

[27] Parenthesis mine.

III. THE ACT OF 1944 AND THE NORWOOD REPORT

Britain's involvement in the Second World War in 1939 made it difficult for educators and administrators in England to focus on educational problems. The pressing matter of national survival in a World War was not the climate for philosophical and academic discussions about curriculum. The cessation of the War in the European theater, however, brought about retrospection and re-evaluation of the educational program to suit the needs of a more greatly industrialized post-war nation. The man-power produced by the schools served a class function, and was sorely inadequate in the production of technicians and skilled workers.

The Norwood Committee report of 1943 gave rise to the passing of the historic Education Act in 1944. This Act represented a major change of emphasis in British educational practice. H.C. Dent makes mention of the importance of this Education Act:

> Section 7 is the most important in the Act. It entirely recast the structure of the statutory system of public education. Previously this was organized in two parts: elementary and higher education, the latter including all forms of education, other than elementary.[28]

Dent explains that part of the weakness of the system prior to the 1944 Act was the overlapping of various steps of the educational ladder. He argues that the Education Act of 1944 put an end to the " . . . unhappy state of affairs."[29]

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[28] H.C. Dent, The Education Act of 1944, University of London Press, Ltd., London, 1957, p.14. (Sixth Edition).

[29] Ibid.

The organization of three progressive stages known as elementary, secondary and further education, as envisioned in the Act, provided the historical framework for the development of the G.C.E. (Advanced Level) which in a sense was to replace the overlapping systems of the Higher School Certificate, the London Matriculation and the separate university entrance examinations.

However, the Education Act of 1944 was interpreted by educators in another way. Local education authorities understood the Act as calling for three types of education, in other words, establishing the basis for the tri-partite system.

> In the words of the Norwood Committee (1945) the grammar school pupil was one 'who is interested in learning for its own sake' and one who is capable of abstract thought. The technical school pupil was one 'whose interests lie markedly in the field of applied science or art' . . . He often has an uncanny insight into the intracacies of mechanisms, whereas the subtilties of language construction are too delicate for him. The modern school pupil on the other hand, was interested in 'things as they are . . . deals more easily with concrete things than ideas', and therefore needs 'a more general education'. [30]

The Norwood Report also had relevant recommendations concerning the Higher School Certificate examinations. A committee on Secondary School Examinations which met in 1958 commented on the Norwood recommendations in this way:

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[30] F.H. Pedley, M.A., The Educational System in England and Wales, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1964, p.21.

> An examination taken normally at 18+ : To meet the requirements of University Entrance, of entry into the professions and other needs, a School Leaving Examination should be conducted twice each year for pupils of 18+. Pupils should take in this examination the subjects required for their particular purpose in view. Its purpose should not be to provide evidence of a 'general' or 'all-round' education . . . . University Scholarships: The present Higher School Certificate Examination should be abolished and State and Local Education Authority scholarships should be awarded on a different basis.[31]

The Education Act of 1944, rather than solving the problems of overlapping examinations and an educational system related to the class system, created instead a tripartite system of education which perpetuated the problem of education related to the class system. It did, however, set the stage for the development of the G.C.E. examinations system.

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[31] Secondary Examinations Other Than G.C.E., Ministry of Education, Great Britain, (Report of a Committee appointed by the Secondary School Examinations Council in July, 1958), London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960, p.52.

IV. RECENT REFORMS

The Norwood Committee's (1945) solution to the problems arising from the 1944 Education Act was to call for a separation between those examinations intended to be taken at sixteen and those intended for university entrance, which would mean in effect, that they would not be connected to the examining bodies of the universities. The Committee proposed that the examinations at sixteen should be changed to examinations controlled internally by teachers in the schools. This was not carried out in practice.[32]

The period between 1944 and 1951 saw little change occuring as far as the examination system was concerned. The Higher School Certificate examinations continued to be given at the end of the Sixth Form. The curriculum still was molded strongly by the final examination and therefore students specialized in their studies to a high degree. In addition to this, the Sixth Forms continued to be a link between secondary grammar schools and the universities. By the time of the Crowther Report (1959)[33] (which studied the problems of the Sixth Forms and H.S.C. examinations), a change could be seen in the numbers enrolled in the Sixth Forms, which had doubled

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[32] Ibid, p.4.

[33] 15 to 18 : Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education - England, Vol. I, Ministry of Education, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, Vol.I Report: 1959.
Sir Geoffrey Crowther, chairman of the Council has had his name associated with the Report as has happened in the past with other leaders of educational committees.

over a ten year period.[34]

The General Certificate of Education

In 1951 the General Certificate of Education was introduced. The purpose of this examination was to replace the old School Certificate, and to be an evaluation tool to test the level of a student's attainment in each subject by his fifth year of secondary school. The Examinations Council recommended that an examination at Ordinary Level, Advanced and Scholarship Levels, should be instituted, and that all subjects at these three levels should be optional.

The General Certificate of Education attempted to assess a given candidate's capacity to go on to more advanced studies, while the old School Certificate was designed to look back at a student's work and evaluate what had been done.[35] The School Certificate moreover,was used as a means of evaluating or measuring the proficiency of entire classes of pupils and therefore,was used as a comparative standard between schools. Publication of the results of these examinations for the 'general public' put pressure on headmasters to ensure that their 'candidates' would do well. Examinations became 'rating' devices for institutions on a comparative basis. It had been hoped that the G.C.E., by providing evaluation on an individual student's progress, whether the testing be done at one sitting or over a period of time, would

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[34] Curtis, op. cit., p. 625.

[35] Dent, (Growth in Education), op. cit., p.119.

lessen the fierce competitive elements inherent in the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate. The General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) would be awarded, showing the subjects in which the candidate had passed and the level attained in each subject. The standard of the 'Ordinary' level would be approximately that of a 'credit' of the old School Certificate.[36]

It was hoped by educators that the introduction of the G.C.E. would bring an end to the situation created by the School Certificate. This situation was, that the examination caused grouping, that is, for some it was a terminal leaving certificate and for others it was a passport to enter the Sixth Form and remain in school.[37]

The Higher School Certificate, which was replaced by the G.C.E.(Advanced Level), had been a means of " . . . selecting recipients for state scholarships and local authority awards for university and other higher education."[38] The Sixth Form type of specialized study continued and individuals were evaluated at their levels of attainment in a few subjects by the G.C.E.(Advanced Level) examinations.

By 1962 the number of grammar schools had grown considerably and Sixth Forms were rapidly developing in these. Universities were using the results of the G.C.E.(Advanced Level)

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[36] Barnard, op. cit., p. 331.

[37] Curtis, op. cit., p.624.

[38] Dent, (Growth in Education), op. cit., p.118.

as a standard for entry into various course areas. Both grammar and modern schools were using the G.C.E. examination for evaluation and university entry purposes. The G.C.E., therefore, became a tool to break down the traditional elite-forming system of the School Certificate, by providing greater numbers of students a means of access to higher education. The G.C.E. examinations were not limited to the traditional grammar schools. Capable students in the modern secondary schools also applied for the G.C.E. (Advanced Level) and took the examinations. In this way students who had been steered into the 'modern' stream as a result of their 11+ examinations, were able to move out of this channel and gain entrance to a university. The numbers who were able to achieve this increased sharply by 1962. Pedley states that : "In 1962 there were some 5,000 candidates (e.g. G.C.E. Advanced Level) for this examination from modern schools."[39]

Certificate of Secondary Education

Educational reform in Britain has continued up until the present time. Recently, James D. Koerner reported that the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) was being reconstructed. In addition to this, an entirely new examination system is being developed. This examination, the C.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education), will overlap the lower level of the G.C.E.

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[39] Pedley, op. cit., p. 26.

and perhaps replace it in time.[40] It is envisioned that the C.S.E. will provide more students with an opportunity to gain entrance to institutions of higher learning.

The future is uncertain.

> Royal Commissions and national committees turn out fat but readable volumes on every aspect of it (education), it is represented in the cabinet by an aggressive Secretary of State for Education and Science, it consumes a tremenduous share of the budgets of both national and local governments, (only Defense and Health Service take more money), and it has now become the subject of systematic national planning. 41

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[40] James D. Koerner, "Reform and Revolution in English Education", The Saturday Review, Jan. 21, 1967.(pp.61-79) p.79.

[41] Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIXTH FORM PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN NIGERIAN SOCIETY

I. COMMENTARIES ON COLONIAL POLICIES AND NORTHERN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Prior to the time of Nigerian Independence the educational policies held by the British in this colonial territory were statedly for the enhancement of the British rule of the territory, as well as for fostering a healthy economic climate so that favorable trade could occur.[1] These colonial educational policies were rooted in the developments and traditions of educational matters in the home country. Educational purposes in England paralleled social purposes or objectives, and these were in support of the maintenance of class

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[1]Dr. Okechukwu Ikejiani, editor, Nigerian Education, contributions by O. Ikejiani, J.W. Hanson, P.U. Okeke, L.O. Anowi, Published by Longmans of Nigeria, Ikeja, Western Printing Services Ltd., Bristol, Great Britain, 1964. (I. Background to the Problems of Nigerian Education, by P.U. Okeke,) p. 11.

"British educational policy in Nigeria, therefore, is colored by two considerations, namely, the British philosophy and practice of education in general, and the British government's attitude toward the education of colonial peoples in particular. The latter is influenced by the theory of imperialism which proposed that colonies exist primarily for the benefit of the mother country; hence colonial education policy becomes an instrument of the national policy of the ruling power."

structure.[2] The establishment of Higher School Certificate in England occured because of specific needs on the English scene. In Nigeria, however, this part of the educational structure and program was introduced by educational planners for the purpose of training a small number of select secondary school leavers so that they would be able to enter the University College Ibadan. The planning for the development of Higher School Certificate in Northern Nigeria was carried out predominantly by expatriates. Nigerians, however, have expressed their views about what type of programs were established, and how these were perceived to be relevant to Nigeria. Commentaries of this nature provide a valuable background for understanding Nigerian attitudes toward the educational policies and programs the expatriate colonial planners left behind. Commentaries of this nature are also of value because they reflect a "national" philosophy which should be understood by persons involved in educational planning.

British Educational Policy

The educational planning that has taken place in Northern Nigeria for the establishment of Higher School Certificate programs was performed almost entirely by expatriates in the pre-Independence period. Nigerians from all the regions

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[2] Ibid. (Okeke, p.11.)
". . . Not only was the British educational outlook conservative and based on class structure, but also the attitude of British administrators toward colonials markedly influenced educational practice . . . ."

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were involved in the planning process during this period; however, annual educational reports which were published in the regions were written by British educational officers, directors and inspectors. These reports indicate a degree of sensitivity to Nigerian opinion. As early as 1947 comments were made about the type of education Nigeria had inherited. The 1947 Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria stated,

> We realize also the danger of uncontrolled increase of the number of secondary schools, not only because of its bearing on the problem of unemployment, but still more because there is a grave risk of schools growing up which in the narrowness of curriculum and general unsuitability will perpetuate those evils we mentioned above. [3]

On the other hand, Wale Ademoyega in The Federation of Nigeria, criticizes early British attitudes in educational planning philosophy which reflected their aims. He states,

> In the words of a British education expert, . . . the conception of the aim of education was that it would make useful citizens, and when we say useful citizens we mean literally citizens who would be of use to us. The conception was one of exploitation and development . . . . it was to this purpose that such education as was given was directed. [4]

Ademoyega goes on to comment that in the Northern part of Nigeria nationalism was at a low ebb during the late

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[3] Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria : Laid on the table of the Legislative Council as Sessional Paper No. 20, 1947, (The Secretary of State's Advisory Committee, p. 22).

[4] Wale Ademoyega, B.A., The Federation of Nigeria, From Earliest Times to Independence, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1962, p. 121. (On: H.S. Scott, "The Development of Education in Relation to Western Contact", in the Year Book of Education, 1938, pp. 693-739.)

1930's. Islamism, he argues, was the religion of the majority and was scrupulously preserved. The introduction of mass education for the people in the North, from the British point of view, was to be carefully geared so that alienation of the youth from the traditional society should be minimal. Ademoyega supports his statement by quoting from a document, "Suggested Policy in Primary and Elementary Education in Kano Province", January 14, 1928:

> When mass education was introduced, the Education Officer insisted that children . . . should as a rule follow in the occupation for which they are destined. The standard should be so low that the boys will not be alienated by too great a sense of superiority. After a generation or more, the standard might be raised.[5]

The Phelps Stokes Mission[6] which came to Nigeria in 1920, published a white paper on "Education in Tropical Africa", in 1925. The paper was a survey of existing Nigerian educational trends. In general terms it referred to future goals, however, these were broadly stated and did not effect significant changes.

In 1953 the West Africa Study Group from the Colonial Office published a large and detailed study of British colonial education entitled, African Education.[7] This study

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[5] Ibid, p.140.

[6] D.H. Williams, A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, Ministry of Education Northern Region of Nigeria, for the Occasion of Self Government Celebrations, 1959, p.45.

[7] African Education, A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, for the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, by Charles Batey, Printer to the University Press, Oxford, 1953. Report of the West Africa Study Group, "Education in a Developing Society", p.9.

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group reported some of the difficulties met by the British in establishing new educational programs in Africa. It described many of the problems facing educators. Some of these problems arose because educators were colonial officers and were unable to accommodate British educational policies to African needs. One statement of basic philosophy for educational development reflected a fairly sensitive view to the problems of establishing aims for education. The statement was as follows:

> Let us boldly attempt to formulate the aims of education. Perhaps the key may be found in what any good father would wish for his son; -that he should grow to the full stature of a man sound in mind and body; that according to his ability he should acquire the knowledge and the skill that will enable him to live a life useful to his fellows and enjoyable to himself; that he should have high standards of conduct and be an honourable man trusted by his fellows; that he should be able and willing to take his rightful part in the affairs of his country and people; that he should be a man of courage and sound judgement, not too easily deflected by the emotions of the moment; that he should be a man at peace within himself, rightly discerning his duty to himself, his fellows, and his God. There is a coherence among these aims whereby no one can be neglected without thereby creating an impediment to others. [8]

The Nigerian writer Okeke, reacted strongly to this statement of British educational philosophy. He wrote:

> The philosophy of education naturally, is typically British. It reflects the philosophy of educated gentlemen . . . the refined elite. There are too many "selfs" and too many "fellows". "Fellows" does not, of course, mean the whole people of a whole country, but that select group of like mind, who form the cream of society, leaders necessarily chosen and trained for the purpose, and not a spontaneous out-growth of a whole people participating in their attempt to solve problems. This is the British philosophy of education. [9]

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ikejiani, (ed.), op. cit., p.10.

Okeke goes on to say that the

> . . . British government in Nigeria was not there primarily for the purpose of providing for the welfare of Nigerians. Yet it did more for Nigerians than Nigeria could ever have done for herself in such a short time if left alone to evolve in an historical way. This point is well taken and appreciated by Nigerians. However, Nigerians today measure progress not in terms of what has been accomplished under the aegis of the British but in terms of what is left to do. [10]

The criticisms of Nigerian writers such as Okeke and Ademoyega are understandable, especially in the light of the feelings of intense nationalism which Independence brought. These writers do not, however, reflect the degree of self criticism that some British writers exhibited concerning their own role in bringing British education to Nigeria. D.H. Williams for example, commented specifically about such problems in Northern Nigeria just prior to Independence (1959) in this fashion:

> Inevitably, where education systems were established they were based on methods in force in Britain, and only as the scope of colonial education became larger did the direction realise that although the problems of method were basically similar, their solution could not be general and could only be found in the places in which the problems arose. It was obvious that if the dream of Commonwealth was to become reality, systems of education in the colonies must be 'colonial' and not merely British, and furthermore that they must be 'local' and not merely colonial. [11]

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Williams, op. cit., p.22.
"The effect of these changes took some time to be felt overseas; moreover, the larger part of the education staff of the colonial territories was of a generation which had been trained to venerate the importance of academic learning and to consider other forms of education as being of lesser importance."

T.R. Batten, writing in Problems of African Development, Part II, Government and People, expressed the opinion that many planners and educators from Britain were not insensitive to the problem of introducing educational systems based on English needs, yet, because of the particular problem of phasing and the prevailing educational policies in the colonies, they were still applied. "Schools at the secondary level thus followed English syllabuses and aimed at gaining successes in English examinations. Much of the instruction given was, of course, inapplicable to African conditions."[12] Batten also shows a sensitivity to the criticisms of Nigerians who stated that British colonial examination systems were introduced to maintain white supremacy and were therefore suspected of:

> . . . keeping the black man down, and reserving to the white man the education which was the key to his superior economic status. Thus we get the extraordinary situation that even the very limited educational facilities now available may, in part, still be devoted to spreading knowledge relevant in England for English conditions, but much less relevant in Africa than other knowledge . . . largely . . . neglected in the school curricula. This situation has been partly remedied in recent years by the inclusion in some British examinations of options designed to meet the needs of overseas students.[13]

African Education, a report of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, showed the concern of a group of British educators for adjusting education to national needs,

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[12] T.R. Batten, Problems of African Development, Part II, Government and People, Oxford University Press, London, 1948, p. 66.

[13] Ibid.

especially during the nationalistic-political phase just prior to Independence. Self criticism was evident in the following statement:

> The study of education in different countries usually brings a double experience to those who have the privilege of making it. On the one hand, they are impressed by the similarity between the problems which face one country in the present and those which faced another country at some recent or remote stage in its educational history. They are tempted to believe that education has no new problems but only old problems which each country must face in turn and solve in relation to its circumstances and resources. On the other hand, they meet differences of racial temperament and social structure that go so deep as to suggest that no valid generalizations are possible, and that each country must face its problems as it comes to them and work out their solutions afresh without regard to what has been achieved in other countries in which the problems have been met in circumstances so different as to make them different problems requiring different solutions. [14]

The criticisms of Nigerian writers of British educational policy were made after Independence had been attained; however, these criticisms have value for they provide a commentary on past educational programs and reflect a serious look to the future. The policies made for educational development by the British were strongly colored by their own colonial attitudes. It should be stated that British operational policies were of necessity based on the British model. The educational system, and the examinations system which was a part of this, became the basis for the present day Nigerian system of education. Though the philosophies inherent in the system of the British are today criticized by Nigerians, the colonial

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[14] African Education, op. cit., p.7.

system of yesterday has achieved much for Nigeria as an independent nation today, as Okeke has stated. Since Independence, Nigeria has built on the colonial framework of education and has expanded all aspects of its educational system. It should also be noted that the educational system in England has undergone major changes, whereas the educational system in Nigeria has been maintained along "traditional" lines.

One of the problems facing Nigerian planners now is, how best to develop a system of examinations at the secondary and post-secondary levels which will be suitable for this particular period of history.

At the present time there is a great need for the development of educational institutions which will turn out the high-level manpower that Nigeria needs. One part of the educational system inherited by Nigeria from the British is the institution termed Sixth Form. The final examination taken at the end of this two year program of study is the Higher School Certificate, which is presently being criticized and evaluated as to its future effectiveness for Nigeria.

II. EARLY BACKGROUNDS

In the period between the First World War and the Second World War, the educational system of Northern Nigeria saw little institutional development and growth. The Church Missionary Society opened a school in Zaria in 1901, and this represented the farthest penetration of Missions in the North during that period.[15] The earliest attempt of the government at starting "Western Education" was in 1909 in Nassarawa, Kano, and this was a form of Primary teacher education. The men who were taught were sent out to open Primary Schools in the Provinces.[16] This school was closed in 1914 and other centers for training teachers were opened at Sokoto, Katsina, Bida and Zaria.[17] In 1914 the building of the Kano Provincial School began, and plans for opening other schools were made at that time. The other schools were to be located at Kabba

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[15] Williams, op. cit., p.7.
"By 1913 the missions had twenty-nine schools in operation, four primary and twenty-five elementary, with approximately 604 pupils on roll. The furthest penetration north by missions was Zaria, where the Church Missionary Society had a school which Dr. Walter Miller opened in 1901."

[16] Annual Report of the Education Department, Northern Region, April 1953-March 1954, Government Printer Publishers, Kaduna, 1954, p. 42.

[17] Williams, op. cit., p. 11.
"In Bida a school had been in existence since 1912. This was known as 'The Bida N.A. School', and is probably the first school to be supported and run as a solely N.A. venture. Mallam Abubakar began the school and it flourished until 1914, when it was amalgamated with the Provincial School, opened by Mr. Bieneman (G.S.J. Bieneman, O.B.E. Assistant Director of Education, Northern Region, 1934-1944) with M. Nagwamatas as assistant. This was for young children up to the age of seven and was paid for by the Emir and carried on in buildings in his palace."

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and among the Tiv people in the Benue area.[18]

In 1915 additional schools were opened in Bernin-Kebbi, Bauchi and Maiduguri. By 1918 there was a movement to develop additional educational facilities in the non-Moslim areas, that is at Dakina and Wannuna among the Tiv people.[19] At this time in England the United Kingdom Education Act of 1918 was passed and this act had its effect on future Nigerian planning for education. It provided for more than the traditional academic education for a few privileged, rather, it was a move toward providing technical and 'modern' education as well.[20] Programs of these types were introduced primarily in the Southern Provinces.

D.H. Williams records the educational conferences of 1927[21] as being significant because they brought together the Voluntary Agencies with the Ministry of Education. Contributions of the Voluntary Agency groups in future years, as well as the support given to them by the Government, produced significant results educationally.

Proposals for educational expansion were made in the 1930 Legislative Council in the form of a "Sessional Paper on Education Policy in Nigeria".[22] The Great Depression of the 1930's had adverse effects on this planning because of the return of many educational staff to the United Kingdom.

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[18] Ibid, p. 13. [19] Ibid, p. 14. [20] Ibid, p.21.
[21] Ibid, p.45. [22] Ibid, p. 47.

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Williams states, "The problem was now to hold on to what had been achieved."[23] During this slump period the departments of education for the Northern Provinces and the Southern Provinces, which had been separate up to this time, were merged into a central department.[24]

The decade following this merger is recorded as a decade of increasing awareness in the Northern Provinces of the need for more emphasis on 'Western type' schools.[25]

The role of colonial planners in education appeared to be strong during the period just before the Second World War in comparison to any Nigerian role in educational matters in the North. This is understandable as there was a great lack of overseas-trained Nigerian personnel during this period. Coleman records that

> " . . . by 1937 only **one** Northerner had gained entry in Yaba Higher College, and as late as 1951 the 16 million people of the North could point to only one of their number who had obtained a full university degree - and he was a Zaria Fulani, a convert to Christianity educated in England by Walter Miller." [26]

Though there were educational meetings and councils during the years of World War II, these had little effect on internal planning, though the future was considered. According

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[23] Ibid.

[24] James S. Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1958, p. 138.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid, p. 139.

to Williams the British Government " . . . was very much alive to the problems attendant on making reality of the Commonwealth of Self Governing States."[27] This was not made a reality until 1960.

The Ten Year Educational Plan produced in 1942 and published in Lagos, did make a statement about the direction and goals for Nigerian secondary schools.

> It is hoped that the new secondary schools can be stopped from developing into cramming institutions for School Certificate. New secondary schools situated in urban areas will be able to make use of the technical centers which it is proposed to establish under the Technical Training scheme. They will produce a better type of candidate for training as tradesmen for the Public Works Department and other departments, as well as for work demanding a higher standard of education. Unless secondary education is very carefully directed in the coming years, the result will be a superfluity of potential clerks for whom there will be little prospect of employment. [28]

In similar vein, Okere's Master's thesis records the concern of Nigerians about the educational system in Nigeria during 1945. Of interest is his concern with the academic nature of the curriculum brought by the colonial administrations. He states:

> In West Africa education adheres, for the most part, strictly to a literary curriculum inherited from England. In England literary education, even if it is regarded as inadequate on the ground of excluding some

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[27] Williams, loc. cit.

[28] Ten Year Educational Plan, Government Printer, Lagos, 1942. Copy of despatch to Secretary of State for Colonies and copy of comments on plan of Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. (paragraph 22 of Despatch). No. 14, by Mr. C.R. Butler, O.B.E.

> matter relevant to life in industrialized society, has the merit of including a good deal that relates very closely to the life of the pupil. [29]

Okere goes on to point out that little of the curriculum is adapted to Nigerian needs, and the barrier of English as a medium of instruction creates great problems of communication and understanding for pupils in the learning process.

After 1943, reacting to newly developing Southern nationalistic feelings, Northerners began to organize because of their fear that they would be dominated by the South.

> This fear, allegedly encouraged by the Northern administration, stimulated educated Northerners into a frenzy of organizational activity and more significantly, awakened a strong cultural nationalism directed not only against the educated Southerner, but also against the British administration. [30]

In 1945 both Colonial educators in Nigeria and educators in the United Kingdom concerned themselves with planning for wider curriculum offerings in Nigerian schools. The Report of the Education Department pointed out the lack of awareness of the role or function of 'Sixth Form' in Nigeria. [31] The same report also mentions that Kaduna College was the only full secondary school for the entire Northern Region. [32] In

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[29] C.A. Okere, Education in Nigeria, Considered in Connection with Educational Development in British Tropical Africa, M.A.Thesis,1945, Institute of Education, Univ. of London, p.33.

[30] Coleman, op. cit., p. 140.

[31] Report of the Education Department, Sessional Paper No. 15 of 1947 Legislative Council, April 1, 1945-December 31, 1946, para. 32, p. 10. (Chapter V. Secondary Education).

[32] Ibid, para. 36, p. 11.

England the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa was published in June of 1945. This report was the seed for the planning and development of the Nigerian technical colleges to be built later at Kaduna, Enugu and Yaba.[33] This recommendation is significant in the history of educational planning for the North as it was the germ of an idea which developed into a type of Sixth Form work, and later became part of the university in Northern Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University. It was, in effect, the idea from which higher education was developed for Northern Nigeria.

> From these small beginnings has developed an ever-increasing flow, which will not cease until Nigeria has the facilities for higher training sufficient to meet her growing needs.[34]

In 1947 another important document appeared which also affected educational policy for future years. This was the Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria,[35] which hinted

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[33] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, June 1945, p. 120. "We recommend . . . the first technical institute for Nigeria should be centered near Lagos . . . at Yaba. We visualize a future need for institutes at Enugu and Kaduna. The Higher College at Yaba can provide not only the building but also . . . equipment, and we recommend that it should become the technical institute of Nigeria."

[34] Williams, op. cit., p.50.

[35] Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria, op. cit., p.22. "In many quarters the aim of secondary education has been, and still is, interpreted in a narrow and almost exclusively materialistic sense. One result is that one type of curriculum is almost exclusively followed . . . . limited to academic subjects, . . . most of which are chosen . . . because the staff and the training can be easily provided for them." See also: S. Phillipson, C.M.G., Nigeria: Grant in Aid of Education, Gov't. Printers, Lagos, 1948, p.138.

strongly at the possible areas of dysfunction of the type of educational system being established in Nigeria. It also warned of the possibility of using the School Certificate examination as a " . . . passport to office employment."[36] It spoke of the examination systems established in Nigeria as being unfortunate and unsuited for Nigeria and basically British.[37] Of significant interest is the report's outlining of future curriculum for Nigerian schools based on the Norwood Committee's recommendations. These took the form of those for, or in favor of the report, and those against.

"(a) The case in favor. The existence of an external examination has a tonic effect upon the pupil, giving him a goal towards which to strive and a stimulus to urge him to attain it."[38] The 'case against' argued that the School Certificate examination was harmful to pupils and teachers and to education.

> It is the task of the school to provide the goal and the stimulus in the way most appropriate to it, without the aid of an external examination which pervades the consciousness of pupil and teacher. At present the examination dictates the curriculum and cannot do otherwise; it confines experiment, limits free choice of subjects, hampers treatment of subjects, encourages wrong values in the classroom.[39]

The warnings implicit in the 'case against' were ignored and a rigid system of examinations was introduced in Northern Nigeria, which has persisted to this date and which functions as

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[36] *Ibid.* [37] *Ibid*, p.23-24.

[38] *Ibid.* [39] *Ibid.*

a viable device for screening for universities and institutions of higher learning in Nigeria and abroad. The Memorandum reviewed both positions and set forth its position which became, for future years, the basis for the development and expansion of examinations at the end of secondary and Sixth form levels.

> In the last twenty years the examination has rendered useful and valuable service under the skillful and devoted labours of the University Examining Bodies. At a time when the rapid expansion of secondary schools caused uncertainty about standards in the different subjects of the curriculum, when newly recruited teachers bringing with them little tradition and little experience were in doubt about aims and methods, syllabuses and curricula, the programme put before them in carefully devised regulations exerted a steadying influence, gave a sense of direction, defined levels of achievement and helped in no small measure to establish secondary education on a sure and sound basis. To the beneficial influence of the examination in past years we wish to pay sincere tribute.[40]

Though the Memorandum goes on at some length to warn that the examination can become a work ticket, can become a qualification entry to Government service, can dominate the students' work and minds, the curriculum and the school itself, it leaves the examination system much in its 'present' form, without change, except for calling for the importation of more expatriate educators to bolster the 'present' system of secondary education and its examination system.[41]

The year 1948 was also an important year in educational planning and progress. A survey of Grant-in-Aids was

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

published by Sir Sydney Phillipson.[42] Also a new "Education Ordinance" was passed. J.S. Coleman stated,

> Finally, the year 1948 marked the turning point in education. In August of that year the Education Ordinance, the first major educational plan applying to the whole of Nigeria, was approved by the Legislative Council. It proposed the establishment of a wide net-work of boards and commissions, which would be heavily Nigerianized; a new system of grant-in-aids; and an appropriation for education which was double that of 1945, and five times that of 1940. In addition the Ordinance gave native authority councils the power, previously denied in the south, to levy local rates. For the first time in history the people of southern Nigeria were forced to realize that alleviation of their insatiable hunger for education was limited only by what they were willing to pay in taxes.[43]

In addition to this, the first institution of higher learning, the University College of Nigeria, Ibadan, opened its doors in January 1948. This development set the stage for the need to develop and train high-level manpower to fill the university. Secondary education in Nigeria had to be reviewed in terms of this need. The role of this University and other universities in Nigeria which developed later, strongly influenced the development of Higher School Certificate programs in Northern Nigeria.[44]

In 1949 the focus of the initial development of Higher School Certificate was on the only full secondary school in the Northern Region at this time, the Government

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[42] Phillipson, op. cit., p. 51.
"At present the only full secondary school in the North is that at Kaduna College, which is shortly moving to Zaria."

[43] Coleman, op. cit., p. 315.

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> Kaduna College, the only full secondary school for boys in the Northern Region, is on the up-grade. Numbers are rising, the staff is growing in strength and, with the move to permanent buildings at Zaria within measurable distance, the outlook is bright. The College will occupy a key position in the Northern Provinces during the next few critical years. [45]

This prediction became a reality, for in 1950 the first attempt to organize and begin a formal Higher School Certificate program was undertaken, though the academic results were not what had been predicted.

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[45] Annual Report of Education Department, 1947, Sessional Paper No. 4, of 1949, Laid on the Table of Legislative Council, Government Printers, Lagos, 1949, p. 27, para. 45.

III. THE FIRST HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PROGRAM IN NORTHERN NIGERIA - 1950

> Mass education came to be recognized as a prime national requisite for wealth, happiness and good government, following the political and constitutional changes in the decade 1950-1960. It became clear that education alone was the key to national prosperity and enlightened government. [46]

In Northern Nigeria, in 1949, the only secondary school at the level which could train boys for entry into institutions of higher learning was the Kaduna College. This institution moved to Zaria in 1949,[47] and became the Government College Zaria. In June of 1949 an examination was given to a select group of students in Forms VI A and VI B. These students were in the last year of a regular secondary school program, and were being prepared for the London Matriculation Examination. Mr. H.R. Phillips, the Acting Deputy Director in 1948-1949, writes:

> Twenty-three boys have left from the two Sixth Forms. It is most gratifying to remark the number, eight who have applied for training as Higher Elementary Certificate Teachers at the new Centre which will open in Katsina in April. In June, the end of the first term, there was an examination of VI A and VI B. The standard was London Matriculation. From the results, twenty boys were selected for University College Entrance Examination in March, and London Matriculation in June 1949. [48]

The following section comprises the text of the field

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[46] Nigeria, News from Information Division Nigerian Consulate-General, Features Service Bulletin, New York, (undated).

[47] Annual Report of Education Department, for the year 1948, Sessional Paper No. 8, of 1950, p. 33.

[48] Ibid.

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notes of the writer taken during an interview with Mr. A.R. Allen on June 21, 1967, at Ahmadu Bello University. At the time of the establishment of Higher School Certificate at Zaria, Mr. Allen was working as an Education Officer in Northern Nigeria and was intimately acquainted with this initial program. His remarks are verified by the Annual Report of the Department of Education of January 1, 1950 to March 31, 1951, which appear in the text later. (See Footnote 53).

Personal Interview held with Mr. A.R. Allen, June 21, 1967, at Ahmadu Bello University, Northern Region. (Field Notes).

Topic: Origins of Sixth Form lie in the need to get Northerners into University College Ibadan.

In 1949 (Sir) Christopher Cox came to Nigeria and started discussion about the Sixth Form. The Colonial Office had a great deal to say about educational matters in Nigeria at this time. For instance, if the Educational Advisor from the Secretary of State came to Nigeria, what he said was listened to. He came to Zaria and as a result of his visit a report was given to him. It was clear that the problem of getting Northern students into Ibadan was in everyone's mind. Up until 1949 Zaria Secondary School had taken the old Middle Six examination. There was then great hostility to any external examination for the North. It was felt by many Northerners that Middle Six was just as good as the School Certificate. Cox agreed that Middle Six was good, but he couldn't reconcile the fact that it could be considered better than School Certificate because Zaria had 34 out of 42 pass the Middle Six examination, but out of this group only two could gain entry into Ibadan. This entry into Ibadan was the London Matriculation or Ibadan Entry Examination. This means actually that a matriculation pass into London University was taken as sufficient standard for entry into University College Ibadan.

This problem was, if they were not passing these external examinations, how were they to get into Ibadan. Mr. W.A. Spicer, the Principal of Zaria, wanted the students to continue to take the London Matriculation. But Cox felt that Cambridge University external examinations were better. In 1949 Cambridge examinations were started in Zaria up to School Certificate level, not to H.S.C.

The boys stayed on an extra year and took the Ibadan entrance examination in June (1949).

This first attempt to take a Sixth Form in Zaria was in 1950. Five boys were enrolled in the program.

By May everyone was so unhappy with the whole business that a Confidential Report was written by the staff. Some Staff Reactions from the Report:

a. E.L. Russel: Morale is low. The boys came back for two more years against parental opposition. They were unable to do true Sixth Form work because they lacked the ability. The boys said: 'What is the use of H.S.C? It is not a Nigerian entrance examination'.

(Some people felt that the introduction of this Sixth Form was an attempt by the Colonial British to hold back Africans from advancement. They had seen that other Nigerians had gained university entry by means other than H.S.C. so they were skeptical).

b. Mr. Whitehouse: English: The boys want an easier way into Ibadan. They won't read their English books, they have no idea of how to go about studying by themselves.

c. History Masters: The students have an inability to work on their own, and they have a despondency when they fail examinations.

d. Physics Master: "Why do we have to do this type of schooling?" All are seeking an easier way into University.

e. Spicer, the Principal: The Principal asked the Department of Education if the students were going to have to continue for five terms more. Even if two got into Ibadan that leaves three. It is clear that this year (1950) was premature for H.S.C. work. Kaduna referred the matter to Lagos, and it was agreed that the course should be closed.

Report of the Secretary of State Education Study Group: Dr. G.B. Jeffrey, the Director of the Institute of Education at London. (The Study Group Report was published in 1952).

"He wrote a report which led to the establishment of the West African Examination Council. He agreed that it was unwise to push H.S.C. work at the present stage of secondary school development. He advised that what the boys should do is to take extra studies and try to pass the Ibadan entrance examinations." (Allen). (Sixth Form therefore lasted one term in 1950).

This going back to the old system was very successful. The next development was the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Zaria, which ran A Level classes of the G.C.E. The year it began to do this was probably 1952 or 1953. This provided an alternative to Sixth Form by means of the A Level course work offered. This took away some of the feelings against H.S.C. felt previously

at Zaria Secondary School. Those who were enrolled at the Nigerian College were there on scholarships from the Scholarship Board. There was no required wearing of uniforms, that is, students felt more like adults. This was popular with students. This practice continued up until 1960. The great majority of Nigerian Graduates who got into the University of Ibadan got in by means of two A Level G.C.E. passes through their Nigerian College work.

This system of entry to University was popular with students and lasted ten years. Because of the freedom given students, because of the money provided, etc., therefore it was very difficult to supplant this system by the Sixth Form, H.S.C. work.

The Nigerian College system for university entry continued for some time. But it was expensive and it was going against the pattern of educational trends in the south of Nigeria where the establishment of Sixth Form work was successful. It ended in 1962 when Nigerian College became a part of Ahmadu Bello University.

Mr. Samuel Adenyi, Principal of St. Paul's Secondary School (one of the first persons to go through the early phases of the development of Higher School Certificate in Northern Nigeria as a student), gives an interesting perspective to this aspect of Sixth Form development.[49] Mr. Adenyi, a Nigerian, became the first Nigerian Principal of a secondary school in Northern Nigeria and speaks from the experience of having attended the old Kaduna College and the Government Secondary School at Zaria as well. According to Mr. Adenyi the earliest post-secondary work consisted of students preparing for the Middle Six Examination as early as 1948. In 1947 " . . . students from the old Kaduna College used to take Nigerian Middle Six. This became Northern Middle Six in 1948.

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[49]This information was given by Mr. Adenyi during an interview on September 2, 1966, at St. Paul's Secondary School near Zaria, and also by written communication on February 10, 1967.

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I do not know the reason for this change. This examination is not equivalent to the London Intermediate Examination. In 1948 Kaduna College began preparing some of its brighter students who had finished the four year course leading to Nigerian Middle Six, for Ibadan University Entrance Examination which was usually taken in May. Thus such students would have an extra term in school."[50]

According to this informant the first successful establishment of work equivalent to Higher School Certificate was done in 1952-1953 at the newly established Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology on the Samaru campus. However, this work was actually the G.C.E. (Advanced Level), and was limited to technical subjects offered at the College. One student of this institution applied and sat for the Higher School Certificate rather than take the G.C.E. (A Level) and passed. If this was the case, this student (who later became a leading Nigerian author, educationalist and university lecturer) was the first person in Northern Nigeria to take the Higher School Certificate successfully,[51] though not of Northern Nigerian origin tribally.

Planning for the First H.S.C. Program

The only H.S.C. program officially planned and introduced

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[50] "Ammended Interview and Comments", Mr. S. Adenyi, Principal, St. Paul's College, Zaria, Northern Nigeria, February 10, 1967.

[51] Name withheld at request of Mr. Adenyi.

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was at the Zaria Secondary School in 1950, but it ended soon after it began.[52] The Annual Report of the Department of Education comments on it in this way. "A small group started on Sixth Form work in 1950, but at the end of the first term the boys had little confidence in their ability to cover the wide range of reading required and the course was abandoned."[53]

The Director of Education in Lagos wrote a letter on January 26th, 1950, to the regional Deputy Directors and the Colony Education Officer.[54] To this letter was attached a document called "Resolution Passed at Meeting of Principals of Secondary Schools on 21st January, 1950". This resolution spoke of the need to provide for post-School Certificate education for Nigerian students.[55]

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[52] Records for the planning which brought about this first abortive attempt at H.S.C. establishment were located in the National Archives at Kaduna. The text of all materials relating to this planning was taken from photo-copies or original documents with permission of the Senior Archivist to whom I am grateful. These plans are recorded in full in Appendices A, B, and C, attached to this study.

[53] Annual Report of the Department of Education for the period Jan. 1, 1950-March 31, 1951, Laid on Table of House of Representatives, as Sessional Paper No.9, of 1952, Government Printers, Lagos, 1952, para. 70.
See also: Annual Report of Department of Education for year 1949, Sessional Paper No.16 of 1951, Government Printers, Lagos, 1951, p.62.
"An Upper VI remained in the school to take University College entrance and there was some consternation when none passed the Ibadan entrance, though four were eventually accepted. It seems that although many passed various papers, some doing extremely well, none passed in all subjects, and a weakness in Physics not unexpected, was the main source of trouble."

[54] See Appendix A.

[55] See Appendix A, 2.

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Those present at the meeting which formulated the "Resolution" were Government Education Officers from all the regions, Principals of secondary schools from all parts of Nigeria, officials from the University College Ibadan, and a visitor, Dr. G.B. Jeffrey, the Director of the Institute of Education, London. It is doubtful if a more prestigious cross-section of educational specialists could have been brought together for planning purposes.[56]

The meeting records begin with a speech by Dr. Jeffrey who, among other recommendations, warns that the " . . . secondary schools in Nigeria are not ready to undertake the Sixth form work represented by a full Higher School Certificate with the expectation that that work can be done in the immediate future in a way that would represent a sound foundation for university work."[57]

Following these remarks the conference discussed at great length the problem of "rushing the fences"; however, they eventually came to the point where the general opinion was in favor of trying pilot programs of Higher Certificate work.

Following in the wake of the meeting, actually only six days later, a letter was sent to educational leaders throughout Nigeria, requesting a survey of possible candidates

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[56]See Appendis A, 3, "Those Present".

[57]See Appendix A, 4.

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for the Higher School Certificate work.[58] By February 15, 1950, a letter by the Principal of Zaria Secondary School to the Deputy Director of Education, discussed actual plans and needs for the program.[59]

On March 1, 1950, Dr. G.B. Jeffrey reported to the Secretary of State stating that provision should be made for holding the Higher School Certificate Examination. He also warned of the possibility that this might prove to be a premature move.[60] Soon after this, on April 7, a letter was sent by the Director of Education to all Deputy Directors, requesting a new survey of suitable candidates for Higher School Certificate work. He also advised at some length concerning teacher qualifications as well as curricular matters for Sixth Form, which became the rule-of-thumb in future years.

Mr. J.R. Bunting's address before the Western Conference of Principals, provides a most fitting commentary on the attempt to establish Higher School Certificate work and closely ties this to the 'British Tradition'. His final words are a directive toward careful evaluation of future educational needs in Nigeria.

> We stand, then, today at a very crucial stage in the educational history of this country. New problems have arisen, new opportunities present themselves. Of all countries it is true to say that 'Upon the education of the people of this country, the fate of this country

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[58] See Appendix B, Letter 1.

[59] See Appendix B, Letter 2 and 3.

[60] See Appendix B, 5.

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depends'. Let us therefore take up the challenge together and by self-examination ensure that we are adjusting our secondary education to the needs of present day Nigeria. One man's educational meat may not provide the best nutrition for his brother. Adherence to what has proved clearly valuable in the past together with wise innovation and modifications for the future will help to ensure the fulfilment of our aims. It is then, because I feel that we might find not only the safest but the best highway for our future progress along these lines, that I have spoken today on tradition and innovation in secondary education. [61]

The recorded comments of Dr. Jeffrey, as well as the Principal of the University College Ibadan, (called U.C.I.), and other educational administrators presents for the reader a series of arguments which led to decisions regarding Higher School Certificate establishment. The first speaker of the conference, Dr. Jeffrey, mentioned that he was involved in the entire history of Higher School Certificate establishment in the United Kingdom. From his understanding, the grammar schools in England slowly took over the preparatory work being done in the universities. He states that, because the schools were up-graded over a forty year period, they were able to offer Higher School Certificate work in the Sixth Form. (See Appendix A).

Immediately following this warning a question was asked as to whether the real pressure for establishing Higher School Certificate was being exerted by the universities both abroad and at home. The answer appeared to be given in these proceedings in the form of reactions by various conference members.

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[61] See Appendix C.

The consensus of the meeting was that the universities were the main reason why the Principals were interested in Sixth Form work. They were interested in seeing their candidates obtain entry into institutions of higher learning. The schools at that time were unable to train their students to the level required by universities both at home and abroad.

It was suggested by one member that such training could be given students at the University College Ibadan in an 'Intermediate Course'. The Principal of U.C.I. reacted against such a suggestion immediately. Dr. Jeffrey supported this reaction by stating that the U.C.I. should not become a preparatory school for other universities overseas.

Again the focus of attention of the conference members was shifted back toward the secondary schools. These schools were considered to be the only place where such training could be given.

Mr. Adelaja, a Nigerian Principal of the C.M.S. Methodist Boys' High School, brought up a suggestion which went back to Dr. Jeffrey's introductory speech. He mentioned that perhaps the answer lay not in raised standards for U.C.I., but in slightly lowered entry standards so that Nigerian schools could evolve more slowly and eventually take up Higher School Certificate work. U.C.I., however, reported it was raising standards to keep up with foreign trends, and because it was a 'University College', it attempted to maintain standards similar to those in the United Kingdom.

At this point Dr. Jeffrey warned that U.C.I. should not become the policy-maker for curricular decisions of Nigeria's secondary schools. However, he suggested a close tie between the schools and the University.

The meeting eventually moved in the direction of an agreement to establish Higher School Certificate in secondary schools. The U.C.I. Principal agreed that a compromise could be made. The two year 'Intermediate Course' offered at Ibadan would be reduced to one year, and the schools would attempt programs of Higher School Certificate work. Higher School Certificate classes, therefore, were first established because there was pressure brought to bear on Principals to establish them, from the universities through raised entry standards, and because of pressure brought upon teachers and administrators by Northerners eager to get more of their students into U.C.I. The annual reports indicate that few Northerners were entering U.C.I. and that few were able to get placed overseas. Higher School Certificate classes at Zaria Secondary School appeared to be the answer to these problems.

Plans were initiated soon after the conference to establish Sixth Forms in leading Nigerian schools. (See Appendix B and C). The initial attempt at Zaria failed. It was not until eight years later that another attempt was made at Keffi Secondary School which was eventually successful.

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IV. SUMMARY OF INTRODUCTORY SECTION

It is evident that expatriate educators, Colonial administrators and Nigerian educators were concerned about the development of the educational system for Nigeria which has been noted in the historical literature. One major concern of planners was that the Nigerian educational system should not be dominated by a rigid examinations system. Though this concern was reiterated by various writers and by planning groups, the educational system did in fact remain dominated by examinations.

The opening of the University College at Ibadan put pressure on the secondary schools to provide suitable candidates. The first real planning for Higher School Certificate programs for Northern Nigeria came about in 1950 as a direct result of this need to train students for entry to the University College.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PHASE OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXPANSION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

I. 1951-1960. HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE AND POST-SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Subsequent to the planning which occured in 1950 for the establishment of Sixth Form (H.S.C.) classes, educational surveys were made in Northern Nigeria to determine whether there were sufficient suitably qualified students available for such work.[1] By April of 1951 the Director of Education for Nigeria indicated that the results of the survey were "somewhat fragmentary"[2] and requested another survey by the end of July of the same year. The possibility of establishing a 'Regional College' at Enugu was also considered at this time. Such a move, however, which would allow for an annual intake of fifty students into a two year program, was considered to be costly and would delay opening H.S.C. streams for the Northern Region per se. However, provision would be made in this arrangement for inclusion of Northern students into the school at Enugu if it were established. It is noteworthy that fourteen

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[1] See Appendix E, Document 2526, para.1, Director of Education, Lagos, April 7, 1951. No. D.E. 3067/159.

[2] Ibid.

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years later (1966) the All Nigeria Principals' Conference discussed the possibility of a similar arrangement to take the place of H.S.C. work connected to the secondary schools, but this time the proposal was for much larger 'intermediate schools' to be established in the regions or areas, or three or four 'junior college' type of schools.[3]

Plans for the Establishment of the First H.S.C. Program: Zaria

The direction taken at this point in 1951 was to instruct Regional Directors and Principals to establish Sixth Form work in conjunction with schools already underway. Warning was given by the Director that the existing programs of secondary education should not be jeopardized by the addition of Sixth Form work. Part of the reason for this note of caution was the matter of expense involved, and part was the possibility that sufficient teachers of the right caliber would be difficult to find. Added to this was the problem of inducing qualified graduates to enter the teaching profession. Government administrative posts proved more lucrative. The authority and status of an administrative post in 'Government Service' drew graduates away from the schools. Mr. Mason, the Director of Education in Lagos in 1951 made this suggestion:

> The Board suggested that, although it was not within their terms of reference, every effort should be made to induce graduates holding honours degrees and now

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[3] Conference Report, 1966, All Nigeria Conference of Principals, 1966, (for private circulation) pp. 45 and 76.

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employed in the Administration, to revert to the teaching side of the Service. [4]

The only institution seriously considered for beginning Higher School Certificate at this time was Zaria Secondary School. (As has been previously noted, the initial attempt at this school failed). The correspondence between school administrators in May of 1951 indicated a hesitancy to initiate Sixth Form work. The Regional Deputy Director of Education for the Northern Provinces, Mr. F.D. Hibbert, wrote:

> With reference to your letter etc. . . the Principal of Zaria Secondary School has informed me that there are two boys in the present Form VI who have the necessary ability, but in general he does not think the school will be able to establish a Higher School Certificate class until the boys at the top of the school will have been right through the course from Form I to Form VI. [5]

Plans for the Development of Other Post-Secondary School Programs

Other notes and correspondence indicate that two other schools were discussed as possible sites for H.S.C. work. These were the Roman Catholic Girls' Secondary School Kakuri,[6] and Offa Grammar School.

In 1951 the Offa Grammar School was discussed as being a possible place to begin a new Higher School Certificate

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[4] See Appendix E, p. 3, para. 1. [5] Ibid.

[6] The Queen of the Apostles Secondary School at Kakuri (Kaduna) was a full secondary school by 1953, however, the majority of the students were non-Northerners. Only 17 of the girls enrolled were of Northern origin. Source: Annual Report of Education Department: Northern Region, April 1953-March 1954 Government Printers, 1954, p.7.

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program. Though this was true, up until 1967 no Higher School Certificate was in fact established at this school. The writer was unable to locate any written information which would provide a clue to the reason for rejecting the Offa site as a place to begin Higher School Certificate. There is the possibility, however, that three factors were involved in rejecting this school for such a program. First, the school was a Voluntary Agency school, and was therefore not ideal for beginning a pilot H.S.C. program in the North, because the Ministry of Education would have only a limited say in its operation and staff recruitment. Second, the school was located on the periphery of the Northern Region in Ilorin Province and would serve a local population which was predominantly 'Northern Yoruba'. Third, the area in which the school was located was under territorial dispute.[7] Kabba and Ilorin Provinces were claimed by the Western Region as being part of its territory. However, both Ilorin and Kabba remained under the Northern Region until the formation of the new states in 1967. It is most likely that the Northern Region sought to open its first H.S.C. school in a school more centrally located in the Northern Region.

The Roman Catholic Girls' School at Kakuri, near Kaduna, though in the center of the Northern Region, was a Voluntary Agency school and many of the girls in the school

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[7]"Minorities Commission - Northern Region", Map 3, Federal Survey Department, Nigeria, 1958.

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were non-Northerners or from the Ilorin area. Other reasons may have existed for not beginning an H.S.C. stream at this school, but the fact remains that it was not selected.

The only H.S.C. stream to be opened in Ilorin Province during the period between 1960 and 1967 was at the Queen Elizabeth Secondary School, Ilorin, which was opened in 1956 as a secondary school, and which added an H.S.C. Arts stream in 1963. This school served all of the Northern Provinces. It was the only all-girls Government school with an H.S.C. program in the North until 1966.

During the early fifties there were numerous statements made by Colonial advisors about the plans for development of post-secondary school programs.[8] These plans were being discussed in order to find ways for Northern students to get into the University College Ibadan. In 1952 only nine Northerners attended the University College Ibadan.[9] The highly competitive examinations made it possible for only a few to pass into the University annually. The Annual Report of 1949 published in 1951, indicated the concern of Northern educators regarding the inability of Northern students to pass the

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[8] "Educational Problems and Progress in 1952",(Nigeria-Northern Region) Government Printer, Nigeria, 1953, p.9. (mimeographed). "The present 'Educational Policy' is to raise the standards of existing schools until they are double stream and have reached Secondary VI standard, and to upgrade all Provincial Middle schools till they reach Secondary VI standard." p.12.

[9] See Appendix F, p.10.
Also:"Educational Problems and Progress in 1952", Ibid, p.7.

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> An Upper VI remained in the school (Zaria) to take University College entrance and there was some consternation when none passed the Ibadan entrance examination, though four were eventually admitted. [10]

The school Admissions Register tells much the same story. A total of only ten possible candidates are accounted for in 1950-1951. (See Table 1, p. 81). This meant that in 1950 the above mentioned four were admitted, yet during the 1951-1952 period only five additional Northern students were admitted. Mr. Adenyi's account (see page 67) and the statement made by Mr. A.R. Allen (see page 64) indicate that a high percentage of these students were of Yoruba origin and not Northerners in the sense of having parents from among the Northern tribal groups, especially of the Hausa of the far North. It is understandable that great concern would be exhibited by Northern educational advisors and especially by those who were concerned with the North's political image. Another reason why students were not motivated to attempt the Ibadan entrance examinations was that the extremely small numbers of Northerners at Ibadan made them a very small minority in the University College.

> In the past, students have not wanted to go there, and for two main reasons. It has been easy to get a lucrative job with a school certificate qualification, and a few of the Northerners have not been happy at

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[10] Annual Report of the Department of Education, for the year 1949, Sessional Paper No. 16 of 1951, Government Printer, Lagos, 1951, p. 62.

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Table 1

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE ZARIA, H.S.C. ENROLLMENT RECORD

"Lists and School Admissions Register" *

1949 . . . . . 20 enrolled in Upper VI.

1950 . . . . . 5 enrolled in H.S.C. Sixth.

1951 . . . . . 5 enrolled in H.S.C. Sixth.

1952 . . . . . no Sixth Form classes.

1953 . . . . . 7 enrolled in H.S.C.

1954 to 1959 . no Sixth Form classes.

1960 . . . . . 12 enrolled in Upper Sixth, Arts.

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*Copied from: Confidential Higher School Certificate File, Government College Zaria, Recorded June 7, 1967, Zaria, by the writer.

According to all published sources, the first H.S.C. in Northern Nigeria was begun at Keffi in 1959. These documents reveal that an aborted attempt was first made in Zaria (HMB).

> the College: the large number of students from other regions tended to make them feel very much in the minority and political tensions between the regions has not made the atmosphere congenial. [11]

The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology: Zaria

During the period between 1953 and 1959 another institution bore the burden of training students to the Higher School Certificate level, and this was a Federal institution called the Zaria Branch of the Nigerian Institute of Arts, Science and Technology.[12] This institution was designed to provide training for all post-secondary professional and sub-professional technical education not catered for by the Technical Institutes or the University College Ibadan. By 1958 this institution was training more than half of its students for the G.C.E. (Advanced Level). Peter Kilby writes,

> The Ashby Commission, while recognizing the College's contribution to Sixth Form education, was less pleased with its performance at the technical level. 'But in engineering the College has deviated from its original purpose, by allowing itself to be drawn into degree work and concentrating its efforts at that level . . . ' etc. (Ashby et al, p.5). As a result of the Commission's recommendation the branches of the Nigerian College were subsumed into the various regional universities in 1961. [13]

During the period when no formal Higher School

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[11] See Appendix F, p.10.

[12] C. Amu, "A Decade of Education in Nigeria", (1950-1960), Nigerian Information Division, Nigerian Consulate General, Features Service, (undated-mimeographed).

[13] Peter Kilby, Technical Education in Nigeria, 1945-65: A Critical Survey, (Preliminary Version) Nigerian SRP. AID, August, 1966, p.34.

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Certificate program existed in the North, that is from 1953 to 1960, hundreds of students were trained in the preliminary courses offered at the Zaria College of Arts, Science and Technology. The Report of the Visitation (Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology)[14] noted that by 1954 there were 135 enrolled in a program which in essence was similar to that of the traditional H.S.C. work. By 1958 this study reports an increase to 401 students in this program. The enrollment in this program comprised 56% of the student population at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology.

Higher School Certificate Programs Institutionalized: Keffi

During the 1951-1952 period, the focus for the development of Higher School Certificate work was on Government College Keffi. At this time this school was located in temporary quarters at Kaduna Junction, but was to be moved to its permanent site at Keffi town. This school was destined to become the first school to boast a successful Higher School Certificate program in Northern Nigeria. Although policies regarding its establishment were criticized, Keffi was established to serve the "Middle Belt" area. Its student population was statedly to be drawn from Voluntary Agency schools or Mission schools. Thus the majority of the student body was

[14]See Appendix G, No. 15.

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Christian rather than Moslem.[15] The Government College Zaria, on the other hand, was planned to serve a predominantly Moslem student population. The first H.S.C. class to get started was in 1959. Government College Zaria began H.S.C. work in 1960, a year later, though the earliest attempts at post-secondary work for University College entry began in this school in 1951-1952 (See Table 1, page 81).

The "Middle Belt" mentioned above, refers to a roughly delineated geographical area comprised of the Benue, Ilorin and Kabba Provinces. The vast majority of the people who live in this area bordering on the River Niger and the River Benue have been termed "pagans". During the establishment of the "Northern Protectorate" in 1900 under Lord Lugard, this "Middle Belt" area was the first to be subdued. Christian Missions were allowed to enter the area by 1909 and began to establish schools.

To the North, Moslem Hausas under the Emirs resisted the encroachment of British rule; however, by 1906 Lugard had

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[15] Annual Report of the Education Department, Northern Region, April 1953-March 1954, Government Printers Publishers, Kaduna, 1954, p. 52.
See also: Nigeria, Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire Into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them, Presented to Parliament by Secretary of State for the Colonies by Command of Her Majesty, July 1958, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1958, p. 114.
p.65. "(29) It was suggested that it was discriminatory that the Government College at Zaria should be reserved for Muslim students and that Christians, even from the neighbourhood of Zaria, should be sent to the College at Keffi; but when there are two institutions there are good reasons for concentrating Muslims in one and Christians in another, since provision can thus be made for religious instruction and for different food."

established British rule as far North as Chad. This 'rule' was a loose arrangement whereby the Emirs were allowed to govern their people as before, but paid allegiance to the British. Lugard installed each of the Emirs as a protégé, however, insured loyalty by establishing a British official and a small garrison near to each emirate. The Emirs were allowed to continue to educate the people by means of the Koranic schools. In addition to this, Lugard agreed that Christian Missions should be kept out of the far North.

In regards to the status of secondary education in 1953, the Annual Report of the Department of Education states,

> There are at present in the Region two Government Secondary Schools, five Native Authority Secondary Schools and eight Voluntary Agency Secondary Schools. It is proposed to up-grade seven additional Middle Schools to Junior Secondary Schools in 1955. [16]

Plans were laid for the opening of the Girls' Queen Elizabeth Secondary School Ilorin during this period as well. The Secondary School at Kaduna Junction began plans to move to Keffi and hoped to be able to offer the School Certificate examination at the end of 1954. At Zaria, out of the 38 candidates for the School Certificate, 34 passed. This accomplishment was heralded as a tribute to the retiring Principal, Mr. A.W.A Spicer.[17]

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[16] Annual Report, 1953, Ibid, p. 20, para. 67.

[17] Ibid, p. 20, para. 68.

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Educational Programs and University Entry

The Annual Report of 1953-1954 reiterated the previously expressed concern for more Northerners to be enrolled at the University College Ibadan:

> The paucity of Northerners at University College, Ibadan, continues to be the subject of unfavourable comment, but at least one Northerner has graduated and is now studying education in London. The road from Secondary School to University College now lies through the Zaria Branch of Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. This branch is not a Regional institution, and it is independent of the Inspector General of Education, but it is an indispensible instrument for the post-secondary education of Northerners and the Region owes a debt of gratitude for their cooperation, particularly for arranging the special "Middle Six" course. [18]

The Report outlined the function of the "Middle Six" course as designed to provide the ex-pupils of the Zaria Secondary School, and the leavers of the Kaduna Middle College, an opportunity to study so they could sit for the General Certificate of Education.

It can be noted here that in these early phases of the development of Higher School Certificate in Northern Nigeria, that the University College Ibadan, had a rather broad and liberal policy in its selection of Northern candidates. In one case already cited, though none of the candidates passed the entrance examination, four were eventually taken. If a student could achieve the external G.C.E., consideration was also given for admittance. This of course necessitated the introduction of special 'Intermediate'

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[18] Ibid, p. 25, para. 90.

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courses[19] for students with weakness areas. The development of H.S.C. programs in the North was closely related to University College entry. At this time only one University College existed, at Ibadan, so the competitive factor loomed large for hopeful Northern candidates.

The year 1957 was a year of strengthening the existing programs of secondary education. At the end of 1956 a total of 3,263 students were enrolled in some type of secondary program in Northern Nigeria. The chart in Table 2 (page 88) gives the breakdown of this figure.

Girls' education at this time was barely getting started. Local authority schools were almost universally considered as boys' schools, however, in rare cases a girl was admitted, usually on a day-student basis. Mission sponsored secondary schools, such as the Queen of the Apostles School, provided a great service for girls' education during this period. Such schools trained about five times as many girls as were being trained in the new Queen Elizabeth School at Ilorin.

During this period, 1956-1957, no new secondary schools were opened and no further attempts were made to initiate H.S.C. programs in Northern Nigeria. Many schools, however,

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[19] University of Ibadan and Sixth Form (mimeographed paper), University of Ibadan, Nigeria (undated but later than 1966), p. 3.

"You will recall that when University College Ibadan was established there were no Sixth Form facilities in Nigeria, and students did their intermediate year at the University with the intention that this should be phased out as other facilities became available."

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Table 2

ENROLLMENT BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS (SECONDARY) *

	Schools	Male	Female	Total
Government Schools	4	576	54	630
Local Authority Schools (N.A.)	15	1411	2	1413
Aided Schools not included above	8	958	262	1220
Unaided schools	-	-	-	-
Total:	27	2945	318	3263

* Annual Summary of Education Department of Northern Nigeria, 1956-1957, Government Printer, Kaduna, Table I, p.13.

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were preparing their students for their first West African School Certificate Examination. Provincial schools such as Bauchi, Bida, and Katsina, all of which had had long histories as educational institutions in the North, offered the W.A.S.C. examination for the first time.

During 1957 the newly organized Northern Region Scholarship Board offered scholarships to 124 students.[20] Sixty-nine of these students received scholarships to attend the Nigerian College of Technology at Zaria. Thirty-nine others received scholarships to attend institutions in the United Kingdom and only nine were given scholarships for the University College Ibadan.[21] The implications to be drawn from the numbers of students being sent abroad, indicate a maneuver to overcome some of the problems inherent in the stringent entry requirements to University College Ibadan. Scholarships awarded by the Board were on the basis that a student had been able to actually qualify for a given school. Thus it appears that other academic means were sought abroad, although records are not available to indicate whether all 39 who went to study at schools in the United Kingdom were in actual university level programs.

The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Zaria had been turning out numbers of G.C.E. (Advanced

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[20] Annual Summary of Education Department of Northern Nigeria, 1956-1957, Government Printer, Kaduna, p. 25.

[21] Ibid, p. 4, para. 24.

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Level) students for seven years. Its future was discussed in 1958. In the Report of the Visitation (March-April 1958), the history of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology was reviewed, and recommendations were made about post-secondary level programs, especially Higher School Certificate, which became guidelines for development for about the next four years. In the Report the rationale for the "Intermediate Course" was presented as being a ". . . teaching equivalent to that carried out in Sixth Form of Grammar Schools".[22] Such courses were considered to be supplementary to the ongoing secondary school programs which lacked H.S.C. streams and which were in a period of being brought up to "standard". The Report also advised that the type of post-School Certificate work being given in the federally supported Nigerian College at Zaria be continued for a minimum period of four years. "Meanwhile no extension of teaching at this level in the College should be authorized either in respect of the number of subjects taught or the students admitted."[23] In actual fact no new Sixth Form work was begun, even in the established secondary schools until 1959-1960. The first H.S.C. certificate holders to leave Keffi in 1961-1962 coincided with the disbandonment of the Nigerian College at Zaria, and the establishment of Ahmadu Bello University in 1962.

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[22] Report of the Visitation, Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, March-April 1958, D. Greenway and Sons Ltd., Day and Night Printers, London, 1958, p. 4.

[23] Ibid, p. 4, para. 39.

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II. ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES DURING THE PERIOD OF PLANNING AND RAPID EXPANSION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1960-1967

The Ashby Report's Impact on H.S.C. Expansion

In April of 1959 the Federal Minister of Education appointed a Commission which had the mandate " . . . to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years."[24] The report was published in September of 1960. It quickly caught the interest of Nigerian educators and other professional educators and planners of educational programs internationally. One of the Special Reports contained in this publication was a survey of Nigeria's needs for high-level manpower prepared by Harbison. The manpower survey approach used in this study was a new approach to the problem of analyzing an African country's educational system. On the basis of the manpower approach, broad and sweeping goals were determined for a period of twenty years. These projections were later studied, analyzed and criticized. It can be noted, however, that British advisors working in the Nigerian educational system were strongly affected by the Harbison proposals. This publication, Investment in Education, was frequently referred to in Regional educational publications,

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[24] Investment in Education, The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria, 1960, Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria.

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and many of its recommendations were carried out and put into actual programs. In the immediate post-Independence years the relative economic and political stability of the country, the freedom of communication between the regional zones, the frequent inter-regional movement of educational staff attending boards, seminars and planning conferences,[25] all boded well for the development and expansion of post-Certificate programs. It will be shown in the final sections of this thesis that the National Universities Commission (see page 106) and the All Nigeria Principals' Conference discussed alternatives to the proliferation of Sixth Form work, in conjunction with existing secondary school programs. These groups, as well as the Northern Region Ministry of Education, discussed H.S.C. expansion in relation to the "Ashby" targets. These targets were evaluated in terms of university needs.

Between 1960 and 1965 four new universities were opened[26] and work was begun to establish regional federal "colleges" at the H.S.C. level, to augment the rapidly developing programs of Higher School Certificate in all the Regions. The Federal College in the North began its program with a Sixth Form and added classes on the lower levels later.

Chapter Two of the Special Reports section of Investment in Education dealt specifically with the Sixth Form and

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[25] For example, university curriculum workshops, Mission education committees, Principals' conferences, students travel from one region to university in another, etc.

[26] University of Ibadan and Sixth Forms, Ibid, p. 2.

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the examinations. Though the section is not long or exhaustive in its coverage of the work of Sixth Forms, it is a statement of great importance. This section of the "Ashby Report", as it was later called, proposed numerous possibilities regarding the placement of Sixth Form work, the role and function of Sixth Form in pre-university or pre-professional training programs, the curriculum of Sixth Forms, selection procedures, and the like.[27] Implicit in these recommendations was the concept that the Sixth Form should be expanded and should eventually become the major feeder for the universities. The universities were accepting various levels of entry qualification such as the G.C.E. (Advanced Level), W.A.S.C. and even Grade I Teacher Certificates in order to find sufficient numbers of students. The Sixth Forms provided only a portion of the university needs.

The Ashby Report called for abolishing the Nigerian Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, and turning these facilities over to the universities. The possibility of developing large separate institutions for H.S.C. level work was also discussed but rejected as unsuitable. "We can, therefore, see no virtue in fashioning a new diversity of institutions which would all be engaged in the same basic work and serving identical purposes,"[28] argued the Ashby Report. If this were

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[27] Investment in Education, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

[28] Ibid, p. 74.

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true during a period of economic stability and growth, then the argument has even greater weight for this period of national crisis in the post-1966 era. Financially, investment has already been made in eighteen Northern schools to develop Sixth Form programs. These programs have been operating and producing students for university entry. More important, establishment of large H.S.C. institutions to serve Nigeria would involve sensitive and calm communication between representatives from all over Nigeria. The geographical placement of such institutions alone would be a problem at this particular time. The Northern Region Board of Education expressed similar sentiment in June 1960 when it reported,

> This Board, being concerned that there should be a rapidly increasing supply of Northern students qualified for entry to University course, Ibadan, though an entrance examination to preliminary courses is being rapidly reduced, expresses its full support for the policy of the Ministry in developing H.S.C. courses in schools, and argues that this should be carried out rapidly enough to absorb all students completing School Certificate courses and capable of, and willing to do, H.S.C. work. [29]

Arguments put forth for the continuation of Sixth Form work in conjunction with secondary school work were many. In summary the Ashby Report's statements are paraphrased below:[30]

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[29] National Archives, Kaduna, File No. DDN 1916, subfile 13. Secondary schools Teachers-subjects taught. "Minutes of the meeting of the Northern Regional Board of Education held in Lugard Hall, 22nd and 23rd June 1960". Item 4, Matters arising, p. 6, para. 4 (xiii).

[30] Investment in Education, loc. cit.

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1. Sixth Form work belongs organically with the secondary school program since it adds strength to these schools by improving staffing, by assuring better facilities such as laboratories and libraries, and by providing a greater possibility for leadership roles for more mature H.S.C. students.

2. The academic influence of good Sixth Form work permeates the entire secondary school work and provides incentives for secondary school students.

3. Methods of selection to the H.S.C. program would be in the hands of local (or at least area) selection committees. Such selection would ensure a closer and more sensitive evaluation of students who might otherwise be missed.

4. The 1970 target of 150 Sixth Form (H.S.C.) streams for Nigeria could be most easily attained by up-grading existing secondary schools. (The matter of the possible costs of such expansion compared to other alternatives was not discussed at this point).

5. The Report suggested that Sixth Form study programs could be utilized as part of the preparation for Grade I teachers, though this in fact did not take place. (The Nigerian Certificate in Education, N.C.E. course, eventually begun in the Emergency Science School in Lagos, combined both academic training at H.S.C. level and professional training for teachers as well. This being a terminal two year program, provided "graduates" with an annual salary (if employed in the North) of £ 500+. This precluded the possibility of

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Northern students first going through an academic program in the regular H.S.C. for two years, then through other teacher training. H.S.C. leavers who found employment in schools after two years of academic training were paid less than half the rate of their counterparts from the N.C.E. program but considered themselves to be more highly qualified academically.

In spite of the warnings of the "Reference Committee on Secondary Education" held in Lagos in April 1960, Sixth Form expansion in conjunction with the secondary schools became the modus operandi. This Committee had stated in summary:

> Minute No. 3 (Item III of Agenda) THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIXTH FORM WORK.
>
> Mr. Stone introduced the subject. He said that University College Ibadan, was concerned about the development of Sixth Form work in schools. It was anxious that this work should be started on the right lines. There were various problems: 1)As most Sixth Form teachers have experience of only School Certificate teaching, there is the tendency for them to spoon-feed the pupils and they do not therefore prepare them for university work. 2)There is danger of over-specialization and narrowness of learning unless something is done to broaden Sixth Form curriculum. 3)Specialization has the tendency to descend down secondary schools and cause a further narrowing down of knowledge. 4)In view of (1) above, it is necessary to provide guidance for Sixth Form teachers, and the University College Ibadan, and the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology should help in this. 31

It is understandable that Northern educators were concerned with expanding H.S.C. work during this period (1960-1961). Statistics published by the Federal Education Department, Nigeria, reveal that less than 1½% of the total number

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31 Reference Committee on Secondary Education, General File 13, Ministry of Education, held in Lagos, Tuesday, April 12, 1960.

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Table 4b.

Region:

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Western:

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Table 3

HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY IN 1960

RESULTS

Number of Candidates in Passes in Principle Subjects

Table 4b.†

Region:	Passes 4 subj.		Passes 3 subj.		Passes 2 subj.		Pass in 1 subj.		Total Passes	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Eastern:	11	-	61	-	52	3	41	-	165	3
Lagos:	12	-	24	5	7	1	5	1	48	7
Northern:	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3	-
Western:	27	1	41	6	26	7	17	1	111	15
All Types:	51		137		98		56		352	

Region:	Fail in all subjects		Total Failures and Passes
	M	F	
Eastern:	20	2	190
Lagos:	1	-	56
Northern:	3	-	6 *
Western	9	1	136
All Types:	36		388

* In the entire Northern Region only 1.05% of the country's total H.S.C. Cambridge passes for 1960 is represented. Note also that there were no passes in 4 or 3 subjects. It has not been able to be determined where these six students were enrolled in H.S.C. work in 1958-1960. Perhaps this was achieved by correspondence with overseas schools.

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†Federal Education Department, Nigeria, Digest of Statistics, 1960. Published by Federal Information Service for Chief Advisor on Education, Lagos, 1960.

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of H.S.C. candidate passes in the entire country were Northerners. Of these none obtained a full four subject pass, or a three subject pass, but were able to obtain passes in one or two subjects only.

During the 1960-1961 period the Northern Region Ministry of Education approved the opening of an H.S.C. Arts stream at the Government College, Zaria. Government College Keffi, which had begun an H.S.C. Arts stream the year before, also added a Science stream in 1960. Zaria in turn added its Science stream in 1961. The first secondary school to open a double stream Arts and Science program in the same year was the Provincial Secondary School Okene.[32] The high status attached to H.S.C. work by students and the Ministry of Education, as well as the privileges and physical amenities given them by the schools in this early phase of H.S.C. expansion brought about numerous administrative problems which are discussed later in Chapter V.

A Report on Phasing and Costs of Post-School Certificate Work

It has been mentioned that the Ashby Report triggered a great deal of discussion and planning for the development of H.S.C. programs in Northern Nigeria. With the targets it outlined in the above Report, more accurate projections for

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[32] Classified information: Secret Document, The Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Education, Kaduna, (number withheld), dated 1962, para. 1.
"This school started in 1961 an H.S.C. Arts course of 10 students, which is now 9 and may number 7".

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future enrollments were attempted. In a document entitled "A Report of the Phasing and Cost of Educational Development on the Basis of the Ashby Commission's Report on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Northern Nigeria",[33] the study group who made this report noted that approximately 10% of those enrolled in secondary schools should go on to do H.S.C. work (refer to Table 5, col. 3, page 102). This figure was based on the projection that 2½% of the age group entering secondary school in the North should go on to H.S.C.

> But this is inadequate if, as stated on page 11 of the Ashby Report, 2 - 3 out of every 1000 children aged about 12 are to go to university. To achieve this objective at least three out of the 22 shown on page 10 (of the Ashby Report) as completing the School Certificate course should be able to enter a Sixth Form, that is about one-seventh.[34]

Table 4 (page 100) shows these calculations made for school population increases until 1970. (Note: the numbers in brackets indicate the increases over the Ashby figures, as projected by this study group).

It can be noted that the Ministry of Education was aware that a problem existed regarding the Form VI classes in which 327 were enrolled in the North in 1960 (see Table 4, Col.7). It was expected that a need for a Sixth year in the normal secondary school program would exist for at least ten

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[33] Educational Development in Nigeria, 1961-1970, "A Report", March 1961, Lagos, Federal Government Printers, p. 137. (Restricted).

[34] Ibid, p. 30, para. 12. "Sixth Form". (Restricted)

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Table I

Cal. Year	1
1	
1960	1
1961	1
1962	2
1963	2
1964	3
1965	4
1966	5
1967	6
1968	7
1969	8
1970	9

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Table 4

PROPOSED BUILD-UP OF NUMBERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1960-1970

Table IV †

Cal. Year	1st. yr	2nd. yr	3rd. yr	4th. yr	5th. yr	6th. yr	1st. yr	2nd. yr	Cols. 2-7	Cols. 8-9
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1960	1575	1257	800	688	608	327	45	5	5255	(actual) 50
1961	1900	1520	1220	770	650	(590) 550	70	40	6610	110
1962	2220	1840	1470	1170	750	(630) 550	120	70	7980	190
1963	2900	2130	1780	1420	1140	(720) 580	160	110	9950	270
1964	3600	2800	2060	1720	1380	(1100) 870	200	150	12,430	350
1965	4300	3480	2710	1990	1660	(1330) 890	240	190	15,030	430
1966	5000	4160	3360	2620	1920	(1600)* 960	280	230	18,020	510
1967	6200	4830	4020	3250	2530	(1860) 990	320	270	21,820	590
1968	7400	5990	4670	3890	3140	(2450) 1140	360	300	26,230	660
1969	8600	7150	5790	4520	3760	(3040) 1210	400	340	31,030	740
1970	9800	8310	6920	5600	4360	(3630) 1280	440	380	36,200	820

*The total projected enrollment for 1966 for all secondary school classes = 18,660.
The actual enrollment figure for 1966 by the Ministry of Education = 15,816.

† Educational Development in Nigeria, 1961-1970, Federation of Nigeria, "A Report", Lagos, March 1961, Federal Government Printers, pp. 29-30.

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years.[35] Therefore the figures in Table 4 do not indicate that there would be any gradual phasing out of the additional sixth year secondary school class. The need had been established in previous years for a sixth year (not H.S.C.) in the secondary school program. The students in Provincial and Voluntary Agency schools were required to attend an extra year in order to be able to do well on the School Certificate Examination (W.A.S.C.). If this projection (Table 4, Col. 7, page 100) were put into practice, it would, of course, entail substantial added costs and an increase in qualified staff to teach at the Certificate level. However, this policy was altered in 1962.[36] All new secondary schools opened by various agencies were eventually approved to take the W.A.S.C. without requiring students to attend the additional year. By 1967 no secondary schools in the North had this sixth year class.

The planning report referred to on page 99, considered the Ashby Report's targets unrealistic because of the high failure and drop-out rate in the North. Thus a target higher than that proposed in the Ashby Report was recommended for secondary school enrollment.[37] (See Table 5, Col. 4). What actually occured can be seen if one compares the total projected W.A.S.C. enrollment (which adds up to 18,660

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[35] See Table 4, Col. 7, page 100.

[36] Ibid.
See also: Educational Development, op. cit., p. 33. The discontinuation of Sixth year work was envisioned in 1960.

[37] Ibid, p. 29.

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Table V

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Year
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1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
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Table 5

ESTIMATED ENTRY TO FIRST FORMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS
(in thousands)

Table V †

1	2	3	4
Year	Estimated No. of Pupils in 7th yr. of Primary course in previous yr. (See Table 2)	10% of Col. 2	Approximate size of entry proposed
1960	11	1.1	1.6 (actual figure)
1961	14	1.4	1.9
1962	17	1.7	2.2
1963	25	2.5	2.9
1964	31	3.1	3.6
1965	33	3.3	4.3
1966	45	4.5	5.0
1967	57	5.7	6.2
1968	69	6.9	7.4
1969	81	8.1	8.6
1970	93	9.3	9.8

† Educational Development in Nigeria, 1961-1970, Federation of Nigeria, "A Report", March 1961, Lagos, Federal Government Printer, p. 29.

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according to the 'revised' Ashby Projection report on Table 4) to the reported 1966 statistics of the Ministry of Education.[38]

The total 1966 secondary school enrollment figures show actual enrollment to be 15,816 secondary students for 1966. The projected or planned figure made six years earlier was 18,660, or a difference of 2,856 which would have represented a significant investment in money and staff. A look at the H.S.C. enrollment figures for the same periods, and using the same sources, shows the actual H.S.C. enrollment to be 893 students in 1966. The estimate made six years earlier shown on Table 4 (page 100), shows only 510 students were planned for the 1966 H.S.C. enrollment. Note also the 1970 projection of only 820. Four years before this date 893 H.S.C. students were enrolled. The "investment" which occured during this period was obviously in the opening of H.S.C. streams, (18 by 1967) and greatly accelerating the revised Ashby recommendations for this level of work. At the same time the secondary school enrollment fell more than 2,000 short of the projected figure. This trend to expand H.S.C. is understandable when one recalls that during this period four universities were opened in Nigeria. Higher School Certificate streams were ostensibly the only feeders for these

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[38] Classes Enrollment and Teachers in the Post-Primary Schools of Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1966, Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Kaduna, pp. 14-15.

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universities (with the exception of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, which had a more flexible policy of enrolling first Year students). In actual fact students with First Division passes at the W.A.S.C. level entered in preliminary programs in the universities. Further, one must add to the H.S.C. level students the number of students trained in G.C.E.(Advanced Level) at the Zaria Branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, which accounted for 56% of this program's student enrollment, as well as those in the preliminary courses provided after 1962 at Ahmadu Bello University.[39] At the time of the opening of this university the H.S.C. schools in the North were unable to provide sufficient candidates to fill the first classes. Only 44 students received partial passes in H.S.C.[40]

Report of the Comparative Education Seminar Abroad

During 1962 much planning was undertaken for H.S.C. development. Northern Ministry officials traveled abroad with other regional representatives to observe post-secondary school programs in Europe, and comprehensive school programs and Junior College programs in the United States. Their report

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[39] Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Northern Nigeria, Government Printer, Kaduna, 1963, p. 10.
"In order to provide opportunity for suitable candidates particularly from the Northern Region who have not had the chance of an extended secondary school course, and as a temporary measure while schools are developing their Sixth Forms, preliminary courses in Arts are being provided. Similar courses in Science will be provided as necessary."

[40] School Statistics of Northern Nigeria, 1962, Government Printers, Kaduna, 1963, Table 23.

was published in September of 1962. Their report in summary appears below.

(p.6,para.14) We recommend for post-primary education in Nigeria a comprehensive school system whose course of study should cover not only academic subjects, but should be wide enough to cater to the whole range of human abilities and aptitudes with particular stress on pre-agriculture training (including domestic science) as well as pre-vocational and pre-technical training (including commercial) . . . .

(p.6, para. 15) . . . Our aim should be to provide secondary education that would be terminal for different students at different levels, preparing at each level some of them for entering life and others for continuing their education (training) in a more definite direction, academic or otherwise. We therefore propose:

a) that the first terminal level be at the end of the first three years of secondary school. The pre-vocational preparation given here to students who are inclined in this direction would reduce the time and cost of further vocational training.

b) that the second terminal level be at the end of five years of secondary school. Students leaving at this level would have definite preparation allowing them to make their living; others would have obtained pre-academic education bringing them up to the School Certificate level.

c) that the third terminal level (sixth forms level) should remain as it is at present, at the end of another two years; during these two years some students would attend technical, agricultural, commercial or other institutes and obtain the qualifications of technicians; others would be prepared for entrance to universities

. . . . . .

(p.7, para. 18) . . . In all this curriculum development science should be given a place of importance. Nigerian teachers should be encouraged to study and experiment with the new methods (and new subject matter content) over the world. The curriculum of the third terminal level should be broadened to include compulsory general studies besides the required specialization . . . . [41]

In addition to the recommendations of this group, a

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[41] Report of the Comparative Education Seminar Abroad, Sept. 23-Nov. 30, 1962, Ministry of Education, Eastern Nigeria, Official Document No. 21 of 1963, Government Printer, Enugu, pp. 6-7, (Northern member present, J.O. Mejabi, Acting Permanent Secretary.).

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Department of Statistics was added to the Ministry of Education in 1965. The addition of this department made it possible to carry out more accurate planning and assessment of what existed in the schools. Numerous publications appeared from the Ministry of Education at regular intervals, greatly enhancing the planning aspects for development of education in the North.

The National Universities Commission

In 1963 the National Universities Commission met and published their first recommendations.[42] Policy was set at this time for the establishment of a "Concessional Entry" to Nigerian universities. This policy was necessary because the H.S.C. schools were unable to provide the minimal number of qualified candidates for university work. Another alternative, that of accepting well qualified secondary school leavers into a four year program, as was being done at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, was not adopted by other university planners and administrators officially. The North, with its strongly British traditions in educational policy, opted to continue with its policy of expanding and up-grading H.S.C. institutions as an integral part of the secondary schools.

The rigid reliance of the universities in the British tradition on H.S.C.[43] as the only means of providing qualified

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[42] University Development in Nigeria, Report of the National Universities Commission, Federal Ministry of Information, Nigerian National Press, Apapa, 1963, p. 47.

[43] Educational Development in Nigeria, Ibid, p. 33.

students for university entry, created a problem for student recruitment for years to come. A paper presented at the All Nigeria Principals' Conference in 1966[44] referred to the problem. The following are the main points in this document.

1) PRIORITIES FOR EDUCATION BASED ON MANPOWER NEEDS-
(p.1.) . . . The Harbison and Ashby Reports . . . indicated that the greatest need was for scientists, technologists and teachers; to this the Manpower Board agree.

2) LIMITED RECRUITMENT POOL-
(p.2.) . . . From the recruiting point of view this has been further complicated by the fact that since 1960 four other universities have been opened, all of whom are going through a growth phase and all of whom are recruiting from the same pool of students . . . .

3) INTERMEDIATE YEAR, A TEMPORARY MEASURE-
(p.3.) . . . Now to turn to the problem of the availability of students . . . when University College Ibadan was established there were no Sixth Form facilities in Nigeria and students did their intermediate year at the University with the intention that this should be phased out as other facilities became available. To this end Sixth Form work (that is, G.C.E. A Level)[45] was established at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, and Sixth Forms established in a selected number of schools - 16 by 1958 - and it was hoped that by 1961/62 the concessional entry to the preliminary year which had succeeded the Intermediate course could be abolished . . . . As a result it was decided to defer the abolition of the concessional entry for five years and then look again. And what do we find . . . .

4) LACK OF SIXTH FORMERS FOR INCREASING DEMANDS OF UNIVERSITIES-
(p.4&7) . . . The hard fact is that not enough suitable qualified candidates are being produced by the Sixth Forms to meet the needs, scientific and technological, of the University of Ibadan alone . . . Ibadan is thus faced with the problem of filling its quota in the face of decreasing returns from the sixth forms and against the increasing demands of the other Nigerian universities all of whom are facing the same problem . . . .

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[44] University of Ibadan and Sixth Forms, mimeographed paper presented at All Nigeria Principals' Conference, Zaria, 1966.

[45] Brackets mine.

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5) STUDY COMMISSION PROPOSED FOR FUTURE PLANNING- (p.8.) To this end the Vice-Chancellors' Committee is setting up a Commission to study the question of University Entrance and the sixth forms with a view to obtaining data which can then be discussed on a wider basis, representing all vested interests so that future planning may proceed on a sound and agreed basis . . . .

6) H.S.C. QUESTIONED AS EFFICIENT INSTRUMENT- (p.10.) Even in the U.K. their country of origin, they are being seriously questioned as efficient instruments (H.S.C. and G.C.E. examinations) . . . .

Expansion of the H.S.C. Programs in Northern Nigeria

Six additional H.S.C. streams were introduced during the 1962-1963 period. (See Table 6: The Development and Expansion of Higher School Certificate Work in Northern Nigeria, page 109). In 1962 the Sudan United Mission school at Gindiri received permission for the addition of an H.S.C. stream. This was the first Mission school to be approved for H.S.C. in the North.

In 1964 the Ministry of Economic Planning, Kaduna, evaluated the 1962-1968 Development Plan in a publication called, Development Plan, 1962-1968, First Progress Report. The portion of this publication devoted to education is significant because it reveals that the North's attempts to achieve the goals envisioned in the Ashby Report were leading to some frustration and even to cut-backs. During the period of the Development Plan, the new Ahmadu Bello University had been established but funds for educational programs had not been collected as had been hoped for. The Report stated:

> It can be seen . . . that expenditure on education has dropped substantially below the target percentage (e.g. 17.4% and 20% had been allocated by economic

Table 6

DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE WORK IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Table 6

THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE WORK IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

SCHOOLS	COURSES	DATE OF PROGRAM	NOTES
A. UNCONNECTED WITH A SECONDARY SCHOOL			
1. University College Ibadan, (Yaba)	Preliminary courses.	1948	Entrance requirements either London Matriculation or entrance examination.
2. Nigerian College of Arts, Science & Technology	G.C.E.(A) Science	1952	Training individual candid. to take external Cambridge Certificate A Level.
		1962	Disbanded facilities, now part of Ahmadu Bello U.
3. Ahmadu Bello University	1 yr. pre-liminary course Science	1962	'preliminary courses' given to students weak in certain academic areas when enrolled
B. CONNECTED WITH SECONDARY SCHOOLS UNDER NORTHERN REGION MINISTRY OF EDUCATION			
1. Government Coll. Zaria	Arts & Science	1950	Special classes offered for only few select students. Program abandoned next year.
2. Government Coll. Keffi	Arts	1959	Provincial school, first successful attempt at H.S.C.
	Science	1960	
3. Government Coll. Zaria	Arts	1960	
	Science	1961	
4. Government Sec'd. School Okene	Arts & Science	1961	Provincial School.
5. S.U.M. Secondary School Gindiri	Science	1962	First Voluntary Agency, Mission H.S.C. stream.
	Arts	1963	
6. Government Sec'd. School Kano	Arts	1962	
	Science	1963	Provincial School.
7. Queen Elizabeth Secd. Sch. Ilorin	Arts	1963	First Government school for girls in Northern Nigeria.
	Science	1967	
8. St. John's R.C.M. Kaduna	Arts	1963	First Roman Catholic H.S.C. in the Northern Region.
	Science	1967	

Table 6 (cont'd.)

SCHOOLS	COURSES	DATE OF PROGRAM	NOTES

Table 6 (cont'd.)

SCHOOLS	COURSES	DATE OF PROGRAM	NOTES
9. St. Paul's Secondary School	Arts Science	1963 1964	First Anglican (Mission) H.S.C. in the Northern Region.
10. Titcombe Coll. S.I.M.	Science	1963	First Sudan Interior Mission H.S.C. in the Northern Region.
11. Government Sec'd. School Ilorin.	Arts & Science	1965	
12. Government Sec'd. School Yola	Arts	1965	
13. Mt. St. Michael's Sec. Sch. Aliede	Arts	1965	
14. Government Sec'd. School Maiduguri	Science	1966	
15. Government Sec'd. School Bida	Arts	1966	
16. Girls' Govt. Sec. School Kano	Arts	1966	Second all-girls program for H.S.C. in the North.
17. Government Sec'd. School Katsina	Science	1966	
18. Government Coll. Kaduna	Arts	1967	
19. Government Sec'd. School Kuru	Science	1967	
20. Government Sec'd. School Sokoto	Arts	1967	
C. FEDERAL SCHOOL IN THE NORTHERN REGION			
1. Federal Secondary School Sokoto	Arts & Science	1966	A Federal Regional College. Not under Northern Minister of Education.

Table 6 (cont'd.)

development planners). This apparent failure arises from the following sources: inadequate funds (including external finance) and delays caused by the need for further studies in the interest of greater economies. [46]

On the one hand the North was attempting to expand its number of secondary schools and primary schools, while on the other hand a great deal of expenditure was being put into the building of a new university. The Ahmadu Bello University was granted autonomous status on November 1, 1962, and was then not under the Ministry of Education, though it drew aid from the total available funds of the Region and from Federal sources. The possibility of obtaining funds for all development purposes was limited. [47] Efforts were made to cut costs by constructing minimal facilities for secondary schools and in the Higher School Certificate programs of these schools. Secondary schools approved for opening during this period were promised much more limited funds than similar schools opened during the pre-Independence period. In many cases only two-thirds of the pre-Independence building cost figure was provided to a Voluntary Agency school for construction purposes.

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[46] Development Plan, 1962-1968, First Progress Report, Ministry of Economic Planning, Kaduna, 1964, p. 10, para. 22.

[47] A. Callaway and A. Musone, Financing of Education in Nigeria, African Research Monograph 15, UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1968, pp. 82-83.
"The Northern Region government made a grant of £25,000 at the start and financed the university's recurrent expenditure at the rate of £40,000 a month". (This monthly recurrent expenditure at the university represented approximately the total capital allocation from the Ministry for the building of a complete Voluntary Agency secondary school over a three year period.)

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By the mid-1960's new schools were being financially cut back even further and, in a rather piece-meal fashion, received less than one half of the amount paid to construct similar facilities six years before, and this in a period of ever-rising costs for materials. The writer was personally involved in attempting to construct two secondary schools during the period between 1960 and 1967. The amounts of money received from the Ministry of Education for the first school were approximately 50% more than those received for a similar school to be constructed five years later. The continual complaint of Voluntary Agency school administrators, attempting to build new schools or add additional buildings to house new streams in existing schools, was that insufficient funds were being provided to accommodate the new streams and larger classes being called for in the Ministry policy.[48]

This period could perhaps be termed the period of educational expansion and financial cut-back. The Voluntary Agency schools which had opened Higher School Certificate streams during this period were forced to utilize already existing buildings of the secondary schools. Scheduling for classroom space became complicated, for Sixth Forms competed for the use of libraries and laboratories with the lower classes of the school. The facilities provided for the elite government

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[48] Class size for secondary schools had been limited by policy to 30. This was changed to 36 students per class. Classrooms which were originally built to accommodate only 30 were extremely overcrowded by the addition of six more students.

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secondary school H.S.C. programs were, on the other hand, extremely sumptuous by comparison. Provincial Schools and Voluntary Agency Schools developed discipline problems because of student dissatisfaction arising from the comparison of their facilities with those of Government Colleges.

Expenditure on education in the Northern Region for its 20 million+ people, was £ 1,258,000 for 1962-1963 and £ 1,102,000 for 1963-1964 respectively.[49] Of this the North received £ 15,000 for the development of all its Sixth Forms from the Federal Government.[50]

By 1964 the total school enrollment for Northern Nigeria was 476,934. Of this number 452,319 students were in Primary schools and only 24,615 in post-primary institutions of all types.[51] Of this latter group 11,442 were enrolled in secondary grammar schools in the North. The number of H.S.C. students in the entire North numbered 417, of which only 16 students were girls.[52] (See Table 7 and 8, page 114)

The total enrollment for Ahmadu Bello University in 1964 greatly exceeded the total number of students in H.S.C. programs in the entire North. The cost per student at the

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[49] National Development Plan, Progress Report, 1964, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos, p. 184.

[50] Ibid, p. 98.

[51] Classes, Enrollments, and Teachers in the Schools in Northern Nigeria, 1964, Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Kaduna, Northern Nigeria, pp. 2-3.

[52] Ibid, pp. 11 & 23.

Table 7

NORTHERN NIGERIA EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID, 1964

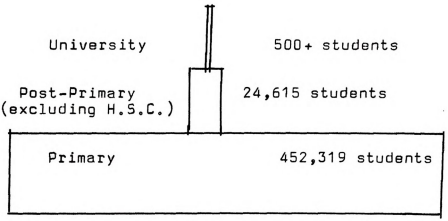
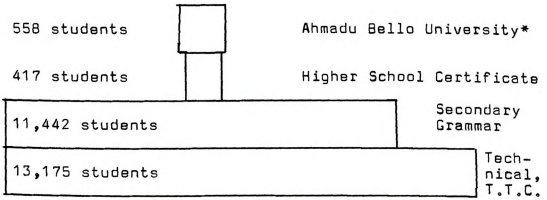


Table 8

NORTHERN NIGERIAN POST-PRIMARY EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID, 1964



*Source: Ahmadu Bello University, Calendar 1965, p.248.

For source of figures see Footnote 51.

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University during the period 1962-1964 was over £ 1,500 based on recurrent expenditures at the University.[53] The enrollment dropped severely during the civil disturbances in 1965-1966. The University lost students and staff at this time. What this meant for expenditure per pupil in 1967 is not known; however, training of students in the University was costly compared to training of Sixth Formers at the secondary schools.

> The period after the overthrow of the Ironsi regime was marked by continuing tension, and shortly before the end of the academic year communal rioting in Zaria led unhappily to the death of members of the senior and junior staff of Eastern Nigerian origin, and to the exodus of large numbers of their kinsmen.[54]

The only way a student body of 500+ could have been achieved by Ahmadu Bello University during those initial years was, therefore, through student recruitment from other regions of Nigeria, or by allowing for substantially lower entry requirements and offering an initial preliminary course to many of these students if they were from the North.

In 1965 a total of only 101 students were enrolled in all H.S.C. second year classes.[55] Of this group many did not receive the full H.S.C. certificate or failed. Therefore, the selection base for the University during 1962-1965 was only partially recruited from the Higher School Certificate classes.

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[53] Callaway and Musone, loc. cit.

[54] Dr. I.S. Audu (Vice-Chancellor), Vice-Chancellors Annual Report, 1965-1966, Ahmadu Bello University, p. 1.

[55] Classes, Enrollments, and Teachers in the Schools of Northern Nigeria, loc. cit.

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It must be added, however, that some Northern students had been able to achieve the G.C.E. (Advanced Level) through private study during this period and may represent a portion of those selected for Ahmadu Bello University entrance.

Committee of Vice-Chancellors

During 1965 a Joint Meeting of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors was held at the cabinet office in Lagos. Many of the Principals of secondary schools attended this meeting, however, none of these were from the Northern Region, or from the Eastern Region. This committee discussed the "University Year, and Entry to the University and Sixth Form". Members of the committee discussed the problem for Higher School Certificate schools brought about by the stand of the universities on continuing the concessional entry period. The universities, moreover, were recruiting 'suitable' candidates directly from the H.S.C. classes and thus competing with these schools for students as well. The minutes state it this way:

> He illustrated his assertion by pointing out that universities had allowed students enrolled in Sixth Forms to take their entrance examinations without the knowledge and consent of the Principals. The effect had been that half way through the first year of a Sixth Form course the class would be dangerously depleted by the withdrawal, without notice, of students who had succeeded in gaining University admission. 56

Though the stated policy of all universities except Nsukka was to accept only H.S.C. level candidates for

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56 Committee of Vice-Chancellors, Record of Proceedings, Cabinet Office, Friday, October 15, 1965, at 4 p.m., p.3.

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admission, in practice all universities did much the same as Nsukka. That is, because of lack of qualified candidates they established their own "concessional entry program" of at least a year's duration to bring students from secondary schools up to standard. In effect this created a four year program in the university, that for which Nsukka had been criticized so severely. Not only this, Ahmadu Bello University also offered "general subjects" such as English, sociology, economics, and physical and biological sciences in the preliminary course and first years of the regular degree course. This too was similar in nature to the intent of the "general courses" offered at Nsukka in the first two years of course work. Of special interest is this note, "A preliminary course shall not normally be of less than one year's duration nor more than three years' duration."[57] It is evident that in order to train high-level manpower for Northern Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University was compelled by lack of suitable (H.S.C. level) students to take others with lower academic qualification, that is, candidates holding only the W.A.S.C. or G.C.E. (Ordinary Level). To deal with the problem this was creating for the H.S.C. schools, the Ahmadu Bello University Calendar for 1965-1966 states; "No candidate will be enrolled for a preliminary course who receives an offer of a Sixth Form place any time before the university session begins."[58]

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[57] Ahmadu Bello University, Calendar, Nigeria, 1965, p.90.

[58] Ibid.

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Unfortunately civil difficulties and the war with Biafra prevented the Committee of Vice-Chancellors from completing the work involved in a "Commission of Sixth Forms". The Committee had requested that the commission look into the following matters:

(i) To review the place of Sixth Form as a preparation for university admission, and for entry to other vocations.

(ii) If it is considered that Sixth Form as now constituted does not provide a satisfactory preparation for university admission,

either (a) To make recommendations for its improvement both in quantity and quality, (content, structure, and breadth).

or (b) To recommend alternative measures for the preparation of university entrants so as to maintain high academic standards in Nigerian universities.

All Nigeria Principals' Conference

A year later, the All Nigeria Principals' Conference which met in Zaria, reviewed the suggestions of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and took a united stand in favor of Sixth Forms connected to secondary schools. It is noteworthy that ten Principals of Eastern Region origin were part of this group, and the majority voted in favor of a resolution to continue Sixth Forms or Higher School Certificate work. This would be understandable if these men had vested interests in

their schools in which Sixth Form work was an established fact. There were also perhaps other reasons for this vote not known to this writer.

During the 1965-1967 period the North continued to open new Higher School Certificate streams and the Federal Government opened a new federally supported H.S.C. program at Sokoto as well. The method of obtaining "high-level manpower" was through the academic routes of the secondary schools and Sixth Forms. Alternatives perhaps exist, as has been shown, however, alternatives were not seriously considered. Rather, Sixth Form work was held to be necessary for university entry and held with great faith. Lessons taught by the British Colonial schoolmen remained firmly fixed in the minds of the Nigerians. The institution of Higher School Certificate or Sixth Form, achieved high status among Nigerians. The traditional educational methods taught by Colonial educators, which embraced the Cambridge Overseas School Examination and the Higher School Certificate, were persistently held as the means for solving the high-level manpower needs of the North.[59] These institutions which were maintained and operated in Northern Nigeria, were very closely tied to British practice and

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[59] John W. Hanson, Education, Nsukka, A Study in Institution Building Among the Modern Ibo, Michigan State University Press, 1968, p. 81.

"To a goodly number of colonial schoolmen it must have been a persistent source of amazement and dismay to discover that the Cambridge Overseas School Examination and its West African variant were not numbered among the Acts of the Apostles as recorded in the King James Version of the Holy Writ."

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Further, it would appear that many Northern Nigerians exhibited even greater faith in the educational system provided by the British advisors than did their advisors themselves.

As indicated earlier, one of the criticisms levelled at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, was that it admitted students who had only the West African School Certificate, or the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) academic qualifications, rather than requiring the Higher School Certificate as a minimum entry standard.[60] In regard to this, one writer states that the concern of British administrators was to maintain standards. This concern was " . . . even magnified by many African intellectuals who felt a psychological need, perhaps derived from colonial experience, to prove that they could measure up to the European in every way, even on the Europeans' terms".[61] There is no doubt that most Nigerian educators at the university level and most British advisors believed firmly that H.S.C. was the standard for university admission, though lower entry levels were accepted for the 'preliminary courses' offered. It should be understood, however, that all the other universities in Nigeria followed the

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[60] Ibid, p. 119.
"Admission of students will be by examinations and interview at various points from WASC to the HSC with consideration given to professional qualifications and experience."

[61] Ibid, p. 81.

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"Asquith College" pattern.[62] That is, the concessional entry into institutions of higher education allowed a student to be trained in a preliminary course, but this did not imply that he had been admitted formally to a degree program.

Some British Colonial educators had frequently warned against beginning Sixth Form work at too early a date, and against permitting the university to dominate the structure and curriculum of Sixth Form work. Warnings had repeatedly been given that Sixth Form work should not develop into a "bookish" memorization of facts to pass the H.S.C. examination. However, as long as Northern Nigerian educators continue to rely heavily on the Overseas Examinations it seems unlikely that the Sixth Form will become much more than preparation for examinations which entitle one to entry into the universities.

During the early phases of the development of the Higher School Certificate in England, employers regarded the H.S.C. as a "ticket to work". Interestingly enough, the same phenomenon is occuring in Nigeria. Business firms, hospitals, schools and Government offices look with great favor on a student who has attended an H.S.C. course or who holds the certificate.

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[62] Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African, A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education, Harvard University Press, Mass., 1966, pp. 274-275.

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Summary

Investment in Education, published in 1960, strongly influenced regional governments and their Ministries of Education to expand Sixth Forms. The opening of four new Nigerian universities created additional pressure on these Ministries to establish additional Sixth Forms in order to feed the universities with well qualified students.

The Northern Region was particularly concerned about up-grading Sixth Forms in line with the recommendations in the "Ashby Report" because less than 1½% of the total number of H.S.C. passes in 1961 were from the North. A target higher than the Ashby Report target was established in order to overcome the problem of high wastage of the H.S.C. institutions in the North. The Report of the Comparative Education Seminar Abroad in 1962, sowed seeds for substantial broadening of the Sixth Form curriculum.

In 1963 the National Universities Commission again discussed Sixth Forms and established the "Concessional Entry" policy for Nigerian universities because sufficient candidates were not emerging from the Sixth Forms to feed the universities.

The All Nigeria Principals' Conference held in 1966, discussed the future of Higher School Certificate programs. This Conference strongly supported Sixth Forms rather than considering other "alternatives" to replace Sixth Forms. The Conference looked to the Vice-Chancellors' Committee on Sixth Forms for guidance. The Northern Region continued to expand

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the number of Sixth Form streams to feed Ahmadu Bello University; however, this measure was only partially successful. Civil war with Biafra disrupted any further study on the matter of Sixth Forms, though the Committee of Vice-Chancellors did envision "alternative" measures for preparation of students for the university. Sixth Forms continued to be dominated by the external Higher School Certificate Examination and the universities.

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CHAPTER V

THE HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PROGRAM AND ITS CURRICULUM

I. OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENT CURRICULUM

> The work of the upper forms of grammar schools is naturally of great interest to the universities and it is right that they should have some influence on this work; but it is very easy for this influence to become too powerful, as has indeed happened in England. It is to be hoped that West Coast grammar schools will manage to keep clear of this danger and retain control of both the pace and the nature of their own development. They may well have to fight for their freedom for there are already signs of university pressure in favour of rapid development and of attempted university dictatorship in matters of curriculum. [1]

A report titled Educational Development in Nigeria, 1961-1970, outlined the proposed build-up of secondary schools and Higher School Certificate enrollments for a period of nine years.[2] The comparison which is made in Table 9 (p.129) of this proposed build-up of enrollments for Higher School Certificate or Sixth Form classes, as compared to the actual enrollments that occured in H.S.C. programs during the period between 1961 and 1967, indicates a very significant shift in Ministry policy in favor of expanding this program. A total enrollment increase of 60% over proposed figures is shown for the period between 1961 and 1967. The years of greatest

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[1] African Education, "Report of the West Africa Study Group", Nuffield Foundation, Univ. Press, Oxford, 1953, p.29.

[2] See Table 4, p. 100.

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expansion were 1963 and 1966 (for 1967 only projected figures for Upper Sixth are available based on Lower Sixth enrollment). 1963 had almost a hundred percent increase over the previously projected figures, and during 1966 the increase was about 75% over estimated expansion figures.

Table 6 (on pages 109-110) indicates that during 1963 six new H.S.C. streams were opened and that during 1966, four new streams were opened. The North recognized that it needed many highly trained and educated people. The opening of Ahmadu Bello University to provide such educated leaders, triggered a reaction in the educational system below this level to provide a sufficient number of candidates for entry into the University. Additional Sixth Forms were opened to help provide suitably trained candidates.

Although Ahmadu Bello University had an enrollment of 558 students in 1964, only 147 candidates passed two or more subjects at Advanced Level from 1961 to 1963 in all Northern Region schools which offered H.S.C.[3] The remaining 411 students at Ahmadu Bello University were thus necessarily drawn from sources other than the Northern Region Sixth Forms during this period. These sources were, students from the other Regions, or, Northern students with lesser qualifications than minimal H.S.C. passes in two Advanced Level subjects. Column G of Table 10 indicates that, from 1961-1963, if all second year Sixth Form students had been taken into the University,

[3] See Table 10, pp. 130-131, G.B. Spray, etc.

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of these only 250 students from the Northern Region H.S.C. schools could actually be counted within the 558 student enrollment figure.[4] Another possibility was that students with G.C.E. (Advanced Level) qualifications were enrolled, though how many of these were available is not known to the writer. This brief enrollment analysis indicates that H.S.C. schools had not developed sufficiently to serve as significant feeders to the University until after 1966, at which time approximately 248 students with two A Level passes were available for enrollment into the first year at Ahmadu Bello. Whether some of these entered the preliminary year, or all entered the regular degree program is not known to the writer.

The list enumerating actual failures for Sixth Forms over the same period, as shown in Column L of Table 10, should prove of significance for the planning of the curriculum for Sixth Form for future years. In both Arts and Sciences the rate of failure often equals or exceeds the total pass rate for two subjects at Advanced Level. This situation leads one to ask questions about the future of the students who have failed, and whether they will become

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[4] Conference Report, 1966, All Nigeria Conference of Principals, 1966, (for private circulation), p. 66. The analysis made by W.S. Alexander, Vice-Chancellor of Ahmadu Bello, lists 65% of 1964 students as being other than from Northern Sixth Forms. The composition of the Northern Sixth Forms is not given. It is probable that numerous Sixth Form students in the North were of Southern origin.
See also: Walter Schwarz, Nigeria, Pall Mall Press, London, 1968. p. 328. (Schwarz mentions that by 1965 'Southerners' constituted 42% of Ahmadu Bello University student body). p.245.

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functional citizens in Northern Nigeria with skills which can be utilized. Further, it can be asked whether the Sixth Form in its present state and with its extremely limited curriculum can be justified for the Northern States solely on the basis of its being an institution to feed the University.

One argument often advanced in favor of maintaining Sixth Forms is that it is cheaper to train Sixth Form students in the secondary schools rather than at the University.[5] This argument appears to imply that the role of the Sixth Form should continue to be considered as being the step between secondary school (W.A.S.C. level) and the university. Broadening the role of the Sixth Form appears to this writer to be essential. An educational institution which has a single function and is only able to carry out this function by passing approximately 50% of its students, is grossly inefficient. The writer is not aware of any cost-analysis study for Northern Nigeria which compares the costs for training a student in the Sixth Form to the costs of training him in an

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[5] Miss M. Gentle, "The Sixth Form in Secondary Schools", West African Journal of Education, October, 1965, p. 128.
". . . on economic grounds, that if there are empty places in our institutions it is better that they should be in the Sixth Forms where the loss is only £200 (recurrent cost) per place per annum as compared with approximately £1000 at the university." (Other figures given are: Ibadan University, £875 per student per annum; exact costs for Sixth Forms in Lagos, £180), pp. 128-130.
See also: Prof. A. Babs Fafunwa, "The Sixth Form: Its Scope, Need and Advisability", (A speech presented at the 1966 All Nigeria Conference of Secondary School Principals at Zaria, re: The Economic Aspect).

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initial "general course" in the university.[6] If such a cost-benefit study is made it should include such factors as the extremely high student wastage rate in its analysis,[7] as well as staff and faculty costs (that is, the cost of training those who fail). In addition to this, the capital costs for building and equipment should be considered. The question can be asked, can the Northern States of Nigeria afford the 50% attrition rate which has been projected to occur in this institution in the future?

The Curriculum of Sixth Form Related to British Philosophy

Any discussion of the present curriculum of the Sixth Form assumes that basic administrative and policy decisions at the West African Examinations Council and the Ministry of Education have been made regarding the entire program. In Nigeria very little has been said about the H.S.C. curriculum except as related to specific problems of implementation of the syllabus, and the relevancy of the H.S.C. examination to Nigerian students. Both Nigerian and British educators in

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[6] See Table 10, Column L, p. 131.
Also: Letter from the Ministry of Education, Kaduna, Northern Nigeria, 29th December, 1966, PLAN/GEN/159/D/136, para.2: "We have no figures on the cost of setting up HSC courses; although the per-capita recurrent grant for HSC students is £150 compared with an average of £100 a year for those up to WASC standard. I would offer to do an analysis for you but . . . ."
Also: Simon Pratt, Lecturer in Education at the University of Bristol, Institute of Education, reported in correspondence with the writer in March, 1969, that in Tanzania, HSC costs were studied. The result there, was a per annum per pupil cost in university of about six or seven times that for pupils in HSC courses.

[7] If present trends continue almost 2000 will have failed H.S.C. programs in the North by 1988.

Table 9

COMPARISON OF PROPOSED ENROLLMENT FIGURES BASED ON THE "ASHBY REPORT"

Table 9

A COMPARISON OF PROPOSED ENROLLMENT FIGURES BASED ON THE "ASHBY REPORT" RECOMMENDATIONS, TO ACTUAL ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR THE PERIOD 1961-1967

Year	Proposed Enrollments			Actual Enrollments *					
	Lower Sixth	Upper Sixth	Total	Lower Sixth	Upper Sixth	Total	Diff. of Col.C & F	in%	Passes
	A	B	C	D	E	F	F-C	%	P
1961	70	40	110	65	41	106	-4	-3.7%	24
1962	120	70	190	141	70	211	+21	11%	44
1963	160	110	270	392	139	531	+261	96.5	79
1964	200	150	350	218	198	416	+66	18.7	98
1965	240	190	430	426	185	611	+181	42.1	99
1966	280	230	510	533	360	893	+383	75.1	190
1967	320	270	590	695	(452	1147	+557)†	94.6	248
Totals:	1390	1060	2450	2470	1145	3815	1475	60%	782

* Actual Enrollment figures based on document: "Ministry of Education (North - Planning Division). Numbers of Pupils in Sixth Forms and H.S.C. Results, Actual/Estimated, 1961 - 1988." Signed by G.B. Spray, P.O. (U.K.T.A.), October 31, 1966.

† Projected figures for 1967.

YEAR	
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1968	(d
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† See

Table 10

NUMBERS OF PUPILS IN SIXTH FORMS AND HSC RESULTS

ACTUAL/ESTIMATED 1961 - 1988 *

	1st Year Sixth Form			2nd Year Sixth Form			
YEAR	Arts	Science	Total	Arts	Science	Total	Total of 6th Forms
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1961	65		65	22	19	41	106
1962	141		141	36	34	70	211
1963	392		392	59	80	139	531
1964	218		218	84	114	198	416
1965	158	268	426	85	100	185	611
1966	216	317	533	127	233	360	893
1967	(a)† 306	389	695	(c)173	279	452	1147
1968	(d) 441	572	1013	245	343	588	1601
1969	(e) 441	572	1013	353	503	856	1869
1970	546	702	1240	353	503	856	2104
1971	630	858	1488	437	618	1055	2543
1972	735	984	1719	504	755	1259	2978
1973	840	1118	1958	588	866	1454	3412
1978	1352	1785	3137	998	1575	2573	5710
1988	2366	3129	5495	1898	2541	4439	9934

* Document of Ministry of Education, Planning Division, North, Kaduna, Signed by G.B. Spary, P.O. (U.K.T.A.) October 31, 1966.

† See NOTES on page 131 of Table 10.

Table 10 (cont'd.)

YEAR	HSC Passes (2 or more A's) Arts I	Science J	Total K	2 A's complete certifs. (failures or in- in HSC)* G Minus K L
1961	10	14	24	17
1962	24	20	44	26
1963	38	41	79 total 147	60
1964	53	45	98	100
1965	53	46	99	86 (a)†
1966	80 (b)	110	190	170
1967	108	140	248	204
1968	153	172	325	263
1969	220	251	471	385
1970	220	251	471	385
1971	273	309	582	473
1972	315	378	693	566
1973	368	433	801	653
1978	624	788	1412	1161
1988	1186	1276	2462	1977

† NOTES:

(a) Figures above the line, actuals; below the line, estimates.

(b) Arts passes taken as 62½%, Science as 50% for candidates sitting.

(c) 2nd year Sixth Forms show drop of 20% on Arts side, 12% on Science.

(d) 1968 intake based on planned expansion of Sixth Forms for period 1962-1968.

(e) 1969 is likely to see a spill-over of projects not completed in '62-68 plan period. Thereafter straight-line projection on 21 in Arts and 26 in Science.

(f) This return reflects position at October, 1966.

*Mine.

the North have historically accepted Sixth Form and the H.S.C. examinations as the modus operandi. Acceptance of the British institution of Sixth Form by British educators in Nigeria, reflects a British philosophy of education regarding the role of the program, a philosophy about the learner and about the role of the teacher, and about the role of the school in society. Many Nigerian and other expatriate educators accepted the institution without fully comprehending the British philosophy behind it. Many educators were disturbed about the effects of an examination-ridden system on the students.[8]

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[8] My own experience as an expatriate American teacher in this system is not irrelevant. I wish to insert here a personal reaction based on many years of teaching in Nigerian primary and secondary schools, about this matter of educational philosophy. As a young teacher coming to Nigeria in 1955, proudly holding a Provisional Elementary Teacher's Certificate for the State of Michigan, I had high hopes of being able to put into practice some of the things I had learned in college. Within half a year I was being constantly bombarded by a host of pressures to discard many of my cherished democratic, egalitarian philosophies about education or at least to hold them in abeyance.

I recall with clarity the first time I was put in charge of selecting a class of thirty students for Year V of the Senior Primary school from among more than three hundred young students from other primary schools. I recall this experience today with emotion for it represented the first in a long series of steps which an expatriate-American serving in a British-oriented school system in West Africa must take. Three hundred frightened, apprehensive boys and girls ranging in age from nine to twenty, sat for the greater part of a day writing formal examinations. The tears of some, the shaking hands of others, the incontinence of a few, all bespoke a rather psychologically traumatic experience.

After these "9+" examinations had been carefully graded it was found that only twenty out of the three hundred had been able to achieve a passing mark of 50% on the three papers. The grading standard was lowered arbitrarily to 40% and twenty more were added to the list. These forty students were interviewed

The curriculum of the Sixth Form is tied extremely closely to the final Higher School Certificate examinations and to university entry requirements. Attempts to innovate

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individually. Seven of them appeared to be "too old" for Senior Primary work, evidenced by 'obvious' signs of maturation, such as height over five feet, facial hair on the boys, etc. Eventually a class of twenty-five were selected to enter Senior Primary school. Of this group there was one small lad, obviously older, but short enough to 'get by'. Later in the year I was asked to give permission to excuse this 'boy' for a few days because of family illness. Upon his return to school, I questioned him as he was obviously unhappy. He related with tears that his youngest daughter was gravely ill and had been taken to the hospital.

In a system of education which is highly selective, in which teachers are forced to teach the 'syllabus' so that at least a few will be able to get into the next higher level of education, in which the majority of teachers have gone through the same process in their own education, it is extremely difficult to think in egalitarian terms. Moreover, in a system centrally controlled and financed by the Ministry of Education the students, teachers and administrators become part of a lock-step system.

* One secondary school student described the examination process in this way in his school magazine:

"I shall never forget my experience on the 18th April 1959. As soon as I entered the examination room, something very fantastic happened to me. My body began to shake with terror. My hands and palms shook in such a way that I could not hold my pen properly. My heart beat faster than ever, and I breathed like a tired dog. When I had a glance at the invigilator, I thought that that was the most important man in Nigeria, who would mark our papers. Mr.-----, the invigilator, talked to us for some time and at last divided the papers among us. When the papers were divided - ha! I sweated even more than before. My fingers could not hold the pen in a good position.

At last, however, after about twenty minutes I began to gain confidence, and my body was working normally. When we finished the examination I felt I had done well. At last after everything I received a letter from the Principal of this famous college, saying that I was admitted. Now what a joyful thing that God has helped me and now I am happy in this college."

* Yusufu Musa, Form I B, Keffi Secondary School, The Pioneer Magazine, 1966, p. 28.

outside the "syllabus" guide-lines are difficult. The teacher is faced with student pressures and open dissent or complaint if he deviates from the "material to be covered" in the examination. The time given to "cover" the subjects is limited. Students are 'learning' in a second or third language and much time must be spent on explaining the often subtle nuances of the English language as these reveal themselves in textual material. Libraries are meager and therefore preparing "cook-book" notes and hand-outs occupy much of a teacher's time. For a period of twelve years the student has been trained to follow directions, memorize, recite and stick doggedly to the material at hand. Suddenly in Sixth Form he is required to become self-directed in his study habits, to learn to relate information from various sources, and to learn to synthesize those things he is studying. The curriculum, the structured system, the final examinations, all are binding forces which hold staff and students in Sixth Form with their "noses to the grindstone". Within such an environment it is difficult to be innovative; moreover, it is difficult to get an education,[9] though much training in specific narrow subject matter and in skills related to understanding this subject matter takes place. The philosophy of students and staff alike becomes one of "muddling through", that is, doing ones best

[9]Education in this case refers in a broad sense to the transmission of a cultural heritage, as well as in a more specific sense to the broad development of the individual in his knowledge about the world, the development of his mind and character.

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For the students the stakes are extremely high. Each looks forward to the day when, somehow, he will pass the final examinations of the Higher School Certificate and the University, and become part of a very small, highly select, highly paid, elite community. The process and the educational system are not questioned, nor are there any questions about what occurs if one gets through the system. It is "obvious" to Nigerian students that the "expatriate" or British Colonials got where they did because of the same system. Nigerian staff and students, therefore, have, by and large, resisted innovations in the content and structure of Sixth Form work; rather, they wish to preserve and hold the identical paper qualifications of their 'expatriate' counterparts. Such a system with its built-in "credibility" for the system and curriculum imported from the United Kingdom, understandably, is not highly conducive to change or criticism from Nigerians or Colonial advisors.

* * * * *

The present curriculum for Sixth Form rests upon assumptions and conclusions to which British educational planners and Colonial educators have adhered strongly. An understanding of the past development of the Sixth Form curriculum for Northern Nigeria involves a clear understanding of these conclusions made by the planners. Briefly, the conclusions made

by the Central Advisory Council for England[10] are as follows:

We summarize below our conclusions on the curriculum of those pupils following Advanced Level courses in the Sixth Form.

a) We endorse the principle of specialization, or study in depth.

b) We are, however, unhappy about four ways in which it is now working:

(i) The syllabuses in science make considerably heavier demands than they used to do. They need reconsidering not only subject by subject, but together as the specialist curriculum of the Science Sixth.

(ii) The combination of subjects offered by pupils in the Arts Sixth is often unsatisfactory because it does not form a coherent whole.

(iii) Some schools enter pupils for too many Advanced Level subjects. The number of pupils taking four subjects is falling but is still too high, especially in certain areas.

(iv) Between one-quarter and one-third of the school week is given to non-specialist subjects. We refer to this as "minority time". It is often neglected or wasted. It is, however, of vital importance.

c) There are two purposes for which the minority time should be used, which we distinguish as complementary and common.

d) The main common elements, which should be taken by arts and science specialists together, can be summarized under three heads - religious education and all that goes to the formation of moral standards; art and music; and physical education.

e) The complementary elements should be designed to ensure the literacy of science specialists and the "numeracy" of arts specialists. By literacy in this context we mean not only the ability to use the mother tongue as an adequate means of communication for adult purposes, but also the development of moral, aesthetic and social judgment. By "numeracy" we mean not only the ability to reason quantitatively but also some understanding of scientific method and some acquaintance with the achievement of science.

f) We considered, and reject, proposals to make good these deficiencies either by a "General Course" or by making it normal for an arts specialist to take one science subject at Advanced Level, and a science specialist one arts subject.

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[10] 15 to 18, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, England, Vol. I, Ministry of Education, 1959, pp. 281-282.

g) The difficulty in the way of making all science specialists literate is not one of ignorance about how to do it, but of the will to see that it is done thoroughly and effectively.
h) There seems to us to be no way of making the arts specialist numerate except by providing a special Sixth Form course for this purpose. Promising experimental work has been done in this field, but much remains still to be discovered about the best means to use.
i) We are not unmindful of the fact that any such course would impose an extra burden on a section of the staff of Sixth Forms that is already heavily laden and - especially in girls' schools - very scarce. Furthermore, a certain amount of re-training and refresher courses would be necessary.
j) There are grave dangers in the examination of work done in "minority time" but some outside influence is probably necessary if schools and pupils are to take it more seriously than at present. The most potent influence is likely to be the knowledge that prospective employers, universities and colleges of advanced technology attach importance to it.

In addition to the conclusions mentioned above, specific statements have been made by British expatriates who have worked in Nigeria as educators. The following statements reinforce the "conclusions" of the Central Advisory Council.

1. Sixth Forms as presently structured have the major purpose of training students for university entry, or for entry into advanced technical training schools.[11]

2. The concept of being able to offer a student the 'literacy' and 'numeracy' skills, should not be within the framework of a "General Course", nor by making a Science student

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[11] "Conference on the Development of Sixth Forms in Nigeria", Conference Resolutions, West African Journal of Education, March, 1962, p.37.
"They recommend that all university authorities should acquaint themselves with the HSC syllabuses and question papers and suggest ways of improving them in order to make the present Sixth Form courses a suitable preparation for university work (and the examination a test of fitness for university admission)".

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take one Arts subject, or an Arts student take one Science subject.[12]

3. Sixth Forms should train a student so that he will become a useful member of the community in which he is to live as a grown-up person.[13] But only a few British educationalists had seen the need for providing a type of H.S.C. curriculum which would prepare the students who are not able to enter the university with knowledge and skills for a future vocation of some type.

4. Sixth Form students should be able to "develop their faculties of judgment and criticism through the measure of specialization and study in depth that is required of them."[14]

5. Sixth Form in part should provide a general curriculum which has as its underlying motive the training of the student in skillful organization, and providing an environment in which cross-fertilization of ideas between students from different 'subject' areas occurs.

6. "The curriculum of a Sixth Form is not amenable to any revolutionary change."[15]

7. Sixth Forms should be a strengthening force in the

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[12] G.N. Brown, "General Studies in the Sixth Form", West African Journal of Education, March 1962, p. 17.

[13] C.J. Classen, "Quo Vadis, West African Education?" West African Journal of Education, February 1959, p. 20.

[14] Gentle, "Sixth Form in Secondary Schools" op. cit. p. 130.

[15] Investment in Education, Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria, 1950, Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria.

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secondary school, should give tone to secondary education and should improve the secondary school by its added staff and facilities such as laboratories and libraries.[16]

8. A distinguishing mark of the Sixth Form curriculum is that it should bring about intellectual discipleship, "that is, the developing of an interest in an area of learning for its own sake."[17]

Higher School Certificate Courses in Northern Nigeria

The application of some of these "conclusions" and "statements" to the actual Higher School Certificate courses is not difficult to make. The general format for curricular offerings indicates that the Sixth Form program in Northern Nigerian schools did in fact follow many of the "conclusions" about this type of work. The curriculum of the Sixth Forms was structured for university entry; "literacy" and "numeracy" subjects were offered as well as a general paper; the curriculum of the Sixth Form was designed to bring about intellectual discipleship. It is extremely difficult, however, to deduce from the listed curricular offerings for Northern Nigerian Sixth Form schools, whether or not students were trained

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[16] Miss M. Gentle, "The Sixth Form at Queen's College, Lagos," West African Journal of Education, March 1962, p.9. "We started here only when we were certain that teaching in the lower school would not be harmed by an upper layer. For if one strikes down the standard of teaching in Form I, apart from it being professionally dishonest, it is a fundamental mistake in that five years later one is left without any good Sixth Form material."

[17] Ibid, p.6.

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Table 11

HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE COURSES: 1966* (1967)

PART A COURSES AND ENTRY REQUIREMENTS

Course	No.	H.S.C. Subjects	W.A.S.C. Qualifying Subjects
ARTS	1.	English, History, Geography.	English Literature, History, Geography.
	2.	English, History, Mathematics.	English Literature, History, Mathematics.
	3.	English, Geography, Mathematics.	English Literature, Geography, Mathematics.
	4.	History, Goegraphy, Mathematics.	History, Geography, Mathematics.
	5.	History, Geography, French.	History, Geography, French.
	6.	History, English, French.	English Literature, History, French.
	7.	Geography, English, French.	English Literature, Geography, French.
SCIENCE	8.	Mathematics, Chemistry, Geography.	Mathematics, Geography, Chemistry/General Science.
	9.	Mathematics, Physics, Geography.	Mathematics, Geography, Physics/General Science.
	10.	Geography, Chemistry, Physics.	Geography, Chemistry, Physics.
	11.	Geography, Botany, Zoology.	Geography, Biology, Physics, Chemistry.
	12.	Pure Maths, Physics, Applied Mathematics.	Mathematics, Physics, Chem. Additional Mathematics.
	13.	Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry.	Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry.
	* 14.	Chemistry, Physics, Zoology.	Chemistry, Physics, Biology.
	15.	Chemistry, Physics, Botany.	Chemistry, Physics, Biology.
	16.	Chemistry, Botany, Zoology.	Chemistry, Physics, Biology.

PART B CAREERS GUIDE

1. Teaching - Any of the courses 1-16 (1-17 for 1967).
2. Administration - Any of the Arts Courses 1-7.
3. Engineering - course 12 or 13.
4. Medicine - Course 14 (15 for 1967).
5. Geology - Any of courses 8-16 (except 14 in 1967).
6. Veterinary Science - Course 15 or 16 (16 or 17 in 1967).
7. Pharmacy - Course 14 (15 in 1967).
8. Agriculture - Any of courses 14-16 (14-17 in 1967).
9. Forestry - Course 16 (17 in 1967).

* On the 1967 chart, duplicate to this, Queen Elizabeth School Ilorin is inserted between 13 and 14, moving 14, 15, 16, down to 15, 16, 17. Number 14 then reads: Mathematics, Chemistry, Zoology for H.S.C. and Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology for W.A.S.C. (available at Queen Elizabeth School Ilorin only).

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to become useful community members, or possessing knowledge and skills for a vocation other than university entry. The course offerings shown on Table 11 (page 140) do indicate how severely structured the Sixth Form curriculum was.

Table 11 shows the general breakdown of H.S.C. course offerings for Northern Nigerian schools in 1966. Selected samples of H.S.C. examinations, which form the general content areas for these courses, are shown in Appendix J. The syllabuses for all H.S.C. courses can be obtained from the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. For each subject a syllabus comprising some twenty or thirty pages is published annually. A discussion of the content of each of these individual syllabuses is not within the purview of this dissertation. The syllabuses are changed yearly and represent the work of British University specialists in each of the subject areas. The West African Examinations Council officials, as well as curriculum specialists from the Sixth Forms and universities in Nigeria, meet from time to time to discuss these syllabuses and to make recommendations for changes to the University of Cambridge Syndicate. The extent to which such dialogue effects changes in the syllabuses is not known to this writer; however, this aspect of curriculum development and change would be a most interesting subject of study for curriculum specialists, especially in regard to changes to "Africanize" the syllabuses.

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II. THE EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SIXTH FORM PROGRAMS OF INSTRUCTION

Institutional Expansion

The first secondary institution to begin a Higher School Certificate program in Northern Nigeria successfully, was Government College Keffi. This Sixth Form began in 1959, a year prior to Nigerian Independence.[18] This school had been called Keffi Secondary School and had been opened at Kaduna Junction in South Kaduna in 1949. By the time the school was allowed to add Sixth Form Arts and Science streams, it had established a high reputation for preparing its students successfully for the W.A.S.C. examination standard. The first W.A.S.C. class took its examination in 1958. In 1959 a group, which included children from Kabba, Benue and Niger Provinces, took entrance examinations for Higher School Certificate work, and a sufficient number passed to get this initial stream started. Up until 1962 this school served as a training institution primarily for children with "pagan" or Christian backgrounds from these Provinces. The Government College Zaria[19] had been designated to train Moslem children primarily.

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[18] Keffi Government College Magazine No.7, 1959, p.3. "Other outstanding events have been the opening of the first Higher School Certificate course in the North which will eventually expand to three Arts and three Science classes."

[19] The Admissions Register of Government College Zaria, 1967. Initial student entry was listed for 1921 at which time this school was called Katsina College. In 1931 the school was called Katsina Higher College. In 1937 it became known as Kaduna College when the school was moved. Its present name, Government College Zaria, was given in 1956.

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In 1962, however, the Ministry of Education changed its policy to allow both schools to take students from anywhere in the Northern Region. One reason for this shift may have been that the initial H.S.C. results at Zaria were rather poor when compared with those achieved at Keffi.[20] The caliber of students available from secondary schools in the far North, which had lagged behind in formal Western education, was substantially less than the caliber of students from the Southern Provinces of the Region. In order to create a more equitable distribution, and in order to allow for students to be selected from various areas of the North, the catchment areas of the Government College Zaria were broadened. During this period, soon after Independence, Hausa Northerners of the Moslem faith were being sought for a variety of Government positions. The Northern Peoples' Congress (N.P.C.), which was controlled by Northern Hausas, was anxious to promote and improve the image of those people from the far North. School success or failure was seen as reflecting upon the "quality" of the school's student body, and on the chieftans and political leaders from these tribes as well. For example , Ahmadu Bello gave a speech to his own Alma Mater in 1963 in which he indicated his concern about the standings of the school children in examinations.

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[20] During 1961 Zaria had only 3 full H.S.C. passes compared to Keffi's 14, and during 1962 only 5 compared to Keffi's 21. Figures taken from The List, Government College Keffi, 1963, and The List, Government College Zaria, 1964, p.4 and 6 respectively.

> I note with deep regret that one of those schools which have failed to rise to the occasion and set the pace and standard of high academic attainment is my Alma Mater. Last year (1962) 50 percent of the boys of this college who took the West African School Certificate failed . . . You must wake up from your slumber and pull your weight. 21

Government College Zaria was allowed to open an Arts stream during 1960 and a Science stream in 1961. The same year the Ministry of Education opened Arts and Science streams of H.S.C. at Government Secondary School Okene. This school had had an outstanding record in the W.A.S.C. examinations the year before. The fourth school to get a Sixth Form was a Mission secondary school; Sudan United Mission (British Branch) Boys' Secondary School Gindiri, opened its H.S.C. in 1963. Gindiri had produced many leaders for the North and had shown that it had high standards of teaching as well, as evidenced by good W.A.S.C. pass percentages. Gindiri Secondary School served most of Plateau, Benue, Kabba and Niger Province secondary schools.

St. Paul's Secondary School, Zaria, had requested permission from the Ministry of Education to open an H.S.C. Science stream in 1962. Permission, however, was granted to Gindiri. This caused St. Paul's some concern. The year following, however, they were also allowed to open an Arts stream though they were prepared to teach Science at this level.

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21 Speech presented by the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, to Government Secondary School Zaria, on September 6, 1963.

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Some factors are known while others are unclear, why the Ministry of Education made such allocations, but it is clear that W.A.S.C. pass percentages entered into their decisions.

It should be pointed out that the addition of an H.S.C. to a secondary school placed the stamp of approval of the Ministry of Education on it academically, and gave it much social recognition also. Prior to such approval, a team of Ministry of Education Inspectors spent the better part of a week inspecting the school, and submitted a detailed "Inspection Report", which became the basis for approval or non-approval. The Inspection Report is a confidential and often lengthy document which is compiled by the Inspectors. A brief history of the school is listed, the finances are reviewed, student and staff accommodations are noted, and a detailed report of the teaching and curriculum is made.

Policy decisions of the Ministry of Education were closely tied to availability of funds for new programs, and to the ability of a given institution to accommodate an influx of Sixth Formers, as well as to allowing for the uniform instruction in both Arts and Science in the North.[22]

It is very interesting to note that from the end of

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[22] Letters from the Ministry of Education, "Development of Secondary Education" for 1965 and 1966. Ref.Nos. PLAN/GEN/73/154 and PLAN/GEN/73/187 respectively.

"In view of the shortage of capital finance, these proposals are approved on the understanding that no capital will be requested in the financial year 1964/65".

and

"Some minor changes have, however, been made from our original purposes due to accommodation difficulties and to allow for a uniform instruction of Arts and Science courses."

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1962 to 1965 all the schools but one, that were approved for H.S.C., were Voluntary Agency schools, the exception being Queen Elizabeth Girls' School Ilorin, in the Northern Yoruba area. St. John's (Roman Catholic Mission) Secondary School, St. Paul's (Anglican) Secondary School, and Titcombe College (Sudan Interior Mission) Secondary School, all added Higher School Certificate streams during this time.

Between 1965 and 1967 the only schools approved for Higher School Certificate streams were the Provincial Secondary Schools. They were called Government Secondary Schools after 1965. These schools were at Ilorin, Yola, Maiduguri, Bida, Kano, Katsina, Kaduna, Kuru and Sokoto. Thus all the Provinces had Government Secondary Schools with Sixth Forms with the exception of Benue Province. Benue Provincial Secondary School at Katsina Ala served the Tiv tribe primarily, and was supported by the Tiv Native Authority. The political affiliation of the majority of the Tiv people at that time was with the United Middle Belt Congress (Action Party), which strongly opposed the Northern People's Congress. During 1960, on the eve of Independence, many of the Tiv people rioted against the dominant N.P.C. party. Government troops and police were sent to this area to quell the disturbances. Three years later the Tiv people again rioted and killed many N.P.C. leaders in Benue Province. By 1967 the only Provincial Secondary School up to the Fifth Form level not to be up-graded to the Higher School Certificate level, was the Benue Provincial Secondary School which was a double stream school.

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It should also be noted that Sokoto Province opened two Higher School Certificate schools. The Provincial Secondary School at Sokoto became the Government Secondary School Sokoto. In January 1966, the Federal Science School was also established at Sokoto,[23] the home town of the late Premier Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. This school specialized in training students in the sciences, and recruited the majority of its students from the Northern Region.

Development of Programs of Instruction

Table 6 (on pages 109-110) lists the order and the dates of the opening of these H.S.C. streams. It is evident that Northern Ministry of Education policy was to create a balance between the Arts and Science streams in the Sixth Forms. By June 1967, fifteen streams each of Arts and Science H.S.C. programs had been opened in the Northern Region.

By 1967 these schools were offering twenty different Higher School Certificate subjects. Of these, nine were in the Science area, five in the Arts area and six in Subsidiary Subject areas. Table 12 and 13 (on pages 148 and 149) clearly indicate emphasis was placed on Science subjects, if the number of Science classes are compared to Arts classes. During 1965 there were twelve classes for Subsidiary Subjects,

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[23] Form G.ED/ST/02/66, p.5. During the first year there were 31 drop-outs from this program because of alleged personal danger to non-Northern students. 15 of these students were transferred to the Federal College at Okposi, the rest were withdrawn by parents.

Table 12 HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE COURSES IN NORTHERN NIGERIAN SCHOOLS 1965*

Table 12 HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE COURSES IN NORTHERN NIGERIAN SCHOOLS 1965*

SCHOOLS	SUBSIDIARY						ARTS SUBJECTS					SCIENCE SUBJECTS									TOTAL
	French	General Paper	Hist. of Science	Relig. Knowledge	Ec. & Pol. Affairs	Subsid. Total	English	History	Geography	Mathematics	Arts Total	Mathematics	Chemistry	Physics	Zoology	Botany	Geography	Applied Maths.	Pure Maths.	Biology	Science Total	PER SCHOOL
Govt. Coll. Zaria	-	x	x	-	-	x 3	x	x	x	x	4	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	9	13 subjs.
S.U.M. Gindiri	-	x	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	5	7 "
St. Paul's Zaria	-	x	-	-	-	1	x	x	x	x	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 "
Govt. Coll. Keffi	-	x	-	-	-	1	x	x	x	-	3	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	6	10 "
Sec. Sch. Kano	-	x	-	-	-	1	x	x	x	-	3	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	4	8 "
Sec. Sch. Okene	x	x	-	-	-	2	x	x	x	-	3	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	5	10 "
Qu. Eliz. Girls' Sch.	-	x	-	-	-	1	x	x	x	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	1	5 "
St. Johns Kaduna	-	x	-	-	-	1	x	x	x	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 "
Titcombe S.I.M.	-	x	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	6	7 "
TOTALS:		13									23										36	69 total

* Figures for these Tables 12 and 13 were compiled by the writer from data taken from individual school reports of subjects offered and from Ministry of Education H.S.C. Results, 1965. (restricted distribution reports for 1965).

Table 13 HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE COURSES IN NORTHERN NIGERIAN SCHOOLS 1966

Table 13

WEST AFRICAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE COURSES IN NORTHERN NIGERIAN SCHOOLS 1966

SCHOOLS	SUBSIDIARY SUB.									ARTS SUBJECTS						SCIENCE SUBJECTS							TOTAL
	General Paper	Brit. Constitu.	French	Hist. of Scien.	Rel. Knowledge	Ec. & Pol. Affair	TOTAL			English	History	Geography	Mathematics	English Lit.	TOTAL	Mathematics	Chemistry	Physics	Zoology	Botany	Geography	Applied Maths.	Pure Maths.	Biology	TOTAL	Arts & Science & Subsid. Sub
Govt. Sec. Sch. Ilorin	x	x	-	-	-	-	2			x	x	x	-	4		x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	7	13
Titcombe Coll. S.I.M.	x	-	-	-	x	-	2			-	-	-	-	-		x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	6	8
Govt. Sec. Sch. Kano	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			x	x	x	x	-	4	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	4	9
Govt. Sec. Sch. Okene	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			-	x	x	-	x	3	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	5	9
St. Paul's Zaria	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			x	x	x	-	-	3	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	6	10
Govt. Coll. Keffi	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			x	x	x	x	-	4	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	5	10
St. John's Kaduna R.C.M.	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			x	x	x	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
S.U.M. Sec. Sch. Gindiri	x	x	-	-	-	-	2			-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	6	12
Govt. Coll. Zaria	x	-	-	x	-	-	2			x	x	x	x	-	4	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	6	12
Mt. St. Michael R.C.M. Aliede	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
Queen Eliz. Coll. Ilorin	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			-	x	x	-	-	2	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	7	10
Govt. Sec. Sch. Yola	x	-	-	-	-	-	1			-	x	x	x	x	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Totals:							16								31									55	102

wenty-three for Arts and thirty-four Science Subjects.
uring 1966 the number of classes were sixteen, thirty-one
nd fifty-five for the same subject areas.

These figures are compared to the section Part B, the
Careers Guide" of Table 11 (page 140) which is titled,
Higher School Certificate Courses: 1966". The only careers
isted by this circular for the Arts subjects exclusively,
category No. 2, Administration. Category No. 1, Teaching,
so lists the Arts subjects as being preparation for this
reer. All the rest, Engineering, Medicine, Geology, Veter-
ary Science, Pharmacy, Agriculture, and Forestry, list
ience subjects exclusively. Thus it appears that expansion
H.S.C. Science streams in Northern Nigeria was tied closely
the Ministry of Education policy of training greatly needed
chnicians, doctors, and scientists of all kinds. This of
rse, relates to the previously mentioned "Ashby Report"
ommendations calling for approximately 30% of those re-
ving School Certificate to go on for higher training, es-
ially in the Science and Technology fields.[24]

Following the Ashby Commission, the Report of the Com-
ative Education Seminar Abroad,[25] also stressed the need
science training.

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[24] Steps on the Path of Progress, Ministry of Education, Government of Northern Nigeria, 1965, p.1.(mimeographed).

[25] Report of the Comparative Education Seminar Abroad, ember 23-November 31, 1962, Ministry of Eastern Nigeria, ment No. 21, 1963, p. 7, para. 18.

> In all this curriculum development science should be given a place of importance. Nigerian teachers should be encouraged to study and experiment with new methods (and new subject matter content) in teaching science which are gaining well-deserved popularity all over the world. The curriculum of the third terminal level should be broadened to include compulsory general studies besides the required specialization.

The final words of advice of this Seminar appear to have been heeded by Northern educational planners.[26] Attempts were made in 1965 to establish General Courses which were designed to broaden the students' horizons by requiring them to read widely in various areas, especially in world politics and current events, or to establish compulsory Subsidiary courses in subjects not in the students' major areas in all the Sixth Forms. It is unfortunate, however, that the schools themselves adhered to the absolute minimum requirements and only offered a General Paper on the H.S.C. One school offered French in 1965, one school offered the History of Science in 1966, and one offered a course called Economics and Political Affairs. Gindiri Secondary School was the only school to offer Religious Knowledge as a Subsidiary compulsory subject.

Attempts to broaden the Sixth Form curriculum have met with only partial success. The high failure rate of students attempting the General Paper and other Subsidiary level

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[26] The Ministry of Education Officer in Charge of Secondary Schools Division was a member of this seminar. He later became Acting Permanent Secretary. In this capacity, Mr. Mejabi was most influential in attempting to change the Sixth Forms from a very narrow program to one with broader course offerings.

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papers indicate that most of the students' time and efforts were being given to the Principal subjects. Science subjects now dominate the curriculum of Sixth Form schools in Northern Nigeria. It appears that the schools are unable to break from their "bookish, academic" tradition, and continue to be "cramming" institutions, even though planners have attempted to broaden the curriculum.

III. ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES AND CURRICULAR CHANGE

Various Influences on the Curriculum

Prior to the time of Nigerian Independence, the dominant conservative influences exerted on the secondary school curriculum were by British Principals, advisors in the Ministries, the staff of the West African Examinations Council, or by visiting British experts. This cannot be stressed too strongly because it is necessary to understand the reason why so little change occured in the Sixth Form, and why there appears to be little or no strong Nigerian policy opinion recorded about the Sixth Form. One would have expected that after Independence the influence of Nigerian administrators would have been seen to be strong in making policy decisions about the Sixth Form. This was not the case, however. One reason for this was that the North lacked numbers of highly trained men who had earned degrees. The few that existed were caught up into governing the Northern Region at a time when their region needed political leadership. Few Nigerians were concerned with matters of relatively "secondary importance" such as school curriculum, which was handled by specialists in the United Kingdom who set up the Sixth Form syllabus. In addition to this, the schools and their British Principals enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. Because of the long distances between the Ministry of Education at Kaduna and the schools, and slow methods of communication, Headmasters or Principals were forced to make numerous decisions about their

schools individually. Visits from Inspectors from the Ministry of Education were rare because of a small "Inspectorate" staff, which was overloaded with work.

British Headmasters. Many of the Headmasters of Sixth Form schools who had served before Independence stayed on in their posts. The British Headmasters were well acquainted with each other and formed a group of kindred spirits. Headmasters' conferences and selection committees kept Headmasters or Principals in fairly close contact with one another.

Principals were, by and large, very concerned about their students winning academic and sports awards. All of the schools competed in various sports such as soccer, cricket, hockey and track and field sports. This involved frequent trips between schools in the Provinces. Headmasters or Principals were usually on hand to cheer and keep peace. There existed a very real esprit de corps among British Headmasters and to a lesser degree, among Principals from American Voluntary Agency schools.

American Principals. American Principals were often new at the "game" of running secondary boarding schools and at setting up the curriculum along W.A.S.C. or H.S.C. patterns. Therefore, American Principals visited the schools which had British Headmasters and, to a great extent, patterned their schools after these. This was especially true in matters dealing with curriculum. The threat of the W.A.S.C. and H.S.C. final examinations loomed large and American

Principals were eager to have their schools make a good showing. In this way the influence of the British Headmasters spread even beyond the schools which they directed.

Nigerian Principals. As young Nigerian educators emerged from the universities they joined the staffs of secondary schools. Many were given posts of leadership immediately. Although totally lacking in experience and being insecure in their roles, these young men in their twenties became Vice-Principals and Principals. In matters dealing with curriculum they either repeated what they knew and had personally had to go through academically, or relied heavily on experienced "experts" on their staffs. These were almost invariably British. In either case the result was fairly much the same. The curriculum either remained in the pattern of School Certificate preparation, or it was patterned after the advice given by strongly traditional British staff members.

The schools carried on in their academic tradition through the period of gaining national Independence, through regional factions and civil war. New H.S.C. streams were opened by the Ministry of Education, however, all but one of these[27] was run by an agency that was oriented toward the British educational system.

The Northernization policy. The "Northernization"

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[27]This school was the Sudan Interior Mission Secondary School at Egbe.

policy frequently mentioned in speeches of politicians and government officials (and which entered into policy decisions for student selection)[28], was a further reason British influence remained so long in the North. The "Northernization" policy was intended to assure that Northerners were given first opportunity in obtaining entry to schools in the North and in being hired for key posts. Administrators were required to report confidentially, the number of non-Northerners in their schools on application forms for "per-capitation" grants. As a result, qualified non-Northern Nigerians were allowed to remain on the staffs of many institutions only if they could not be replaced by bona fide Northerners or expatriates. The result was that the majority of the key administrative posts for secondary institutions remained in the hands of British educators long after Independence, for few Northerners had had both academic training and the experience to administer large secondary schools, especially those which had Sixth Forms. All the Government Colleges with the exception of Government College Zaria, remained under the administration of expatriate Principals. The reason Government College Zaria was administered by a Nigerian for a short period, was that student revolts based on "unfair treatment" had occured and

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[28] Letter, Ministry of Education, "Sixth Form Selection 1965 for Admission 1966"(Confidential) File No. withheld, April, 1965.

"A form should be completed in respect of every Northern pupil sitting for the WASC examination in your school in November, 1965".

the Ministry appointed a Nigerian as an interim Principal.

Composition of Staffs. The schools were left in the hands of expatriate administrators, and the staffing on the "Senior Staff" level was dominated by teachers hired from the United Kingdom. Sufficient numbers of teachers were unavailable at that time soon after Independence. A few years later many schools were forced to operate with volunteer teachers from England and with Peace Corps teachers from the United States. The Government Colleges with their high quality Sixth Forms continued to receive the highest percentage of teachers hired from the United Kingdom. The Provincial Secondary Schools, however, were forced to recruit many Peace Corps volunteer teachers in order to operate. There is no doubt that the American Peace Corps staff members kept many schools going during the post-Independence era when sufficient numbers of Northerners were still unavailable for staffing these schools.

Though many young Americans were teaching in Nigerian secondary schools, their presence effected little change on the curriculum, except perhaps in the ways they taught individually in their classrooms. Most served under British principals, and syllabuses and "set-books"[29] were handed to volunteers. Moreover, most Peace Corps volunteers were not

[29] "Set-books" in English Literature or History for example, were specific texts prescribed for a given year's work the W.A.E.C.

professional teachers but possessed an academic or liberal arts degree which qualified them to teach in Nigerian schools. Few were trained as curriculum specialists or were subject matter specialists trained in specific methods courses.

It should be reiterated that young Nigerians with high academic and professional training were, to a great degree, absorbed into Government Service during the first few post-Independence years, rather than becoming teachers in the secondary schools. From the writer's perception, by 1966 the trend had changed, for many high-level Government or Ministry posts were filled by Nigerians, and many more Nigerians were being appointed to educational posts in the schools.

Politics. The influence of the Northern Peoples' Congress in getting new schools established in the far North is difficult to document. It should be noted, however, that during the height of the N.P.C. regime many schools were opened and up-graded. The late Premier of the Northern Region, Alhaji Sir Ahamdu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, exerted strong influence in favor of Western education from the time of Independence up until the time of his assassination on January 15, 1966. In 1963 the Premier had noted with some pride, the development of education in the North: "There has been a remarkable development in secondary education since 1952. In 1952 when the Ministerial system of government was introduced there were only two secondary schools in the region. Now there

are fifty-three at different stages of growth."[30]

Religion. One of the strongest influences on the curriculum of secondary education and Higher School Certificate classes was in the realm of religion. The schools in the Northern Region, without exception, allowed for free time for special worship on Friday afternoons for all Muslim students. In all the Government schools a Mallam or instructor in the El Koran was made available for Muslim students. The study of Arabic, even for Higher School Certificate, was strongly encouraged. Few students, however, selected Koranic study for Certificate work. Expatriate Christian missionaries throughout the North stressed "Religious Knowledge" instruction in their primary and Secondary schools. S.U.M. Gindiri and S.I.M. Pitcombe schools strongly encouraged students to take Religious Knowledge in the Sixth Forms up to the H.S.C. level. This was also true of R.C.M. St. John's and Mt. St. Michael's schools where religion played a vital part in the school life and the instructional program.

British Education Officers. The British Education Officers who served the Northern Region of Nigeria, strongly influenced all matters dealing with the Sixth Forms and the planning for changes in the curriculum of the Sixth Forms. This influence was maintained in the schools even during

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[30] A Special Speech by the Premier, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, to all Institutions of Learning in Northern Nigeria, delivered on 16th September, 1963, at Government College Zaria, Government Printer, Kaduna, p. 1.

periods when adequate contract staff were not available and Peace Corps volunteers were employed as teachers. Hausa influences in support of the established "British" educational system were strongest in the post-Independence era. Schools in the North stressed the importance of Christian and Moslem religious instruction and Arabic studies were also introduced.

Individual Northern Nigerians. Individual Northern Nigerian educators have recently been very influential in the planning of curriculum for secondary education and have criticized the curriculum of the Sixth Forms as well. A Northerner, Mr. J.O. Mejabi, Acting Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Education in 1967, made this statement:

> As you all well know, the educational system of this country has for some time been the subject of attack from various quarters. It is said to be too academic and unrelated to the needs of the country, producing men and women who have learnt by rote and are incapable of applying their knowledge to real life situations. We are accused of inheriting a colonial type of education, whatever that may mean. By and large these accusations are true . . . . [31]

A Ministry of Education circular decries early specalization in this way:

> Officers . . . in their normal inspection tours, noticed in some schools how narrow the curricula are and how early pupils are made to specialize. In one school, pupils receive only two years of general education, after which they are taught nothing outside the 6 or 7 selected West African School Certificate subjects. In another school, pupils are streamed into Arts and Science at the

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[31] Quoted from a tape-recording of the speech of Mr. .O. Mejabi, presented at the 1966 All Nigeria Principals' onference, Zaria.

beginning of the third year - only weaker pupils being put in the Arts stream. [32]

The Influence of Examinations on the Curriculum

The curriculum of the lower forms is amenable to more change than is that of the Sixth Forms. During the first three years of the secondary school program a great deal of latitude is given administrators and teachers in structuring the content of curriculum of the lower forms. The Fourth and Fifth form curriculum is set by the W.A.E.C. and the Ministry of Education. The Higher School Certificate or Sixth Form Entrance Examination and the terminal West African School Certificate loom as large barriers during these two years. Thus the curriculum is tailored carefully to cover the syllabus for the West African School Certificate. Moreover, the West African Examination Council (W.A.E.C.) instructs Principals of secondary schools concerning the "set-books" on which certain examinations will be based, and advises them about physical apparatus or biological specimens which must be on hand for the examinations.

In a very real way, the curriculum of the secondary school is being strongly molded by the Higher School Certificate course because of every student's desire to get into Sixth Form and then hopefully into the university. Half-way

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[32] Circular No. SSG.4/Vol.II/336, Jan.4th, 1965, "Secondary School Curriculum", Ministry of Education, Kaduna.

through the final year the students are given practice "mock examinations" as well as the Sixth Form entrance examination set by the Ministry of Education. Past H.S.C. entrance examinations are carefully studied for content, style of questioning, and the like, and staff members in the secondary schools attempt to out-guess those who will set the Sixth Form entrance examinations.

Forms Three, Four and Five in the secondary school become a "cramming session" period, because students are preparing for the W.A.S.C. and H.S.C. entrance examinations. Thus students begin to "specialize" at this early stage, and are often encouraged to do so by their Principals and teachers because the aggregate successes of the students in these examinations become public knowledge. Principals frequently send their year-end results to the newspapers, especially if the "results" show a high pass percentage.

In a system that is so examination ridden "one domino falls and the rest fall in turn". The university's requirements mold the Sixth Form curricula. Sixth Forms mold the secondary schools. In such a closely knit structure of examinations, one may then ask about the meaning and purpose for it all. If this is the path that is going to be taken by the Northern Nigerian schools, where will it eventually lead? Such questions are being answered by Northern educators.

> Before one can decide what subjects to introduce in a school, one should first of all identify what exactly one wishes to accomplish. I can think of three important aims for secondary education, namely:

1. To give a broad general education to boys and girls so that when they leave they will become educated enough to fit into the society and be able to earn their living and contribute effectively to the economy of the state. One might call this the utilitarian aim of secondary education. Under the general education I would include English, History, Language, Geography and Science as subjects that should be taught.
2. To provide education that will give enough challenge to the mentally gifted so that they can go forward to the Sixth Forms and eventually to the university. For the students in this category, the high-level manpower needs of the country must be taken into consideration when providing for the challenge. Every effort must, therefore, be made to ensure that the foundations for the production of doctors, teachers, engineers, scientists, administrators, etc., are soundly laid in the secondary school. We are being pressed from various quarters to provide more and better facilities for science teaching in our secondary schools. We must not shut our eyes to the popular and necessary demand.
3. To provide education that will develop the potential aesthetic and cultural inclinations of our pupils. These will be achieved by the introduction into the curriculum of subjects like Art, Music, Crafts and Religious Knowledge. [33]

Subsidiary Subjects. One major attempt to broaden the Sixth Form curriculum was the decision to introduce Subsidiary Subjects in the Sixth Form. This decision was made in November of 1965, by the Ministry of Education. Prior to this time only two or three subjects, either in the Science area or in the Arts area, were studied by a student. These subjects were termed Principal Subjects and prepared the students for the Higher School Certificate Examination. The addition of the Subsidiary Subjects to the Sixth Form curriculum was an attempt to broaden the educational experiences of these

[33] Concept Minutes: Speech of Mr. J.O. Mejabi to All Nigeria Principals' Conference, Tuesday, September 30th, 1966, Zaria.

students. The choice of the subject matter for these courses was left to the discretion of the Principals of the schools.[34]

Principal Subjects. In late 1965 the Ministry of Education circulated a document, "Higher School Certificate Courses: 1966 and 1967"[35] to all secondary schools. This document outlined course offerings in Higher School Certificate work for schools in the entire Northern Region. Students in the secondary schools were able to select various combinations of secondary level courses as their major areas of emphasis.

In order to qualify for entry into Higher School Certificate courses the students were expected to earn "credits" in at least two out of the three H.S.C. subject areas, and a "pass" in the third subject. Also the students were expected to achieve a minimal pass in the W.A.S.C. in order to go on to do H.S.C. work.

The main emphasis areas of many students were in the difficult Science subjects and the failure rate was high for these. Therefore, a student who had hoped to receive credits in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry would find himself with passes in Geography, Chemistry and History. If this occured, he would not be able to enter an H.S.C. course as this

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[34]Circular No. SSG.22/134, Ministry of Education, Nov. 4, 1965. "Subsidiary Subjects in Sixth Forms". "It is, however, desirable that the subjects should be in the opposite discipline, i.e. an arts subsidiary subject for science students and vice versa."

[35]See Table 11, p.140.

combination of subjects was not offered. (Table 11, p.140).

The "Careers Guide" section (as shown in Table 11), listed the courses which would match various careers. The universities had stipulated their requirements for entry to various degree programs to the Ministry of Education, and the "Careers Guide" was based on their requirements.

The Ministry of Education, Ahmadu Bello University officials and Sixth Form Principals engaged in much planning for Sixth Form curriculum during the early months of 1966. Special academic area conferences included meetings of those in charge of planning for Mathematics, Science, English, Geography and History. British, Nigerian, American and Indian secondary school staff members had opportunity for much dialogue. Part of each of these meetings was in the form of workshop sessions. During these sessions the academic specialists drew up schemes of work and methods of study schemes for their own academic discipline areas. The external Higher School Certificate Examination, however, continued to set the guidelines for these discussions.

The All Nigeria Principals' Conference was held in March 1966, at Ahmadu Bello University. Conference Principals and administrators heard speakers from each of the Nigerian universities discuss their stand on the future of the Sixth Forms. The Conference ended with a resolution to continue with the Sixth Form. No basic changes for the curriculum were suggested at this time. One of the papers, "General

Education Through Specialization", presented to the Conference, a possible outlined set of changes to broaden the scope of the H.S.C. curriculum.[36]

Summary

By June 1967 little change had occured in the curriculum of the Sixth Form. Subsidiary subjects had been added, but the H.S.C. examination was still being administered from abroad and marked abroad. The universities continued to exert considerable influence on the curriculum by their requirements for a high level of specialization by the students. Northern Nigerian educators had begun to become more sensitive to the unique needs of their own region and initial proposals were made to change the curriculum. These proposals may contain the germs of ideas for change during periods of greater national stability in the future.

Under the new Federal plan which went into effect in April 1968, each new state will plan for its own future and these plans for progress will surely include discussions on the future of the school systems in each state. There will also be a great need for discussions between all the states during this period, regarding the future of the Sixth Form and its role in the total educational system. The new system of states which presently exists, will affect the universities

[36]See Appendices H and I.

as well. What will be the role of the universities in relation to the new states which have been formed? Will the existing universities continue to exert influence on the schools in the geographical areas of the former Regions? Will the influence of the universities on the Sixth Form curriculum continue to be as strong in a more decentralized system? These questions and others regarding curriculum may imply that the Sixth Form has a role to play in leadership training in future years.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRODUCT - H.S.C. LEAVERS

I. INTRODUCTION

One theme of the Ashby Report was that educated and trained manpower is prerequisite to economic development. This theme was repeated frequently by planning committees in Nigeria during the post-Independence era. The Development Plan, 1962-1968, stated, a trained ". . . manpower is a prerequisite to economic development and that a deficiency in educational facilities has been a major problem . . ." in carrying out this aspect of development for Nigeria.[1] To achieve the goal of providing an educated manpower nearly 20% of the 'development funds' for Northern Nigeria were allocated to the improvement of the educational system.

The relevant figures for this aspect of educational expansion for the North are as follows:[2]

Plan Target 1962 - 68		Actual Expenditure 1962 - 63		Estimated Expenditure 1963-64	
£ 000	Percentage	£ 000	Percentage	£ 000	Percentage
17,637	19.9	1,258	17.4	1,231	12.0

[1] Development Plan, 1962-1968, First Progress Report, Ministry of Economic Planning, Kaduna, 1964, p. 10.

[2] Ibid.

The actual expenditure for education during the first two years of the 1962-68 period dropped substantially below the Plan Target estimates. The reason for this drop was the lack of funds available to the North, especially from foreign aid receipts. However, during the same period it has been shown[3] that the Northern Region invested more of the available funds in order to expand the Sixth Form program than the Ashby Report had recommended. One reason a strong emphasis was placed on secondary school and H.S.C. development was because of the North's need to supply the universities with a sufficient number of candidates for entry into degree programs. Another reason was that the H.S.C. program itself had been shown to have about a 50% failure rate; because of this, more H.S.C. streams were opened. If a much higher pass rate could have been achieved and, therefore, a greater number of students had entered the university, the need to expand the Sixth Forms would have been much less. The "product" of the Higher School Certificate program has been utilized at a rate of approximately only 50% of the total numbers who have taken the examination at the end of the program. The high level of inefficiency of this program in the 1962-64 period, which has been previously mentioned, continued to be a problem in the 1964-65 period as well.

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[3] See Tables 4 and 5, pages 100 and 102.

The study Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization[4], estimated that a total of 2,085 students in all of Nigeria entered the final year of Sixth Form in 1965. Of this number only 1,062 completed the course and passed at a level required for university admission. "It is estimated that about half the Sixth Form completers, or 1,042 actually entered Nigerian universities. The remaining 1,043 completers and the 243 drop-outs probably sought employment."[5] On the national scale, therefore, H.S.C. as presently constituted is an inefficient means for providing students for university entry. The investments made for this institution had a low rate of return as far as the total output for the labor force for Nigeria was concerned.

What occured in Northern Nigeria during the same period? The West African Examination Council statistics for the 1966 examinations reveal a similar high rate of wastage (see Table 14, page 171). Out of the national figure of 2,079 H.S.C. candidates, only 363 completed the two year course in Northern Nigeria. Of these, 184 studying in the North were able to pass a minimum of two papers or more, the minimum requirements for university entry. Another 90 were able to pass one paper. Thus a pass rate of barely 50% was achieved

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[4] Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization, (Education and World Affairs) Committee on Education and Human Resource Development, Nigerian Project Task Force, December, 1967, New York, p. 144.

[5] Ibid.

Table 14

HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE/GENERAL CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION EXAMINATION 1966

NATIONAL SUMMARY OF RESULTS STATISTICS +

REGION	NO. OF CANDIDATES PASSING IN 4,3,2,1 PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS				NO. OF SUBJECT PASSES		TOTAL CANDIDATE ENTRIES *
	4	3	2	1	GENERAL PAPER	OTHER SUBJECTS	
LAGOS	3	39	25	17	78	112	98
WEST	4	176	192	151	497	753	690
EAST	9	218	206	171	568	808	755
NORTH	-	99	85	90	259	392	363
MID-WEST	2	34	47	32	126	198	173
FEDERATION OF NIGERIA	18	564	553	459	1528	2263	2079

* Excluding Absentees.

+ West African Examinations Council publication, 1966.

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he H.S.C. program in Northern Nigeria.

The story is incomplete if the other 50%, the failures, not mentioned. What happened to all these who did not ? What careers were available to them in the North? In way were these H.S.C. failers able to be absorbed into s II and Class III levels[6] of manpower for Northern Ni- a? Unfortunately, most of these questions cannot be an- ed well because of the lack of data and records about e who left the H.S.C. program in the North. Those who ed can more easily be accounted for in the university llments.

[6]The Class II and III were terms used in the Ashby , referring to skilled and less trained workers. The Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization, uses such terms as "intermediate manpower" and r-level manpower" rather than the "Class" designation.

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PLACEMENT - CAREERS AND HIGHER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

One of the problems facing educators and national and onal planning boards is the lack of accurate statistical rmation about those who have failed the Higher School ificate, or even the W.A.S.C. It is possible to assume the majority of these entered the labor force,[7] however, an assumption is optimistic to say the least. It is ps more accurate to say that this group of H.S.C. failers bly sought employment; however, the degree of success of search is a matter of pure conjecture. These students e "applicants".

loyment of School Leavers

Many H.S.C. failers have great difficulty in finding ype of job which they feel will suit them. The writer ften been approached by his own ex-H.S.C. students who ailed and who seek employment. The type of employment ly sought was teaching, and teaching at the secondary level, if possible. The writer has noted that the H.S.C. looking for work was unhappy to be offered a job ng Year One or Two in Primary school, and more unhappy he offer of clerical work or manual work of any kind. than be thus employed, H.S.C. failers prefer to "keep ride" and remain at home in their fathers' compounds.

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[7] Ibid.

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n here they often apply privately for the G.C.E. (Advanced
el) examination in hopes of making up H.S.C. subject fail-
s and eventually getting into the university. However,
e study, with the lack of laboratories and libraries, is not
ducive to success in external examinations. Failing success
external examinations, these students write letters of
lication from leads found in newspapers or from relatives
are employed in the cities, in hopes of getting employ-
t. Eventually the student leaves home and heads for the
y where he believes chances for employment are greater,
ning numbers of other 'applicants'.

The psychological and social adjustment of those who
l the H.S.C. to their family and home environment is
ficult. For a period of seven years these students have
n provided with the "luxuries" of the life of a grammar
ool student. These luxuries have included being fed three
s a day with a balanced diet, having had electricity in
r rooms, running water and toilets, uniforms and adequate
cal care with frequent visits to the dispensary or hos-
l provided. Allowances and pocket money have been given
nem and travel money has been provided for the holidays.
than this, their books, school supplies, spring beds,
ito nets or screens, playing fields, sports equipment,
ave been provided during the grammar school years. Some
ls in the cities had provided recreation rooms with

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os and even a television set.[8] Aside from having had many
hese physical amenities, these students have been given
social status by their people at home who, for the most
are farmers and live very humbly. Their parents have
sacrificed much in order to pay high annual school fees
g the grammar school period, as well as to pay for the
clothes and shoes the students ask for during the hol-
, though in many instances the parents go bare-foot
elves. Those who fail H.S.C. have been trained in a
y academic tradition and have been taught to feel as if
are "undergraduates" in their own schools. With such a
round for seven years or more, the H.S.C. student who
s home to "bush" with news of his failure, faces ex-
ly difficult problems of adjustment and social assim-
n.

The sense of despair and frustration faced by a
t who takes one final examination which is the cul-
ng experience of seven years' work, and fails, is hard
gine. The type of employment such a student seeks is,
re, of a nature which will hopefully allow him to per-
e the type of existence he has lived for seven years.
seldom seek a menial job which would get his clothes
ds dirty.

Higher School Certificate training as a "training for

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[8] These were noted by the writer in the Government Kaduna, and the Girls' Government Secondary School

" implies an extremely narrow concept of life for the
lent. The "life" such a student seeks is the life of high
tige on a university campus. This life, with its free
ion, government scholarships, opportunities for travel,
intellectual companionship among his peers, is the ex-
ed "right" of the Sixth Form student. Thus the final ex-
ation at the end of the Sixth Form, either provides the
ent with the coveted passport to elite status if he
es two Principal papers well, or damns him to frustration
e fails. The examinations themselves may, or may not, act-
y test his skills or abilities with any degree of relia-
ty. At this point the student is one-dimensional, on paper
. Those who mark the examinations do not know the student,
past performance, his leadership skills, his daily work,
s personality traits. The papers are externally set and
nally marked, and from this impersonal, external non-
y, the judgment is made on behalf of other non-entities
ave written on paper. A bad day during the examination
d, a headache, a bout of dysentery, can be the difference
given student between success or failure. Fifty percent
se taking these H.S.C. examinations fail and, hopefully,
the labor market".

d Career Opportunities

What career opportunities are available for the student
ils H.S.C.? This question is a great concern of the
who has failed, his teachers and Principal and others

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in Northern Nigeria. It is of particular concern to "Careers Masters" of schools located in rural areas. Aside from the H.S.C. schools located in large population centers such as Kano, Kaduna, Zaria or Jos, most of these schools are located far from urban centers. The Careers Masters in the urban H.S.C. schools complain of great problems of placing their H.S.C. failers in jobs, though 'Ministry' offices and Native Authority offices, commercial firms, hospitals, schools and small industries are located in the cities. In the "bush" areas the Careers Master is faced with an even greater problem of placing H.S.C. failers. The Careers Master lacks information regarding possible job vacancies, because these tips seldom make their way to the rural schools.

Students leaving the H.S.C. program are usually farm boys and have little experience with city life. The rural farming community which surrounds schools in the "bush" provides very limited opportunity for employment for a boy who has soft hands and an academic training. Local Native Authority offices do at times offer work to H.S.C. leavers. This work usually requires an unskilled worker in such roles as clerks, census takers, messengers and the like. These jobs, however, are not eagerly sought by H.S.C. leavers for many reasons. First, the social status for such work is low. Second, the pay is low. Third, the "highly trained" student who has been studying Botany and Zoology or Chemistry and Physics, is unwilling to become a messenger for Native

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hority officials whose education, in many cases, is only at Senior Primary level, or in the case of Administrative icers, at the secondary school plus administrative training el.

The result is that H.S.C. failers flock to the few e urban centers in the North, or head South for Ibadan, s, or Enugu to seek jobs. This migration pattern, however, reatly altered during periods of civil war, inter-tribal ility and political instability. During such times, C. leavers tend to migrate back to their own tribal areas. many this means returning to an almost completely rural with no large city within the tribal boundaries.

In order to survive, many students are forced by ical need to take any sort of work, or to return to the y group where he can be assured of being fed. The writer et previous students of his who were unable to continue education, doing various types of jobs. The students in case were highly shamed to be recognized doing such menial as being a lorry driver's "wedge boy" or a mechanic's r. Frequently the H.S.C. failer does not return to his ate home environment,[9] but prefers to be thus employed he is not known.

The migration to the cities is part of the problem for

[9]This pattern may be different in urban areas. The gen- ations drawn here are on the basis of the writer's lim- ersonal experience in Benue Province rural areas.

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eers Masters in the schools because they have great diffi-
lty in keeping records about their ex-students. The exam-
tion results are often published in the newspapers after
student has left the H.S.C. school at the end of the
ond year. Those who pass and wish to continue on to the
versity, contact their schools and paper-work is begun to
them formally enrolled into the university. Those who
l, however, often simply vanish and leave no forwarding
ess for their Principals or Careers Masters.

One Careers Master in a Government Secondary School
ia) stated,

> We do not know how many of our school leavers fail to find employment and we do not really know the number who change their jobs once or twice in the year after they leave school, but the number is large and this again underlines the lack of preparation in our schools for vocational choice. Sometimes it is failure in a school subject that constitutes a main reason for the choice of a career. I have noticed a number of pupils who are unsuccessful in all their subjects taking up careers in police, nursing and agriculture because they feel here at least are spheres of work in which general academic attainments are of little account. I am sure that we have all observed with some alarm how the majority of boys turn up their noses at agriculture courses. I cannot think of one talented boy from either Government Secondary School Katsina Ala or Government Secondary School Zaria who has chosen an agricultural occupation. 10

r Guidance and Employment Opportunities

Career guidance programs are extremely limited in most
e secondary schools with the Sixth Form classes. The

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10 Quoted from the Address of Mr. H. Thomas, Acting
ipal of Government Secondary School Zaria, from a tape-
ding by the writer of proceedings of the All Nigeria
ipals' Conference, 1966.

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areers Master's job lacks status in the school and is often
onsidered to be an extra burden. Mr. Thomas, Principal of
overnment Secondary School Zaria, mentioned that in an
English School" a Careers Master often receives a Grade D
C allowance of £ 450.0.0 per annum for this work, and has
considerably lightened teaching load. In Northern Nigerian
hools this is not the case. It is hard to delegate to a
aff member a job that is usually performed gratis. There-
re, in many cases, the Principal himself does the best he
n with careers guidance, but such work is usually very min-
al. The majority of students are not "placed", but rather
ek some type of work on their own initiative.

One of the biggest problems in placing H.S.C. failers
lack of communication between the hiring agencies and the
ools. In May 1967, there was no central agency in the
istry of Education of Northern Nigeria whose role was to
ordinate and publish careers information, and to send this
the schools. Therefore, many possible areas for employment
the fields of architecture, insurance, librarianship,
ing, accountancy, police, armed services, aviation, banking,
ad-casting, civil service, engineering, forestry, posts
telegraphs, printing, publishing, salesmanship and teaching
perhaps often overlooked by H.S.C. leavers. If an H.S.C.
ler does locate a job in these fields, it is usually through
seeking and leg-work, or because of pure luck.

H.S.C. failers seldom consider another type of

mployment. This is the area of industrial and commercial
nterprise. Such agencies as cigarette companies, cement
anufacturers, coal producers, oil well refineries, soft-
rink bottlers, breweries, textile manufacturers, tire cap-
rs and the like, would most likely have jobs for H.S.C.
eavers. Many H.S.C. students have had considerable training
their schools in mathematics, physics, chemistry or bi-
ogy, and could apply these learned skills to work in such
dustries. Such hiring would probably involve extra train-
g for H.S.C. failers, and training is costly. Moreover,
e industries would prefer to hire boys directly from
chnical schools, where the orientation was not purely
ademic in nature.

Other possibilities for careers also exist, but to
ry these out in actual work programs would involve admin-
trative decisions by various Ministries. The first is the
ssibility of changing the entry requirements for the Ni-
ian Certificate of Education course (N.C.E.). If students
are unable to enter university because of a poor showing
the Higher School Certificate Examination were given
dit for at least a year of work of the two year H.S.C.
gram, and this year was applied to the N.C.E. program,
y students could be salvaged and become teachers in sec-
ary schools. This would require a professional education
rse of a year at the N.C.E. school. The N.C.E. program has
duced many very able and enthusiastic young teachers in the

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past. H.S.C. students, however, consider an additional two years of training over and above their Sixth Form work to be unfair. The N.C.E. students are recruited directly from the G.A.S.C. level, and are not considered to be academically up to the level of the Sixth Formers.

Another area of work for H.S.C. leavers which is largely overlooked, is the area of athletic coaching. H.S.C. students often are fine athletes and provide the back-bone of many teams of the secondary schools. Students who have shown outstanding athletic ability should be encouraged to use their talents. Most secondary schools lack well trained athletic coaches or directors. Most athletic directors are staff members who devote their skills after hours on a voluntary basis. H.S.C. failers who possess athletic skills could be trained N.C.E. programs of physical education, a number of them would, in this way, be re-directed into useful and meaningful work.

All this discussion relates to the great problem of placement for H.S.C. students. Placement involves careers counselling at the school level, tied to information about careers after the student leaves school. One can see that a major problem facing the student and the hiring agency is one of communications. It is the writer's view that there is a great need to establish a central Ministry of Education Careers Division. The establishment of such an office, with a full-time person devoted to aiding the schools and the various hiring agencies,

uld greatly enhance the possibility of placing many more
S.C. leavers in meaningful jobs and re-directing much
the wasted expenditure on H.S.C. toward filling the lower-
vel manpower needs of Nigeria.

III. SUMMARY

This chapter has indicated that, because of the need recruit students for the Ahamdu Bello University, H.S.C. ›grams in the North were expanded greatly. This expansion ceeded the projected expansion envisioned by the Ashby Report.

Of those students who entered the H.S.C. programs in North, only approximately 50% achieved sufficient passes university entry. This percentage is considered to be hly inefficient in terms of capital invested in Higher ool Certificate streams and in wastage of human talent energy.

One problem which arises out of the high failure rate the Higher School Certificate programs is, that those dents who fail have difficulty in finding jobs because ir training has been geared to a very narrow academic cialty in the Sixth Form. In addition to this, there is a t lack of suitable guidance for future careers for the lents who fail H.S.C.

There is a need for broadening the curriculum of the h Form so that it is of greater value both to those who n to the university, with a broader liberal educational ground, as well as for those who fail, by providing them a broader educational experience than is presently ived in the Sixth Form.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CLIMATE IN THE SCHOOLS

INTERNAL SOCIAL FACOTRS RELATING TO HOUSING AND AMENITIES

The first attempt to establish a Higher School Certif-
te program in Northern Nigeria was at Zaria in 1950; how-
r, the attempt failed and no other major Sixth Form classes
e attempted until eight years later.

The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology
been established in 1952 on the Samaru campus a few miles
n the Zaria Secondary School. The "Nigerian College" as it
called, was federally supported. The students who had been
cted for training here were young men who were, for all
nts and purposes, considered "undergraduates". At this
no university facilities existed in the Northern Region,
this school was, therefore, held in high regard socially.
standard which the students of this College were attempt-
to achieve was the General Certificate of Education (Ad-
ed Level), the paper equivalent of the Higher School Cer-
cate of the secondary schools. Academically, therefore,
e was an equivalence with the type of work being carried
the nearby Sixth Form students in the Zaria Secondary
ol. Aside from this, there were few similarities between
wo schools.

The students of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science d Technology at Zaria were treated as adults. They were not quired to wear school uniforms and had considerable freedom come and go from the campus. The Northern Region Scholar- lp Board also awarded its Northern students at "Nigerian llege" total scholarships. Their campus was built and main- ned by the Federal Government. The buildings were new and ractive, and laboratory facilities were excellent.

This writer spent some time visiting this institution ing 1956 and again in 1959. The students enjoyed many ex- lent physical amenities, including separate bedrooms, or ms shared by only two persons. They had a good library, ctricity, fine dining facilities, and the food was of d quality. Certainly "Nigerian College" was the most elite ool in the Northern Region from 1952 until 1960.

The Zaria Secondary School Sixth Form students who ed a few miles away, were considered to be young men, boys, you will.[1] They were considered to be an integral part of secondary school student body. While given some extra ileges such as later 'lights-out time', extended town e, and a degree of authority over the lower forms, they required to wear school uniforms and eat the same food he other secondary school students. They were encouraged

[1] Information received during interviews with Mr. A.R. n, Tutor at Ahamdu Bello University and the Principals of Paul's Secondary School and Government Secondary Schools ida and Sokoto.

to take an active part in the school's external sports competitions. The school rules applied to them as strictly as to other students.

Students from Zaria Secondary School were well aware of the privileged status of their brothers and ex-classmates in the "Nigerian College". The differences they noted became points of dissatisfaction. Sixth form students wished to be given identical social status with students studying in the Federal "Nigerian College". Part of the reason for the failure of the H.S.C. program at Zaria in 1950 was because of student dissatisfaction in this area.

II. INTER-INSTITUTIONAL SOCIAL FACTORS

Zaria Secondary School again began a Sixth Form class
n 1960. Those in the Sixth Form were well aware of their
chool's attempt to start a Sixth Form a decade before. Most
them had visited frequently on the nearby campus of the
igerian College". These students were also aware of the
xth Form student disturbances which had occured at Govern-
nt College Keffi in 1959 and 1960 (see pages 189 - 191).
ese disturbances, and the mid-year departure of Keffi's
incipal, were all centered about the Sixth Formers' demands
r privileges and physical amenities similar to those en-
yed by students at "Nigerian College" at Zaria. Students at
vernment College Keffi were, by and large, successful in
ir "revolt" and were given many extra physical amenities
privileges during the 1959 and 1960 school years. Zaria
.C. students followed suit and attempted to improve their
lot by creating disturbances.

One important factor in creating social unrest among
dents at both Zaria and Keffi was that Nigeria received its
ependence in 1960. This was a period of intense nationalism
ng young students. Moreover, Nigerians felt more free to
k of "injustices" they had experienced at the hands of
r colonial masters, and some perhaps thought that the a-
vement of Independence meant that all their wishes would
ranted.

In addition to this, all high-level Colonial adminis-
ors became advisors to the Nigerian Ministers who were

pointed at the time of Independence. Therefore, though the itish advisors continued to function in much the same roles they had previously, they were 'without portfolio'. The ars following Independence saw the departure of many British ministrators who had served in the Colonial era. Most deci- ns about education were being made by Nigerians during the iod following Independence. Political parties were being ablished and beginning to exert their influence. These ial and political changes were discussed in the newspapers on radio broadcasts. Young students in the secondary schools ckly got into the spirit of the times and reacted in a rather dictable manner against any "authoritarian or dictatorial" isions of their British school teachers and Principals. For se reasons the initial years of Sixth Form work were ubled ones for both of these schools.

Student writers recorded their feelings in guarded s in the school magazines which were censored and controlled taff. The following quotations from the Pioneer Magazine, annual publication of Government College Keffi, are from year 1960:

> The year began badly for us, with the expulsion of four useful members of the (Benue) House, all of whom were in the Sixth Form. It was indeed a blow, but we soon recovered from it.
>
> In the first six months we all passed through a very difficult time, yet the spirit of friendliness and willing co-operation was never eclipsed .. (Niger House Dormitory).
>
> The loss of all but four members of the team caused great anxiety. However, the gaps were filled by competent members of the Sixth Form who come from other schools. Football Team). (Italics mine).

:

Next came the period of troubles, when general unhappiness was in the air. Music of course, is an excellent barometer of the corporate mind of a school. If people are unhappy the last thing they can do is sing, and it is hardly surprising that the standard of the choir fell to an all-time low. (Choir).

:

This morning we all witnessed a spectacular event when the Union Jack was lowered forever and replaced with our Nigerian national green and white banner.

:

. . . take a quick glance at the situation in the world about us, more particularly in the continent of Africa. Consider Algeria, Angola, the Congo - focus of attraction today - and of course South Africa, to mention a few. In all these places our fellow-men are not what they should be, and in fact liberty in its real essence has still got to be discovered for them. (Italics mine).

:

The cumbersome Magazine committee of the past . . . has been replaced by a small committee chosen from the Sixth and Fifth Forms. These have taken active part, both in collecting and selecting material and suggesting policy. (Italics mine).

The same publication lists the "Calendar of Important

ts in 1960". The following items reflect the difficulties

he school and attempts made by Nigerian and British offic-

to settle the Sixth Form revolts.

Jan. 29th. The Premier addressed the school . . . .
Feb. 24th. The Speaker of the House of Assembly, Alhaji Umaru Gwandu, called at the school on his way back from Bida and addressed the school . . . .
Feb. 28th. The Principal, Mr. A.P. Waters, left the school to take up a new appointment at Kaduna . . .
Mar. 17th. The Minister of Education, Alhaji Isa Kaita, Dadawakin Katsina, accompanied by the Acting Permanent Secretary, Mr. Ahmadu Coonassie visited the school and held a discussion with the Higher School Certificate students. (This would be as if the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare would visit a local High School in the United States).
June 2nd. A team of educational experts . . . visited the school to see the Sixth Form work.
Sept. 7th. Mr. R.D. Price succeeded Mr. H.W. Ridley as the Headmaster.

Oct. 6th. The Principal of Man O' War Bay, Mr. Snowsell, visited the school on his way back from Independence celebrations in Lagos, and lectured the school on some problems confronting Nigerian youth. 2

In a period of less than nine months three different ish Principals attempted to administer the school. During early phase of the Sixth Form getting on its feet, Britadministrators were "transferred" or left the schools if Sixth Forms had discipline problems or created distures. Students who were expelled from one school reportedly d up in another institution, which weakened the effect of r dismissal. The writer recalls conversations at this with expatriate Principals who were seriously concerned t the amount of power Sixth Formers were able to exert in the schools. Some expatriate Principals felt that the of discipline they were able to exert prior to Independe was strongly undermined by permissive "Ministry" pols regarding Sixth Formers, especially in allowing them to that they were, in fact, university students and deserved special consideration.

try of Education Policy Changes and the Sixth Forms

Ministry of Education policy regarding the Sixth Form ed gradually during the next five years. By 1967 eighteen ls had introduced Sixth Forms, but often without addi- funds for special dormitories, special facilities or

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[2] The Pioneer Magazine, Annual publication, Government e, Keffi, 1960.

cial H.S.C. school buildings.[3] Both Provincial Secondary
ools and Voluntary Agency Secondary Schools had to make
with existing facilities for their Sixth Form classes. The
h standard of living of Sixth Form students in Zaria and
fi continued to be a bone of contention to Principals of
untary Agency schools and Provincial schools. The total
ber of H.S.C. students eventually enrolled in these other
ools soon exceeded those enrolled in Zaria and Keffi. In
spirit of "misery loves company" both students and staff
he lesser favored schools endured the next few years. The
stry of Education, moreover, became intolerant of student
ctionaries". The Premier Alhaji Sir Ahamdu Bello in 1965,
e sternly to his own Alma Mater students warning them that
Northern Region was full of students waiting in line to
the places of those who did not try hard or who did not
the rules (see page 144). Only approximately one-tenth
hose who took entrance examinations for secondary schools
selected and enrolled.

Though complaints by Sixth Formers in the schools about
lot continued, these were rather minor. For instance,
ollowing excerpts from a letter from Sixth Formers, in-
es the concerns of these students about their own school's

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[3] Letter No. PLAN/GEN/73/154, Ministry of Education, 17th
1964.
"In case of new institutions the proposals are approved
nciple only, etc. . . In view of the shortage of capital
e, these proposals are approved on the understanding that
ital will be requested in the financial year."

nities.

We the students of H.S.C. - - - - wish our Honourable Minister to know and look into these complaints of ours. We are among many other students that the Ministry sent to various H.S.C.'s in the Federation. Unfortunately this school hasn't got good amenities as the other H.S.C.'s, but we have done our best to bear the hardships. Our sole complaint has been about the all important thing - food. We have made several attempts through the Permanent Secretary and the Inspector of Secondary Schools seeking improvements but without success. The Ministry has made us to understand that we should be treated in the same way as other - - - - boys. In practice we get much less than they get. It is obvious to us now that the Ministry is not being fair nor considerate. Since the Ministry has refused to take any interest in our affairs we students here will not be able to continue with our courses. We shall therefore, not be turning up next term for school unless we are assured that our conditions will be improved (an increase in our capitation grant). We would refer our Honourable Minister to our letter to the Permanent Secretary dated 26th May, for further details.

Signed, H.S.C. students of - - - - school. 4

Some H.S.C. students attempted to by-pass the Ministry ucation officials who were taking a harder position on pline matters dealing with the Sixth Forms. They wrote tly to appointed officials in hopes of bringing pressure r on the "administration". Another letter written by students to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of ion appears to have 'echoes' of the Ashby Report's theme e need of an educated manpower.

We have received your letter No. -- dated May 16th a reply to our complaint. We can only express disointment, astonishment and surprise.
We the students here are quite keen and we think we ld be a good product for the region but it appears this is going to fail.

Letter to Honourable Minister of Education, Northern May 26th, 1962. (Name of school withheld).

The Ministry will be wasting its money and more important, our time, if improvements are not made immediately.

We students of H.S.C. - - - - are compelled by these conditions Not To Come Back To School Next Term unless we are assured that our demands will be fulfilled and the living conditions improved. (Reference withheld).

The eventual response of the Ministry of Education stated in this way:

The present intention is that Sixth Formers should enjoy 'parity of esteem'. Will you please obtain details from Principals of Government College - - - - and - - - - and then put in your final proposals. 5

Higher School Certificate students were able to exert ertain amount of political pressure through the Minister, eventually were given such things as glasses, travel ex- es during holidays, special clothing, including sheeps- hats and the like, which set them apart from the other ents. Special rooms were provided for H.S.C. students in of the Provincial and Voluntary Agency schools by con- cting cheap partitions in larger dormitories and hanging ins in front of the openings of these cubicles. Students received a recurrent capitation grant of £ 80.0.0.

H.S.C. students who joined the ranks of their fellows next two years continued to enjoy some of the amen- which had been given to the first H.S.C. classes. How- is more and more students were enrolled into Sixth Forms their presence in the schools became more commonplace, empts to obtain identical amenities to those enjoyed

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5 Reply of Ministry of Education, 20th June, 1962.
e number withheld.

Government College Zaria and Keffi lessened.

In 1966 Northern Nigeria was under a military governnt. The statement made by the Governor at this time placed hool control firmly in the hands of the Principals and affs and warned against any student revolts. "The strongt possible support will be given by the Military Government Northern Nigeria to the school authorities (italics mine) maintaining discipline and good tone. High disciplinary ndards are vital if we are to build a strong Nigeria."[6] s shift to supporting "school authorities" came as a hard l to swallow for Sixth Formers who had enjoyed a great dee of control over their own affairs by means of strikes.

The assassination of Northern Nigerian leaders and Ibo ders, the political upheavals in Nigeria during the 1966-67 lod, the establishment of a Military Regime and the dection of war with Biafra, all were of such momentous nal importance that these problems of Sixth Formers in secry schools waned into almost complete obscurity by mid-

On a research tour in the first quarter of 1967, all igher School Certificate schools in Northern Nigeria ed by the writer seemed to be quiet and serious. Students

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[6] Address by His Excellency, the Military Governor, rn Nigeria, Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Usuman Katsina, nges on Boarding Policy and Discipline in Secondary , 1966, Government Printers, Kaduna.

n the Sixth Forms had begun to exert positive leadership
n the schools and were generally participating in the
chool life in sports, drama, various clubs and other
xtra-curricular activities. The only hint of student
eelings about inter-institutional "parity" as far as
menities was concerned, was the question put to the
riter by one H.S.C. student who was interested to know
he amount of pocket money received by H.S.C. students in
ach of the other schools.

III. STAFFING AND ADMINISTRATION

Three major problems concerning staffing and admin-
ration of Sixth Forms exist in Northern Nigeria. The first
that of recruiting qualified expatriate staff to teach or
inister the Sixth Forms. The second problem is the high
e of staff turnover in the schools. The third is that it
difficult to recruit sufficient numbers of Nigerian staff
bers for Sixth Form teaching.

atriate Staff Recruitment.

One problem in obtaining qualified staff for the
th Forms is that such staff are difficult to recruit be-
se of the fact that they are required to possess an ac-
mic degree in subject matter taught at the H.S.C. level.
istry of Education officials and Sixth Form Principals,
whom the writer has spoken, agreed that all Sixth Form
chers should ideally hold a degree in the subject area in
ch they are going to teach, and this should preferably
n Honours Degree from a "recognized" British university
Nigerian university. In addition to this, all Sixth Form
hers should possess a Diploma in Education, that is, be
essionally trained and certified teachers.

A survey of the staffing made by the writer of all the
C. schools in Northern Nigeria, included as part of the
arch for this study, indicated that the Ministry of Edu-
on was unable to recruit sufficient numbers of staff with
qualifications. All Government Colleges as well as

Government Secondary Schools had British Voluntary Service Overseas teachers, Canadian C.I.D.A. teachers, or American Peace Corps teachers on their H.S.C. staff rosters. In most cases, such teachers possess only the minimal qualifications to teach in Sixth Form, that is, they hold a degree from a university. In the case of American Peace Corps staff members the degree held is an American A.B. or B.Sc. Liberal Arts or Science degree. In Nigeria a college major in one subject, in such a degree program, is not held to be equivalent to the British Honours degree in a given academic area. This is true for the Canadian Volunteer Teachers' degrees as well, though Canadian degrees are generally more highly esteemed than American degrees. Few volunteer teachers are professional teachers who have had a course of teacher training.

Mission or Voluntary Agency Secondary Schools can be grouped in two categories as far as staffing is concerned. One category consists of schools that are sponsored by Church agencies from the United Kingdom, and in most cases this means their staffs are rooted in the British educational tradition. The other category consists of schools that have staff members with roots in the American tradition. These latter schools are staffed and administered by American missionary agencies.

In the case of H.S.C. Voluntary Agency schools, the following schools fell into the former category, that is, within the British educational tradition: Mt. St. Michael's Secondary School Aliede (Roman Catholic), St. John's Secondary

hool Kaduna (Roman Catholic), Gindiri Secondary School udan United Mission), St. Paul's Secondary School Zaria nglican).

Up until 1967 the only H.S.C. school sponsored by an rican missionary agency was Titcombe Secondary School at e, sponsored by the Sudan Interior Mission.

The problem of recruiting qualified staff for the untary Agency schools of British tradition is not as ficult as for the Government Secondary Schools with Sixth ms, or for the Federal Science School at Sokoto. The blem of staffing was discussed during an interview with Principal of the Federal Science School, Sokoto. This cipal indicated unique problems in obtaining qualified f. Federal schools operate under a policy which requires only in the case in which a qualified Nigerian staff er is not available for a post in these schools may an triate be recruited for a staff position. Because this ol was located in the far North at Sokoto, qualified Ni- staff of non-Northern origin were unhappy at being d far from their own regions, that is, from the Eastern estern Regions. This school opened in 1966 during the of political and tribal unrest, when many Ibo persons ned to the Eastern Region and many Yoruba persons to the rn Region. Because of this the school was forced to e with a minimally qualified staff.

The total number of staff needed for any of the

Sixth Forms in Voluntary Agency schools is very small in comparison to the total number of Sixth Form staff the Northern Ministry must recruit for all its schools. The Mission Agencies operate through their own Mission Boards (or Mission Society offices in the United Kingdom). These home Boards have opportunities to recruit staff from among their own Church memberships. The Principals are able to stipulate their specific staffing needs to their home Boards. Principals of V.A. schools also have a voice in making decisions regarding the suitability of a candidate. Expatriate Voluntary Agency Principals are on the look-out for staff, both in Nigeria, the United Kingdom and the United States during leave or furlough periods. Further, Principals of Voluntary Agency schools usually have a long tenure in their particular institutions, have a high degree of loyalty to their own institutions, and are personally concerned about the type of staff they recruit. Therefore, V.A. Principals from British and American backgrounds are able to recruit the type of staff they feel will be suitable for Sixth Form teaching to a much higher degree than are Government College Sixth Form Principals.

Expatriate staff are recruited for Government schools by the Ministry of Education or by its recruiting agency representative in the United Kingdom. Government school staff members are placed according to Ministry policy decisions, and are frequently transferred to other schools for one reason or another.

The American sponsored Voluntary Agency H.S.C. school Titcombe is different than the above schools because it cruits its staff for H.S.C. from the United States. Therefore, the matter of "quality" of their staff is difficult to termine according to British or Nigerian standards. One of problems faced by the Ministry of Education in dealing h American sponsored schools is that of determining precisely what a given American degree means in comparison to a tish degree. Each individual degree of an American staff ber is evaluated by the Ministry of Education for salary poses. It is difficult to determine what Ministry standards evaluation are employed in their rating of American degrees.[7] Teachers who possess a Master's Degree in an academic ject area are usually considered to have the equivalent of itish B.A. or B.Sc. Honours Degree in that subject area. isely because of this problem of determining equivalence, ombe Secondary School was under close scrutiny by British Nigerian educators at the time the first H.S.C. students their final examinations during 1964 and 1965. In their attempt the 1964 "results" for this school showed no res, five full H.S.C. passes and nine G.C.E. passes. The 'results" again showed no failures, seven full H.S.C.

[7]The Northern Ministry of Education sought advice he African American Institute office in Lagos about egrees, and from the Federal Ministry of Education.

asses and ten G.C.E. passes.[8]

The highly esteemed Government College Zaria, staffed th teachers from the British academic tradition, during the me two year period, showed the following H.S.C. results: 964, nine full H.S.C. passes, twenty-three G.C.E. passes and ne failure; in 1965, eight full H.S.C. passes, thirteen C.E. passes and four failures.[9]

Though the equivalence of the American teachers' academic and professional qualifications was difficult to determine as far as S.I.M. Titcombe teachers were concerned, the xamination results of their H.S.C. candidates established nstitutional equivalence nevertheless.

Higher School Certificate staff members serve other han the H.S.C. students in their institutions. A Master of given subject teaches students from the senior classes of he W.A.S.C. program if time permits. Other staff members who ork primarily in the W.A.S.C. program, but who have special kills or academic training, are given classes of H.S.C. to each. Thus, to a great degree, the staffing for H.S.C. is integrated with the staffing of the rest of the school. Because this rather fluid movement of staff between the W.A.S.C. d Sixth Form classes, it is difficult to pinpoint those who

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[8] Figures for Titcombe Secondary School were taken from e school's H.S.C. Examination Results Lists for 1964-65.

[9] Figures for Government College Zaria were taken from e school's H.S.C. Examination Results Lists for 1964-65.

ould be considered H.S.C. staff members, in a given in-
itution during a given year.

e High Rate of Staff Turnover

The majority of staff members in all Northern Region
S.C. classes in the schools in 1967 were expatriates. The
jority were either British, Canadian, American or Indian.
vernment College Zaria for instance, listed fifteen staff
rking with their H.S.C. program. All of these except one,
Nigerian Vice-Principal, were expatriates. The Queen Eliz-
eth Girls' Secondary School at Ilorin had an all-expatriate
S.C. staff. The same held true for Government Secondary
hool Kano. The Federal Science School at Sokoto and the
vernment Secondary School at Okene each had four Nigerians
king with their H.S.C. programs.[10]

Because expatriates go home periodically for leave, a
h degree of staff turnover occurs. Many do not renew con-
cts. In some cases contracts run for eighteen months, in
ers for as long as three years. Many teachers are hired on
hort term contract basis and do not return to Nigeria when
ir contract expires. Therefore, if a school hired six
.C. staff members at the time its Higher School Certificate
ram was established, it would be quite possible that there
d be a 100% turnover of staff every two years.

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[10] These figures were extracted from data on staffing in Sixth Forms which was a part of the study research.

The Principal of Okene Secondary School indicated that found it difficult to keep track of the number of staff who me and went. Because of this, he had recorded each staff ange over a period of two years and one term. During this riod fifty-three different staff members served the school r various durations. Constant changes of staff in this school eated problems of lack of continuity, and discipline prob-ms as well.

When schools receive Peace Corps volunteers, similar oblems of turnover of staff occur. Every two years a new tch of volunteers arrives and those who were just getting justed to a school program, leave. In the case of American ace Corp volunteers, this quick turnover of staff is more ious than in the case of Volunteer Service Overseas staff m Britain. The V.S.O. staff members have personally gone ough the H.S.C. program in the United Kingdom and are com-tably oriented in the academic tradition. In addition to e, V.S.O. staff members from the United Kingdom join staffs ch are comprised mainly of their own countrymen. Peace Corps unteer teachers face adjustments of adapting to a new Brit-oriented curriculum, a different system of school disci-e and, in many cases, to being the only American on the f, in comparison to British volunteers.

Another reason why staff were moved so frequently was se of illness. One expatriate returning to the United om because of sickness would create a whole shuffle of

staff transfers to fill this one vacancy.

There are reasons other than contract termination for such a high turnover of staff at most of the Government H.S.C. schools. New H.S.C. schools were opened in quick succession in Northern Nigeria between 1960 and 1967. Because of the importance of H.S.C. work to the Ministry of Education, each new H.S.C. stream that was opened was provided, if at all possible, with a nucleus of experienced staff. Experience in this case, could consist of one or two years teaching in Sixth Forms in Nigeria. The Ministry of Education achieved this by transferring experienced staff from existing schools.

During the 1966-1967 period of great political unrest, Nigerian staff members from Eastern Nigeria returned to their own homes. These had to be replaced.[11] One newspaper summarized the total movement of people in all of the Regions.[12] However, it is difficult to determine the accuracy of these figures. Many Roman Catholic secondary schools recruited numbers of their Nigerian staff members from Eastern Nigeria where the Roman Catholic tradition was strong, and where many Roman Catholic teacher training colleges had been established.

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[11] The writer was unable to obtain any statistical information about the movement of Ibo or Yoruba educators at this time.

[12] *The Nigerian Christian*, Vol.I, No.2, May 1967, p.10-11.

egion:	No. Fled From:	No. Returned To:	Population Gain or Loss
ast:	20,000	1,600,000	+ 1,580,000
est:	40,000	10,000	- 30,000
d-West:	13,000	45,000	- 32,000
rth:	1,580,000	6,000	- 1,574,000
gos:	10,000	2,000	- 8,000

Voluntary Agency schools on the whole did not have such great staff turnover problems as the Government schools. For one thing, they did not depend on the Ministry of Education to recruit their staff members. Moreover, each V.A. school was operated by an autonomous Board of Governors which appointed staff members to the school. Therefore, a lack of staff in any one school did not affect another school in such a system. In addition many missionary teachers were full-time missionaries assigned to Nigeria. For some, this meant that a major part of their life would be dedicated to service in Nigeria. After a short furlough, missionaries returned to the schools they had served previously. In Titcombe, a Sudan Interior Mission school, many of the wives were career missionaries with their husbands and worked part-time or full-time in the school.

Nigerian Staff Recruitment

Nigerian staff members of the H.S.C. schools in 1967 were, in most instances, serving as Principals or Vice-Principals, rather than as full-time teachers. Maiduguri, Bida, Jano and St. Paul's Secondary Schools had Nigerian Principals. These Principals administered the entire W.A.S.C. program in their schools as well as the Higher School Certificate program. Therefore, they had very little time to devote to teaching at the H.S.C. level.

The Nigerian staff members who were teaching at the H.S.C. level were young men who had recently completed their

training in Nigerian or overseas universities. These young teachers usually lacked teaching experience at the Sixth Form level. In most secondary schools, tradition holds that the Senior, most experienced teacher of a given subject is the one who is appointed to be the "head-master" of that subject in the Sixth Form. This tradition would have excluded all young Nigerian teachers from teaching in the Sixth Forms. This tradition was not held to rigidly by the Ministry of Education. New Nigerian teachers were put into Sixth Forms directly and received their experience in H.S.C. work rather than at the lower secondary school class levels.

"Nigerianization" of all Sixth Forms in Northern Nigeria was an impossibility in 1967; however, whenever qualified Nigerian staff members were available they were placed in Sixth Forms and in the upper Forms of the secondary schools. Most of these young men, however, were given administrative posts in the schools. In some schools a young Nigerian Principal, totally inexperienced in teaching H.S.C. subject matter, was placed over a number of experienced expatriate staff members. It is greatly to the credit of these young Nigerians that they managed to run these schools and take care of the lists of administrative problems which are the lot of any Principal of a Boarding School.

On a Federal level the policy of "Nigerianization" in the Federal Secondary Schools was difficult to accomplish as noted in the case of the Federal Science School at Sokoto.

The intra-institutional social climate of the H.S.C. school is affected by its staff, be they American, British or Nigerian. It is difficult to document "school tone" or the "esprit de corps" that exists at a given school. The observer, however, is struck by the great differences that can be noted between different institutions at different times. The change of an administrator of a given school can create a completely different school tone. For instance, if one Principal is highly competitive and encourages competitive sports in the school and awards social privileges to those who "show their colors" for their school, an entire student body can quickly catch the competitive fever. Other administrators are extremely fastidious and stress hygiene in the schools to a great degree.

Student Prefects and leaders are quick to note their Principal's emphasis on clean uniforms, swept compounds and the like, and stress these themselves. In like manner, the school tone of a school administered and staffed by an English staff reflects to a great degree the English "way of life". One aspect of this "way of life" is the British reliance on a strong Prefect system in the schools. H.S.C. students figure prominently in Prefect roles in all the schools in the British tradition. In a school where a Sixth Form has been introduced for the first time, discipline problems often arise when the H.S.C. students are selected for school Prefects rather than the Fifth Formers who had carried out these leadership roles

before the Sixth Formers came. Sixth Forms recruit their students from many schools. Therefore, when these students join a secondary school Sixth Form from a school of a different tradition, their way of attempting to carry out their Prefect roles and duties often creates problems with students who have been in the school for five years.

A Sixth Form student who had attended a highly disciplined Government College Secondary School, and was transferred to a Voluntary Agency Sixth Form, often had problems of adjusting to a new school atmosphere and social environment. If the student was used to the "fagging" system[13] which exists in most of the H.S.C. schools in the British tradition, and then finds himself in a new H.S.C. school with American staff whose traditions are highly egalitarian and who look down on the "fagging" practice, he feels he is not being shown the respect that he feels is his due.

One student, leaving an "American tradition" secondary school for a "British tradition" school wrote: "The H.S.C. students are really respected here by junior students. They can ask the junior students to wash and iron clothes for them!"[14] In this case the move was easier for this student

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[13] Fagging is a term which refers to the practice of upper-classmen lording it over junior boys. Junior boys earn extra privileges from H.S.C. students by doing their laundry, carrying books and the like.

[14] Quoted from a personal letter from an H.S.C. student to the writer.

than for his counterpart in the paragraph above.

Social Climate of Schools Affected by Staffing

Each of the three major problems (page 197) dealing with staffing in the schools affects the social climate in the schools. The need to recruit expatriates from abroad brings problems to the school. Expatriates have many adjustment problems and their students in the schools likewise must adjust to their new teachers. Basically, the recruitment problem is directly related to the second problem enumerated before, that is the high rate of staff turnover.

The social climate of the H.S.C. school is greatly affected by the high rate of staff turnover in the schools. Expatriate teachers face tremenduous problems of adjusting to a new country, a new school tradition, a new language and an often "isolated" social life. It takes time for new staff members to develop trust and friendships with students. Teachers who stay on for extended periods, such as those in the Voluntary Agency schools or career Government Education Officers, often are able to learn the local vernacular, visit the homes of students and develop friendships and the social skills needed to interact meaningfully with their students.

Teachers who know they will leave and not return after two years, "muddle through" and very often band together with other short term teachers for the greatest portion of their social life. The "Club", rather than the Nigerian community around them, often becomes the hub of their social activities.

Schools which have a high rate of staff turnover have unique social problems. Short term staff members often resort to unreasonable or stern discipline measures in order to get their way. Students react negatively to insensitive or impersonal treatment. They react strongly against a staff member who runs rough-shod over long-standing school traditions or Nigerian traditions and customs.

Generally speaking, lack of continuity of staff creates problems in almost every area of student life. Students who are extremely involved with the problem of mastering the syllabus set by an external body in Cambridge or London, strongly resent a teacher's repetition of material already covered, or his attempts to innovate outside the syllabus. A teacher's speech is a matter of difficulty for many students. Just when students are learning to understand a teacher's "accent", be it Scottish, London, or Texan, the staff member leaves. The students are again forced to learn to understand a new accent, in this case perhaps of a newly appointed Indian or Pakistani, speaking his brand of English. Traditions of all sorts are extremely important matters to students. One tradition is the school uniform. If this is changed by a short term administrator, and another uniform is substituted arbitrarily, students become unhappy. Changes of this sort often lead to discipline problems, student strikes and internal upheaval in the school. Continuity of staff, on the other hand, tends to minimize the types of social problems described above.

Finally, Nigerianization of Sixth Form staffs created social problems of another sort. These problems usually arose from differences of opinion regarding school matters between new and young Nigerian staff members and more experienced expatriates. It is difficult to enumerate the ways in which the introduction of a Nigerian Principal or Headmaster affects the schools' social life. Briefly, however, it can be noted that communications problems between Principal and student are greatly lessened. Students and administrator "talk the same language" verbally and socially. Nigerian administrators and teachers seldom miss the intent of a student remark or the innuendoes behind remarks. Nigerian Principals are more likely to stress Nigerian music, dance, plays and folklore in the school life, than are their British counterparts.

British Principals on the other hand, maintain traditions which are basically foreign to Nigerian students. Many of the schools visited by the writer, for instnace, had Principals who wore their formal collegiate gowns for all assemblies.

As many more young Nigerian educators emerge from the universities, many changes will take place in the schools, and many old traditions will be replaced by new and more uniquely Nigerian traditions.

IV. THE INSTITUTION AND THE SOCIAL COMMUNITY

The major periods of Sixth Form development in Northern Nigeria coincided with major national and regional historic events.[15] The first planning for and attempt at, the establishment of Sixth Form work in Northern Nigeria took place at Zaria in 1950. The first successful Sixth Form to be established was in 1959 at Government College Keffi. In the same year on March 15th, Northern Nigeria became self-governing.

The Socio-political Environment

In January 1950, the "constitutional decade in Nigeria" began.[16] The constitution that emerged laid another portion of the foundation for Regionalism in Nigeria. It was rooted in the sentiments of the March 1948 Legislative Council which had stated:

> House approves of the unity of Nigeria by federation of the various regions which should become autonomous in due course, and that the whole country be developed towards self-government on this federal basis. 17

The concept of Regionalization led quickly to a stage that could be termed "Regional Nationalism".[18] The late Alhaji Sir

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[15] See Table 15, Calendar of Outstanding Historical Events, p.214.

[16] Wale Ademoyega, The Federation of Nigeria, George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London, 1962, p. 142. See also: "Proceedings of the General Conference on Review of the Constitution", Lagos, January, 1950, p. 244.

[17] Legislative Council Debates, March 24, 1948, p.719.

[18] James S. Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1958, p. 426.

Table 15

CALENDAR OF OUTSTANDING HISTORICAL EVENTS FOR

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1950 - 1967

JUNE 1951.	Revised 'Macpherson Constitution'.
OCTOBER 1954.	Regionalization within Nigeria.
FEBRUARY 1956.	Visit of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II and H.R.H. Prince Philip to Northern Nigeria.
MARCH 15th. 1959.	Northern Nigeria became self governing.
OCTOBER 1st 1960.	The Federation of Nigeria became an Independent Nation.
JUNE 1962.	The last British Governor of the Northern Region left for retirement.
JUNE 1st 1962.	The first indigenous Governor of Northern Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, was installed.
OCTOBER 1st 1963.	The Federation of Nigeria became a Republic. Tiv rebellion in Benue Province.
JANUARY 1966.	Major General Aguyi Ironsi takes over the Government. The Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Premier Sir Ahmadu Bello assassinated.
JULY 1966.	Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowan takes over the Government as military commander. Ibo leaders assassinated. Regional migrations.
MAY 1967.	Eastern Region declares itself the Independent Republic of Biafra. War declared.

Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, as early as 1953, strongly supported the idea of self government. His suggestion for carrying this out "as soon as practicable" led to a heated debate in the House of Representatives which had proposed that self government be granted in 1956. After the House meeting,

> . . . Northern Members were subjected to insults and abuse by Lagos crowds, and during the ensuing weeks they were ridiculed strongly by the southern press. Upon their return to the North they determined never to be subjected to such indignities again; within a few weeks they announced an eight point program which, if implemented, would have meant virtual secession of the Northern Region from Nigeria. [19]

Northern Nigeria did not, however, achieve self government until 1959.[20]

On October 1st, 1960, Nigeria became an Independent Nation. A distinguished Northern Nigerian, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was elected to the office of Federal Prime Minister. This leader stated:

> National unity is naturally uppermost in our minds, as it is self-evident that planning and prosperity can thrive only in conditions of peace and orderliness. [21]

Though such statements were made by Nigerian leaders on the heels of Independence, the strong feelings of cultural nationalism existed in the regions, especially in the North which

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[19] Ibid, p. 399.

[20] Table 15, Calendar of Outstanding Historical Events, See also: Facts About Northern Nigeria, Ministry of Information, Kaduna, 1965, p.6.

[21] Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, "Nigeria Looks Ahead" Africa, ed. Philip W. Quigg, Frederick Praeger, London, 1964, p.304.

was far behind the other regions in economic development and the development of its educational system.

Expansion of Sixth Form Programs

The greatest periods of expansion of the Sixth Forms in Northern Nigeria came at three different periods of Nigerian history. The first attempts to expand this program were made in 1960 at the time of Independence.[22] In 1963 the second period of H.S.C. expansion occured and a number of H.S.C. schools were opened. All but one of the Provincial Secondary Schools in the Northern Region became an H.S.C. school during the next two year period. On October first, 1963, the Federation of Nigeria became a Republic. By this time the majority of Northern Nigerian government and administrative posts had been "Africanized",[23] though expatriates continued to serve in advisory capacities in the Government Ministries, and especially in administrative posts in the secondary schools and training colleges.

The opening of Ahmadu Bello University in 1962 was a high point of pride for Northern Nigerian peoples. The policy of Northernization was strongly developed by this time and was[24]

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[22] See Table 6, pp. 109-110.

[23] Coleman, op. cit., p.427.

[24] A short summary of the development of the Northernization policy is presented in "The Evolution of the Northernization Policy", The Nigerian Situation, Facts and Background, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1966, pp. 18-20.

another evidence of Northern political sentiment. To accelerate Northernization, attempts were made to ensure that the staffs of the secondary schools and the composition of the student bodies of secondary and post-secondary schools were people of Northern origin to as great a degree as was possible.

Dissident political elements in the Northern Region reacted against the dominant influence of the Northern Peoples' Congress whose champion was the Premier of the North at that time, the Sardauna of Sokoto. The Premier represented the political feelings of the strong and dominant Moslem, Hausa element in the Northern Region. Under the leadership of Tarkaa, the United Middle Belt Congress was formed. Part of this Congress consisted of the dominant tribal element in the "Middle Belt" area, the Tiv peoples.

The mid-1960's saw manifestations of intense tribalism in Nigeria as a whole, and among tribal groups in the Northern Region as well.[25] From the strong feelings of Regional Nationalism which developed prior to Independence, the people of the North developed tribal or group nationalism. A polarization into two major nationalistic groups occured, the Hausa nationalists, and the Middle Belt nationalists, which had a strong Tiv element.[26]

Though hostile intra-tribal forces were at work in the

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[25] Walter Schwarz, Nigeria, Pall Mall Press, London, 1968, pp. 240-244.

[26] Ibid.

North, the Northern people as a body continued to exhibit a great degree of pride for their region, as opposed to an identity with the Eastern Region with its dominant Ibo element, or the Western Region with its dominant Yoruba elements.

The third period of H.S.C. expansion was that of 1966-1967. In this period many tragic events occured such as the killing of the Northern leaders, the Ibo coups resulting in counter-coups of the North, and killing of large numbers of Ibos in the North, and the migration of the majority of Ibos to their home land. Many schools in the North had Ibo students and staff members. The dangerous political situation caused these persons to leave.[27]

Some of the effects of this national upheaval on the schools are difficult to document. There were many immediate noticeable effects, however; one was the lack of staff in many schools and the need to use expatriates and volunteer workers.

There also were serious social effects in the schools. Northern students in many of the secondary schools which had Sixth Forms took part in the disturbances which resulted in the migration of Ibo people to the East. One Sixth Form Northern student writes passionately about the student involvement in this way:

> Unlike last year, this year should be a year of determination, reformation and obedience to authority.

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[27] See Chapter VI: Federal Science School Sokoto, re: students migrating to the South.

> Looking back to January of 1966 we see a series of killings, lootings and minor civil wars, which have disturbed the tranquility of this country. These calamities did not limit themselves to the army and the politicians but extended down to the students. [28]

The major upheavals in the country set the tone for disruptions in the schools. One H.S.C. school after another was be-set with strikes, student unrest, disobedience, and student participation in the riots.

Another student newspaper commented on these disturbances in this way:

> Who was responsible for the demonstrations and riots in so many schools last year? Was it the authorities or the students? Early in 1966 Offa Grammar School started by demonstrating against one member of staff which resulted in the suspension of the whole school for a few weeks. Bauchi Grammar School followed with a demonstration against bad food and treatment in the school - they too were suspended. Not long after Government Secondary School Maiduguri demonstrated and a few boys were expelled and the rest were punished one way or another. After a riot in Okene Government Secondary School, all the school Prefects were suspended for a while, then demoted. Maiduguri T.T.C., Waka Secondary School and Katsina T.T.C. were other schools which participated in the riots. [29]

During the 1966 and 1967 school years all the schools in Northern Nigeria were affected by the social and political environment in the nation, of war, killing, looting, demonstrations and general unrest. Many students in the schools became personally involved in their Region's problems.

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[28] Quoted from a Northern Government Secondary School weekly newspaper of Feb.7, 1967. Name of H.S.C. pupil withheld.

[29] Quoted from a Government Secondary School newspaper, 1967, name withheld.

H.S.C. students cannot be considered children for many were over 18. Many of these students (with their brothers and peers in Teacher Training Colleges and the Ahmadu Bello University), joined in and participated in the riots, or often attempted to do so.

Summary

The Higher School Certificate program as an institution in the educational system of Northern Nigeria has developed and expanded in a decade of Nigerian history which has been filled with political unrest and social upheavals. During the era that followed Independence, students in Sixth Forms exhibited strong nationalistic feelings which resulted in discipline problems in many schools.

The staffing of these schools continued to be dominated by expatriates from the United Kingdom. This had the effect of preserving the Sixth Form curriculum in the British tradition.

The Northernization policy affected the schools because a lack of qualified Northern staff members for the schools meant that expatriates were employed in order to maintain sufficient numbers of staff. The schools continued to expand and many volunteer teachers were sought to teach in Sixth Forms.

Lack of staff continuity affected both discipline in the schools and the curriculum and general school administration. Eventually young Nigerians were appointed as teachers

and Principals for many of the Sixth Form schools. The introduction of more uniquely Northern Nigerian traditions in the schools clashed with many of the long established British traditions.

Finally, this decade was filled with major political and social changes which affected the Sixth Forms. In the North the general political unrest was reflected in the unrest and numerous student disturbances which occured in the schools in the 1966 - 1967 period. Tribalism as expressed by anti-Ibo feelings, played a big part in these disturbances within the schools.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS IN "NORTHERN NIGERIA"- PAST AND FUTURE

The Nigerian Higher School Certificate Examination which is the final evaluation device at the end of two years of Sixth Form, has been shown to be closely related to the British educational tradition (see Chapter II). Not only are the historical roots of the H.S.C. program embedded in past British educational tradition, but in its present form, it continues to be dominated by an external examining body which publishes syllabuses on which the final examinations are set. In Britain, however, Higher School Certificate came under much social criticism and was abandoned in favor of the General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level). In Nigeria, Higher School Certificate continues to persist as a device for screening candidates for university entry.

As early as 1950, planning committees and boards discussed the future of Sixth Form or Higher School Certificate work for Nigeria (see pages 71-72). Dr. Jeffrey presented sound warnings at this time about the dangers of premature establishment of Sixth Forms in Nigeria as institutions for preparing students for the university. As he understood it, Nigerian secondary educational programs had not developed

sufficiently to warrant the introduction of Higher School Certificate courses.

In the Northern Region the development of secondary schools was far behind the other regions. One school only, the Government College Zaria, was considered to be sufficiently developed to start a Sixth Form program. This was attempted, and the program failed.

Social pressure in the North (see Chapter IV) caused Northern leaders to seek means for training more Northern students to the H.S.C. level, in order that these could be enrolled into the newly established University College at Ibadan. During the fifties, however, only a handful of students from the North did in fact enter the University College. The Federal College of Arts, Science and Technology was the only institution of learning at the level of Sixth Form in the North during this period. This institution played an important role in training students in skills which could be immediately used when they finished the program, as well as in providing a number of students with sufficient academic background to pass the University College entrance examinations.

The rationale behind the establishment of all Sixth Forms in Nigeria has been that they should be a training ground for the university. The University College was encouraged by some to lower its standards so that the Nigerian schools could evolve more slowly and not be strictly tied to university entry requirements. The opposite occured,

and University College Ibadan raised its standards in order to maintain standards similar to the United Kingdom universities.

The secondary schools followed suit and up-graded their programs so that Sixth Forms could be added. In the South, schools such as King's College Lagos, were successful in their attempts to establish Sixth Form work. The South, however, had a much longer tradition of education than did the North.

Regionalization, which occured in 1954, set the stage for intense tribal and area loyalties (see Chapter VII and Table 15). The North especially was concerned that it was behind the other regions educationally and was being dominated by leadership from the other regions. In 1959 the Northern Region became self-governing and soon after Independence in 1960, it began a Northernization policy.

The Ashby Report (see pages 94-95) recommendations for an additional 150 Sixth Form streams in Nigeria by 1970, was a major factor influencing Northern planners to accelerate the expansion of Higher School Certificate programs. The opening of Ahmadu Bello University and other Nigerian universities, created more pressures for the establishment of Sixth Forms and Higher School Certificate work. The Sixth Form curriculum became a 'spoon-feeding'device to prepare students for the university. In Northern Nigeria insufficient numbers of students passed from the Sixth Forms into the universities, especially the Ahmadu Bello University. The universities were

obliged to establish preliminary courses to bring numbers of eligible W.A.S.C. level students up to university entry level. The Sixth Form curriculum became even more narrow and specialized so that greater numbers of students would be able to obtain the minimum number of passes required for university entry, and so that the universities could eventually phase out the 'preliminary' programs.

A "Commission on Sixth Forms" was envisioned by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors (see page 118) to study and review the role of the Sixth Form. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors recognized the bookish and academic nature of the Sixth Forms, and the high rate of wastage and failure in the Higher School Certificate examinations given at the end of Sixth Form. It looked to the future and suggested that the "Commission on Sixth Forms" study the possibility of the Sixth Forms being more than a preparation for university work but providing terminal education for other vocations as well. This Commission had barely begun to function when national political upheavals during 1966 and 1967 made the completion of its work impossible.

The All Nigeria Principals' Conference which met in 1966 reviewed the role of the Sixth Forms; however, it rejected the innovative suggestions which were presented by university leaders from the University of Nigeria in the Eastern Region, the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos. Administrators in the Conference were greatly affected by the plea for continuation and expansion of the Sixth Form

program, by the Vice-Chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University, Dr. Sir Norman S. Alexander. The Conference passed a resolution to expand and support Sixth Forms. Few suggestions for innovations in the curriculum were considered. The Sixth Form was considered to have one main role, that is, preparation of students for the university.

In the North, Sixth Forms continued to be established, and by May of 1967, nineteen Sixth Form schools were in existence. Many of these schools, however, were established with minimal financial support. During 1966 the Ministry of Education approved the establishment of Sixth Forms at many schools; however, it warned that no capital funds would be given for these. Re-current grant-in-aids were provided to the schools on a per-capitation basis, and minimum basic book and laboratory grants were paid to new Sixth Forms.

It appears that the civil war with Biafra has created severe financial problems in "Northern Nigeria". The Ministry of Education has warned Voluntary Agency schools that it is possible that severely limited grants will be paid to these schools in 1969 and that the Agencies may have to take over the majority of financial obligations for these schools.

What then is the future for Sixth Forms in Northern Nigeria? At the present time it is extremely difficult to envision what the role of the Sixth Form will be. The Northern Region as a unique geographical, political and social entity no longer exists. Much of the planning for the development of Sixth Forms in the past, was closely tied to

Northern Region educational policy and to the North's Ahmadu Bello University. Because new States have been established, the unique function of the Sixth Forms to serve the North as a political entity ceases to exist.

What the role of the Sixth Form will be in the future depends to a great degree on future planning which will occur when the war with Biafra comes to an end. Because development funds are presently scarce, because of heavy expenditures for the armed forces, the Ashby recommendations and targets seem to be extremely unrealistic for future years. The States which have been established, appear to this writer, to be a factor in compounding the problems for the development of truely national goals. The States have, by and large, been established along tribal lines, or at least along lines that will reinforce strong parochialism within the States. The Northern States appear to be divided fairly well into the social and political lines of the old emirates. The 'pagan' tribes in the "Middle Belt" area have been lumped together in the Plateau State. What all of this means for future development of education in these States is uncertain. One conclusion, however, is clear. The present plan for decentralization of authority will make unified planning for education very difficult.

The continuation of Sixth Forms in the future with their present "academic and bookish" orientation does not seem justifiable to this writer. The high rate of wastage which has been shown to exist for the Sixth Forms is a luxury which none of the Nigerian States can afford. If Sixth Forms are

to continue, the curricula should be expanded and broadened so that more highly needed middle and high-level manpower can be produced. If Sixth Forms are to continue, Nigerians should have direct control of the examinations system and should carefully tailor the curriculum of the secondary schools and Sixth Forms to fit more closely to Nigeria's present needs as a nation and the greatly varying needs of the individual States.

II. POLICY STATEMENTS FOR H.S.C.

Throughout various eras of the development of the Sixth Forms, various policy statements have been made which favored the expansion of the Sixth Forms. The earliest 'policy' regarding the Sixth Forms was made by planning committees during 1950. The advice of Mr. C. Cox in 1949, that Cambridge University should set the examinations, was heeded (see page 64). No discussion occured which envisioned a Nigerian examination agency which would co-ordinate the needs of the universities and the secondary schools specifically, to meet the needs of the nation. Rather, external control over the curriculum was assumed to assure that high academic standards would prevail.

Dr. G.B. Jeffrey's advice was that an examination council should be established in Nigeria or West Africa, that would co-ordinate the examinations and curriculum of the secondary schools (not including H.S.C.). The West African Examinations Council was established for this purpose. The Sixth Form, however, was not connected formally to the W.A.E.C., except that the W.A.E.C. acted as the co-ordinator for the H.S.C. examinations set in Cambridge and London universities (see page 65).

The Ashby Report, through its general projection for manpower needs, affected Northern Region planning, and numerous H.S.C. schools were opened. The basic assumption underlying this expansion was that Sixth Forms were training grounds for the university, (see page 95) which in turn was to produce the greatly needed high-level manpower for Nigeria.

One significant 'policy' statement was presented to the All Nigeria Principals' Conference in 1966 by Mallam Yaya Abubakar, the Acting Planning Officer for the Ministry of Education. Mallam Abubakar's discussion of the "Second Development Plan" included the following statements:

> It is a foregone conclusion that secondary education will go on increasing in size as rapidly as trained teachers and school buildings can be provided. The country's manpower needs in the middle ranges are perhaps greatest of all. Emphasis has in the past been placed on the achievement of graduate status. Less has been done for the failed WASC student. It is he and the WASC holders (and HSC failers)[1] who do not go on to university who are needed so urgently for middle ranges of manpower. [2]

Mallam Abubakar pointed out that a possibility for various streams of H.S.C. existed, that is, that aside from the grammar stream, commercial sections could be established as well as technical-vocational and teacher preparation streams.[3]

This statement appears to the writer to be a statement which looks to the future in an insightful manner. If Mallam Abubakar's concept of the role of the Sixth Form could have been developed as early as 1960, much of the wastage could possibly have been avoided. This statement, though made as a suggestion to the Principals' Conference, and not made into Ministry policy for development, is significant. Embodied in

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[1] Brackets mine.

[2] Mallam Yaya Abubakar (speech), "Secondary Education Planning", recorded in the concept minutes of the All Nigeria Principals' Conference, Zaria, Sept. 30th, 1966.

[3] Ibid.

this statement is the philosophy that Sixth Form work should be for the purpose of giving a broad liberal education. The statement reflects a Northern Nigerian's concern about the high degree of student wastage which the educational system in Northern Nigeria brings about.

A small step toward the type of Sixth Form envisioned by Mallam Abubakar was made in Northern Nigeria in 1966. The Government College at Kaduna, in the Northern Capitol, had begun a commercial section in its secondary school program and had introduced a Sixth Form Economics course at Principal Level as well.[4]

Even if greater attempts are made to broaden the secondary school and Sixth Form curriculum, one problem persists. This is the problem which arises out of the externally set syllabuses and the externally marked examinations.

It is extremely difficult to envision what new policy decisions will be made in regard to Sixth Form expansion and development in the new States of Nigeria. There is, however, a need for a co-ordinated policy for the development of Sixth Forms for Nigeria in the future at the national level. Such a policy should take into consideration each State's unique social problems, finances, staffing and level of economic development.

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[4] The Lion, School Magazine, Government College Kaduna, 1966-1967, page 4. (The term Principal Level, designates the degree of success a candidate achieves on an examination. Certain marks rate a 'Principal Pass', lesser, but still passable marks are awarded a 'Subsidiary Pass'.

III. CONCLUSIONS

This study has traced the historical development of the Sixth Form and has described and analyzed various aspects of the work in the Sixth Form leading to the Higher School Certificate Examination. It has shown that the Sixth Form as presently structured and constituted, has as its exclusive purpose the training and preparation of students for university admission. Higher School Certificate Examination results clearly indicate that this objective for Sixth Form has been accomplished with a high degree of inefficiency. Only about fifty percent of these Higher School Certificate candidates have historically, been able to achieve minimal passes in two Principal subjects. Though some of the students who fail the H.S.C. Examination are probably absorbed into the manpower pool, and thus do not constitute an entire "waste", this loss of human talent raises questions about the efficiency and "shadow costs" of the Sixth Form program.

It has not been one of the concerns of this study to focus in any depth on the problem of the costs of Sixth Form programs, as compared to costs of an initial year of training in the university. This study has recognized that in the Sixth Forms, many problems have existed; however, this study is an initial historical overview and does not attempt to outline or propose specific recommendations for change.

The future of the Sixth Form is uncertain. This study has shown that various groups and committees have been concerned about the role of the Sixth Form in the past, and

questions have been raised as to whether suitable alternatives to Sixth Form exist for the future.

Vice-Chancellors' Committee

A study group was commissioned by the Vice-Chancellors of the Nigerian universities to carefully research the whole matter of the Sixth Form program, and bring specific recommendations and suggest possible alternatives for this program. The special committee for Sixth Form study was unable to carry out its work because it was disrupted by the civil war crisis.

Recent Proposals Concerning Sixth Form

The most recent statements that have been made about the Sixth Form were made by the Committee on Education and Human Resource Development. This Committee published a document, Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization,[5] (Education and World Affairs), in December 1967. In this document, the matter of Sixth Forms was discussed. Though this document was published six months after the research for this dissertation was completed, there are statements made in it that are significant. This document discusses three possible alternatives, in addition to the status quo, for Nigerian post-secondary education and speaks specifically about the future of the Sixth Form in this way:

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[5] Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization, (Education and World Affairs), Committee on Education and Human Resource Development, Nigerian Project Task Force, New York, December, 1967, (unbound).

1. The first would be to maintain and expand the Sixth Form system but to broaden its scope by adding terminal courses or associating it more closely with other post-secondary educational and training programs.

2. The second would be to eliminate the Sixth Form entirely, replacing it with an additional year in a four-year university course, which would draw students directly from the secondary schools.

3. The third alternative would be the creation of a special institution to prepare students for university admission more effectively and at less cost than the present Sixth Form, by taking advantage of current under-utilized facilities and staff.

The three alternatives mentioned above will, in all likelihood, be considered by any future committee or group commissioned to review the whole matter of Sixth Form and the Higher School Certificate Examination.

Other "Alternatives" or Questions Which Could Be Considered

The writer concludes this study by suggesting the need to consider the following questions which could well be asked about Sixth Forms:

1. Should a non-university study committee be appointed? In addition to the committee commissioned by the Vice-Chancellors of the universities, the Ministries of Education of the various States could appoint leading Nigerian Educators from primary, secondary, vocational and teacher training levels to study the future of Sixth Forms. The work of the above

study committee could be co-ordinated by the Federal Ministry of Education, which could provide opportunity for discussions between the above committee and the committee of Vice-Chancellors if it is able to resume its work.

2. Should the "status quo" be maintained but broadened during this period of crisis? The Sixth Forms that presently exist could continue to operate and function as before during the period of crisis which exists because of the civil war. The question is asked, however, should the curriculum of the existing Sixth Form be broadened so that it will provide a broader academic education and/or vocational training for those who do not pass the Higher School Certificate Examination and gain entry into the university?

3. Should the Sixth Form and the Higher School Certificate Examination be abandoned? The question is asked as to whether the two year Sixth Form program, as well as the Higher School Certificate Examination should be totally abandoned? This question or possible "alternative" could be considered with the secondary schools in mind, rather than the universities and their entry requirements per se. The question of the abandonment of the Sixth Form could possibly be considered with the following questions in mind:

a. Would it free qualified staff presently teaching in the Sixth Forms to teach in the five year secondary school program?

b. Would it free classroom space, laboratories and libraries presently used by the select few Sixth Form students?

c. Would it allow those who are bright and academically inclined and interested in pursuing university work, an opportunity for a much broader education in the secondary schools?

d. Would it allow for expansion of the secondary school program at this time without the need to construct many additional facilities, in an atmosphere free from external control?

e. Would it free funds now invested in training small numbers of Sixth Form students to be used for the introduction of sound vocational and technical training programs within existing secondary schools?

f. Would it eliminate the "elitist" aura which surrounds the Sixth Form classes in the secondary schools at the present time?

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There is no doubt that the " . . . time has surely come for careful examination of the alternatives for pre-university preparation . . ."[6] as well as considering the viability of Sixth Form programs and Higher School Certificate Examinations for the future in Nigeria.

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[6] Ibid, p.62.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONFERENCE OF PRINCIPALS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS TO DISCUSS POST-SCHOOL CERTIFICATE WORK IN NIGERIA, 20th JAN. 1950

1) Letter.

Headquarters, Educ. Dept.
Nigeria, Lagos, 26th Jan. 1950.

The Deputy Director, Northern Provinces, Kaduna.
" " " Eastern " Enugu.
" " " Western " Ibadan.
The Colony Education Officer.

1. I forward herewith copy of a resolution which was carried at the recent meeting of Principals of Secondary Schools, University Colleges' delegates and Dr. Jeffrey.

2. Will you please bring this resolution to the notice of Their Honours and the Commissioner of the Colony, and do everything you can to ensure that the matter is fully discussed at the forthcoming Area Developments Committee Meetings with a view to getting the priority so urgently required for the Regional Colleges.

F.K. Butler,
for Director of Education.

2) Resolution.

RESOLUTION PASSED AT MEETING OF PRINCIPALS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON 21st JANUARY, 1950.

This Conference, realising the urgency of the need for providing post-School Certificate education for Nigerian students who are about to proceed to the United Kingdom and other overseas universities, requests the Government to give immediate attention to this question by accelerating the establishment of the Nigerian College which could provide such courses. This meeting urges that pressure be brought on the Area Development Boards to this end. As an interim measure, it is suggested that the Government Secondary Schools be given, as a matter of priority, additional staff, equipment and accommodation.

3) Those Present:-

Mr. F.K. Butler, Acting Deputy Director of Education (HQ)- Chairman.
Miss G. Plummer, O.B.E., Deputy Director of Education (woman).
Miss I.M. Judd, Registrar of Examinations.
Mr. W.H. Thorp, Principal, Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology.
Dr. G.B. Jeffrey, Director of the Institute of Education, London.
Rev. Father Jordon, Educational Adviser to the R.C. Mission.
Mr. A.W.A. Spicer, (for Chief Inspector of Education, Northern Provinces.)
Mr. T.B. Child, (for Colony Education Officer.)
Miss M.M. Saunders, Colony Woman Education Officer.
Mr. R.J. Bunting, Principal, King's College, Lagos.
Miss E. Hobson, Principal, Queen's College, Lagos.
Mr. B.A. Adelaja, Principal, C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos.
Mr. A.B. Oyediran, Principal, Methodist Boys' High School, Lagos.
Rev. Father Mackle, Principal, St.Gregory's College, Lagos.
Mr. N.P. Morris, Principal, Igbobi College, Yaba.
Mother Mary Magdalene, Principal, Holy Child Convent, Lagos.
Miss N. Wedmore, Principal, C.M.S. Girls' School, Lagos.
Mr. A. Hunt-Cooke, Acting Chief Inspector of Education, Western Provinces.
Miss U.M. Orme, Chief Woman Education Officer, Western Provinces.
Mr. H.H. Jeffers, Principal, Government College, Ibadan.
Rev. Sister Louis Bertrand, Principal, St. Theresa's College Ibadan.
Rev. S.A. Adeyefa, Principal, Oduduwa College, Ile Ife.
Mr. A.H. Parnaby, Acting Chief Inspector of Education, Eastern Provinces.
Mrs. E.D. Mather, Acting Chief Woman Education Officer, Eastern Provinces.
Rev. Father Clifford, Principal, Christ the King College, Onitsha.
Rev. Father Sandvoss, Principal, St. Patrick's College,Calabar.
Rev. Mother Anselm, Principal, Cornelia Connelly College, Uyo.
Rev. E.C. Clark, Principal, Dennis Memorial Grammar School, Onitsha.
Rev. R.F. Steven, Principal, Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar.
Rev. Mother McHugh, Principal, Holy Rosary Convent, Onitsha.
Dr. K. Mellanby, O.B.E. Principal, University College, Ibadan.
Mr. E.A. Cadle, University College, Ibadan.
Mr. C.J. Potter, University College, Ibadan.
Mr. F.P.G. Hunter, Registrar, University College, Ibadan.
Mr. G. Braithwaite, University College, Ibadan.
Mr. E.E. Esua, M.B.E. General Secretary, Nigeria Union of Teachers.
Rev. S.I. Kale.

4) The Meeting:-

The Chairman introduced Dr. Jeffrey, who spoke as follows:-

"As you know, I am here to advise on the setting up of a West African Examinations Council. When I have made up my mind about that I am to report back to the people who appointed me. In the meantime I think I might tell you the broad conclusions at which I have arrived, off the record.

I think a good purpose would be served by setting up such a Council. For good or ill the kind of examinations that operate here are going to have a big effect upon the development of education in all its aspects. Therefore one wants to be sure that there is a body that is competent to keep under constant review this whole problem of examinations from the point of view of doing the things that will help the right development of education and avoiding some of the faults that we all know are inherent in examinations. I think we can only get a body sufficiently broad if we build up on a regional basis. I am therefore suggesting that we should have in the four territories seven regions, and committees, not too large, sitting in each of those regions, consisting of the appropriate officers of the Education Department and substantially the principals of schools that are directly involved in examinations. The job of these Regional Committees would be to give preliminary consideration to matters that ultimately would come before the full Council, and they would not, as I see it, be bodies with executive or administrative powers. There is a numerical problem of constructing a Council that can be sufficiently representative and yet be of a size that is practicable to meet at least once a year without undue expenditure of time and money. I think that could be built up by starting with a representation of, say, a couple of people from each of the seven Regional Committees, adding representatives of the University Colleges, the appropriate ex-officio members such as the Directors of Education and so on - a body of about 30-35 that would be in a position to have an expert opinion about the relation of examinations to educational needs here, and a body on the other hand whose opinion would carry great weight both within the territories and in U.K. and other places.

That is really as far as my official business goes. It would be the job of that Council, I think, when it was in existence to consider some very big educational problems and one of these problems is the matter that is chiefly occupying you this morning, the relation of schools to Higher Certificate work. If that is to be the job of an expert and weighty body of this sort, I do not think it is really for me to attempt to say what the answer to the problem is. At the same time I am going to venture, as a friendly observer, not very well informed, to offer a word of warning, that in this matter it

does seem to me you are rather rushing your fences. The kind of qualification I have for offering an opinion of that sort, apart from being a friendly observer, is that I have lived through the whole period of the evolution of the Higher School Certificate in England; I have been concerned with its administration for a good many years and I was also one of a small group who were primarily responsible in the University of London for inducing the University to accept the responsibility which it has accepted towards Colonial University Colleges.

There are certain broad matters that have cleared themselves in mind through the consideration of that range of problems. One is, that there are very good reasons why administratively Universities should be under separate control from the schools of a country and from its Education Departments or Ministries of the country. There are very sound reasons for that, but on the other hand one of the fundamental problems in the educational system of any country is to achieve the right kind of relationship between the universities serving that country and the secondary schools which feed those universities - in particular, a sufficiently clear understanding of the rather hazy line of demarcation that marks where school work ends and university work begins. There is nothing absolute by which that line of demarcation can be determined at all. It varies from one subject to another - quite commonly in universities of the U.K. and elsewhere, subjects which are not commonly pursued at school begin from the very beginning in the university, such as Geology. It is a line too that varies from time to time in the evolution of the educational system in any country and I have got it very clearly in mind that in England there has been a period of 40 years over which a substantially complete transition has been made in relation to the field of studies, which we can broadly call Sixth Form work or First Year at the University, to be attempted in schools at all. University courses were organized on the footing that the undergraduates who came to them were at what we should now call School Certificate level. Over a period of 40 years we got a growing proportion of those who have been able to do this work at school, but it was only after 40 years that we arrived, a couple of years ago, at the conclusion that the time had come in England to shift that line in respect of all those subjects which are normally part of the school curriculum, and that the work which had formerly occupied the first year at the university could be handed over completely to the schools. It was the result of 40 years' evolutionary process in England, and while we might hope that some period of less than 40 years might suffice in Africa, I was a little surprised to find that it was contemplated within 40 months. It seems an undue shortening of the period of evolution.

This must vary from country to country. It needs very careful watching, particularly in a period when secondary education is being formed, that you keep the right kind of adjunction between schools and universities. It is not to be supposed that every university will have its beginning point the same, though one would hope that it would be assumed that universities generally would have a fixed end point and that their degrees would represent substantially equivalent measures of achievement. That, I think, particularly applies within the scope of the University of London operating through its internal and external degrees; it would be contrary to your wishes and the University practice if it was possible for one moment to suggest that the standard required for degrees of London University awarded in West Africa was anything less than those awarded in the U.K. But it does not follow from that, that the work of the University can begin at the same stage here as it begins in England, unless you are quite sure that the schools are able to work to that and that you are not leaving a quite dangerous gap between school and the university.

It will be obvious to everybody that the dangers of that gap are of several kinds. You may take a period which is of very special importance in the development of an undergraduate, the initial period of university work in which his attitude towards study is formed and which is going to follow him through the rest of his academic life - and if you treat it in a weak or unsatisfactory way your university is going to be dogged by that circumstance, that there is something fundamentally wrong at the root of the training of its undergraduates.

What I want to suggest for your consideration is that I do not think that generally speaking the secondary schools in Nigeria are ready to undertake the Sixth Form work represented by a full Higher School Certificate with the expectation that that work can be done in the immediate future in a way that would represent a sound foundation for university work. I think your policy should be at this particular stage of development to consolidate the work of the secondary schools up to the Fifth Form level. There is still work of consolidation of that sort to be done in many of the secondary schools and it is worth doing because it is all important that however far you go you should go on sound lines and be sure you have built up from the beginning. The immediate problem is the consolidation of the work of the secondary schools up to that level. While that is going on, I see no reason at all why there should not be useful and tentative experiments with the forms of Sixth Form work which turn out to be most profitable. I am not sure that you are yet in a position to say that Higher Certificate as conceived in the U.K. is the best form for all pupils who stay on after School Certificate in secondary schools. That range of problems needs

careful approach and experiment over a period of years. With that in mind I am venturing to question the tentative conclusion which has been arrived at here that the time is ripe, or will come within a very short period of years, in which the University will say, "We will no longer tackle this kind of work," even if you say we will in the initial period hand it over only to certain schools.

I am conscious of my limitations in this matter but am offering these remarks as a warning or a red light. If by chance my suspicions are well founded, then I think the consequences to secondary education here may be very serious. We have seen in England the very serious dangers to sound secondary school work which arise when a school which is not really quite ready to tackle the higher work in the Sixth Form feels that under the obligation of dignity or something else it must do it and put up a good show. It sucks the life blood out of the rest of the school and the work in the lower part of the school suffers because there is a premature effort to do things at the top. These are matters which you ought to consider very carefully at this stage."

Following on Dr. Jeffrey's opening address, the Principal of King's College asked whether Dr. Jeffrey would agree that this whole matter had been forced on the Principals by the requirements of the universities overseas, including America. He said that the standards of admission seemed to be growing higher each year and he wanted to know what would happen to students in Nigeria who wished to go abroad to universities who did not come up to these standards. Dr. Jeffrey replied that there would always be difficulty if one tried to gear the schools of one country to the universities of another. He hoped that the practice would grow up that West African students would look for their undergraduate studies to the West African University Colleges, and that the necessity for them to go abroad at the undergraduate stage would diminish, but that greater facilities should be available for West African graduates to go abroad at the next stage. It appeared that at the moment Ibadan was not able to provide for all the potential Nigerian undergraduates and that therefore for some time to come there would be many Nigerians of the undergraduate type who would seek to come direct to England. This was not an ideal state of affairs and it gave rise to the practical problem that they had got to face up to the standard entrance requirements which entailed two subjects at substantially Higher School Certificate level.

The Principal, Dennis Memorial Grammar School, agreed that the problem of "rushing fences" was a very real one. He said that they had been struggling for many years to try and make secondary schools a place where education was

provided rather than just "cram shops" for the School Certificate examination and that just as they were beginning to go forward in this respect they had had this bombshell of having to provide for the Higher as well as the School Certificate if they were to get their students into a university. It was inevitable that School Certificate work would suffer. With their present staff they could not do both adequately for two or three years at least. He would like to suggest that the Ibadan University College authorities should be asked to postpone their requirements for some little time after 1952. He had hoped that the Elliot Commission recommendations for territorial colleges would help to bridge the gap. He mentioned also that there was another problem in the question of staff, because University College, Ibadan, occasionally competed with secondary schools for staff.

Mr. Braithwaite mentioned that students were trying to go to Ibadan to take an Intermediate course with a view to proceeding to another university abroad, and he did not consider that it was good for U.C.I. to accept this, namely providing what is in England a school course. Dr. Jeffrey agreed that U.C.I. should not accept the position of being a preparatory school for universities in England.

The Principal, Methodist Boys' High School, Lagos, asked Dr. Jeffrey to expatiate a little more on "tentative experiments" whilst consolidation took place. Dr. Jeffrey was glad of the chance to dispel any impression he might have given that he did not think well of secondary school work as being done in Nigeria at present. It was inevitable that at this stage of developments examinations should bulk too largely in the mind of African students. He said that there was a great opportunity for experimenting with freer work in a secondary school that had done its job well up to the Fifth Form level and had encouraged a larger and larger proportion of boys and girls to stay on for one or two years after that level. There would be certain pupils at that stage who could undertake very useful studies not directed at any examination. Such students might not even be going on to a university. There was a whole field of discovery for experiment in theory and practice of what were the profitable forms of Sixth Form work other than plain Higher School Certificate. He gave it as his opinion that there was no objection to tentative experiments in Higher School courses but that there should not be a set programme.

After some discussion on the Scottish Leaving Certificate, Deputy Director (Women) gave the meeting the conclusions reached at a recent conference of women principals. They now had eleven girls' secondary schools at various levels; there were three which had been fairly well

established for a period of years and which now had Sixth Forms; the others were painfully building up their schools. The unanimous opinion of the principals of these schools as expressed at the conference (Dr. Jeffrey's views which they had heard only crystallised the opinions that the principals brought with them) was that as far as girls' education was concerned, the time was not ripe for the introduction of Higher School Certificate work. They wished to develop Sixth Form work in one shape or another and they would like to experiment with various forms of work, but as a matter of organic growth and not as forced development due to outside factors. It was true that many of the boys' schools were much farther forward than the girls' schools, but at the same time the women principals did want to encourage the girls to go to the university on equal terms with the men. The principals felt very strongly that if they were forced to take even the first year necessary, at their present stage of development, they would lose all the benefits of the work they had put in so conscientiously and painstakingly over many years. These schools had got to consolidate and the roots in the lower part of the school must have time for a proper organic growth. The actual conclusion reached by the women principals was that the time was not ripe for the introduction of Higher School Certificate work in 1951 and that U.C.I. should be pressed to postpone the abolition of its pre-Intermediate year and the consequent raising of its entrance standards.

The Principal of University College (Dr. Mellanby) said that U.C.I. was in a very difficult position. They were in danger of becoming a preparatory school for British universities. He agreed that some compromise must be reached for this country regarding standards of entry but if they were to work to a final degree standard equivalent to that now being introduced at London University, it would take longer, if students entered at a lower stage, to reach that final stage, and that would mean taking in fewer students. If the course was put up to five years, only a hundred students a year could gain admission. If, on the other hand, those students could stay longer at school, it would mean that U.C.I. could turn out for the same amount of work, a larger number of graduates. He did not consider that there was any hope that they would be able to introduce, even in the next few years, a system in which the Intermediate course was eliminated, as it could be if the Higher School Certificate was taken at the standard at which it was taken at many schools in Britain at present. He assumed that they would still have to run an Intermediate course for some time, but what they hoped was as soon as possible to be able to eliminate a two year Intermediate course. The suggestion that schools might put up their standards and take something equivalent to Higher School Certificate subsidiary subjects

would mean that students would go to University College, Ibadan, amply prepared for a one year Intermediate course. He thought that a compromise of that nature was probably the only solution at present, but that unless entry standards could be raised they would have to keep students for a longer number of years, which would reduce the numbers and the efficiency. If the project of post-School Certificate work was started immediately, U.C.I. would be able to introduce one-year Intermediate courses almost immediately. He was afraid that if they went on exactly as they were doing at present, it would mean that they would actually discourage schools from doing any Higher School Certificate work. He went on to say that subsidiary subjects would do for a one-year Intermediate course, advanced subjects would be equivalent to the two-year course.

Mr. Child mentioned that if schools undertook even the first year work after present School Certificate level they would require the same apparatus and laboratory accommodation as for two years. That equipment and accommodation existed in little more than one of the eleven secondary schools in Lagos. From the staffing point of view, four of those schools were incapable really of taking even School Certificate in Science. The whole of the Cambridge syllabus in science was set on a great depth of practical work, which was almost impossible of achievement at that moment. It would take two or three years to obtain the necessary apparatus and get it working in Nigeria.

The Chairman, and the Acting Chief Inspector, Eastern Provinces, agreed that these remarks applied both to the Eastern and Western Provinces also.

The Chief Woman Education Officer, Lagos, said that in England it very often took three years' post-School Certificate work to reach Intermediate standard and that they might have to face three years and not just two in schools.

The Rev. Father Jordan said that the real danger was that people might begin to think in terms of subjects rather than in terms of education, which was precisely what was wrong with the system in force in Nigeria. He said that they were turning out a race of Africans with very little philosophy or life and breadth of outlook, religious, social, and political. That was really not education, and a radical change of conception in Fifth Form work was required. In Europe they were developing a race of specialists which had led people to the Atom Bomb Age. Was the same to be done in Africa? Mind training was needed, together with certain training in certain subjects.

The Principal C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos, reminded

Dr. Jeffrey that in a previous speech he had said: "Education is the direct means by which a nation tries to shape its destiny and to transform itself from what it is to what it hopes to become." That tallied with what Father Jordan had said. Government planned to shape the destiny of the country. Dr. Jeffrey had said that the people in Nigeria were trying to go too fast; but he (Mr. Adelaja) considered that they had got to go forward. He agreed that consolidation was necessary but suggested that since U.C.I. seemed to be deciding what was to be done, it would be necessary to ask the Principal once more to lower his requirements. School Certificate had been prescribed by universities and the syllabus of work to be done in the upper forms should be what U.C.I. prescribed, so as eventually to be equivalent to United Kingdom standards.

The Principal, University College, said that it was not a question of lowering standards but of the date on which those standards could be raised. If it was not practicable, it could not be done, and he was in favor of compromising as much as possible. But if he did not announce a firm policy he would be damaging the attempts the schools were making, by taking away their best people before they got all they could from the school course. If U.C.I. continued its present standard, he hoped that everybody at the Conference would on every occasion state that it was doing it to help, and not trying deliberately to keep people down.

The Principal of Hope Waddell said that he had about 27 students experimenting in Higher Certificate work, with wider reading, especially in English, a good deal of citizenship, a little extra Mathematics and a little extra Science, and that they did have quite a successful and encouraging year and the boys did manage to get something out of it. People came in from outside departments and gave lectures on their special work, and groups of boys were established, one of which went round rating the town and finding out how rates were established.

The Rev. Father Clifford asked whether it would be possible to hold the Ibadan entrance examination in November. Students would then get one year in school after the School Certificate, whereas at present they could only get about three months. They would then go up to the University after two years. The Principal U.C.I., thought it would be excellent if schools could provide a course for two years. Mr. Potter, of U.C.I., considered that the essential step to be taken at once was to see that as many people as possible spent one year at school after the School Certificate, irrespective of any examination, and in order to help, the University authorities might say that people who had taken School Certificate in December 1950 could not go to U.C.I. until October 1952.

Dr. Jeffrey thought that Dr. Mellanby had gone a very long way towards meeting the opinion of the schools, and ventured to ask him to go one step further and to accomplish this programme as it became practicable, in the closest consultation with the schools. He advised against the University College laying down a policy and schools trying to follow it, but recommended that a close and continuous watch on the state of progress should be kept and that a common decision should be taken when the time had come to move one step further. Part of the difficulty of the College was the two-year Intermediate course against the one-year common in the United Kingdom. That was very largely the question of the maturity of the individual student. If the principle was established that the boy or girl who had just taken School Certificate was not ripe to go to the university, it might be best that there should be a further period (18 months?) at school not necessarily directed to accomplishing a half-way stage in the separate subjects (because that led to difficulties in universities) but a period which was primarily devoted to the development of the student. If a college got students of that sort, they would find that they could do the Intermediate course in one year. London University would be anxious to help the College by envisaging an Intermediate course concerned more directly with the broad principles or philosophical approach to a subject than with a huge mass of detail that a student would accumulate later on anyhow.

Dr. Mellanby agreed, they did not want to rush anybody but they were tied to the standards of British universities. If some solution of the kind suggested by Dr. Jeffrey could be worked out, they would be very pleased.

The Acting Chief Inspector, Western Provinces, warned against any attempt to force the extra year at school. Every school would feel obliged to provide something of that sort and there were enough difficulties as it was in doing ordinary School Certificate work; if something higher was forced on schools, it would only be at the sacrifice of work in the lower classes.

Miss Plummer wondered whether a formula could be worked out which would satisfy everybody. Dr. Mellanby had intimated that he intended to abolish the first year of his Intermediate course at the end of 1951. Dr. Mellanby replied that that was what it was hoped to do in 1951 or 1952. He also said that the University College authorities would be prepared to consider postphoning it, but if schools could introduce a one-year course starting at the end of 1951, the University could at the same time do away with the pre-Intermediate course, i.e. in October of that year.

Mr. Hunter stressed the importance of doing away as soon as possible with the two-year Intermediate course, which made it very difficult for the University authorities to do what they ought to do, if they had to spend one year simply teaching a student basic facts which he ought to have known when he came.

The Principal, King's College, agreed that schools were understaffed and without equipment etc., but stressed the point that the staff and equipment would have to come sooner or later and therefore the sooner the necessary libraries and laboratories were provided, the better. He wondered how many principals found that economic pressure prevented the boys from staying on at school. Many boys left school because the parents said they could not afford the money and frequently did not see the reason for keeping their boys on at school after they had passed the school leaving examination.

The Chairman said that it appeared to be the general view that schools could not undertake Higher Certificate work immediately and that the Education Department would have to insist that schools undertaking post-School Certificate work could only do so with extra staff so that the main body of the school did not suffer. He asked whether the University College authorities would be willing to defer their decision about the date of dropping the pre-Intermediate course until the schools could see their way to meeting him at least half-way. The Principal U.C.I., said he was prepared to do so.

Mr. Thorp suggested a double entry at U.C.I., i.e., keeping going a system by which students could either come in after School Certificate or after one year post-School Certificate, the choice to remain with the school and with the student. As had happened in England, gradually the students would find that it was easier for them to do the University course after a full school preparation rather than immediately after the School Certificate. If this double entry was allowed, the change over to Higher School Certificate work ultimately would be a process of organic growth rather than a forced development. He also expressed the opinion that U.C.I. would have to maintain a pre-Intermediate class but that the numbers would diminish and gradually die a natural death.

Dr. Mellanby said that Mr. Thorp's suggestion would be possible in a number of subjects but that other subjects had a two-year course which covered the whole syllabus and not an elementary year and an advanced year. If the Intermediate course which was less factual but broader based, it might be possible to get a compromise that some who failed could take it again. In British universities overseas

students often failed badly at the end of the first year and then repeated the course with success.

The Chairman observed that the general feeling seemed to be one of compromise again - that the schools on their side would develop Sixth Form work as staff, equipment and buildings became available and that during that period U.C.I. would be prepared not to put down a deadline date for the change.

Dr. Mellanby said that his personal view was that they ought to state that in October 1951 people came in to do a one-year Intermediate course.

Dr. Jeffrey said that he could not commit the University of London, but in the case of each colonial University College it had been prepared to set up an ad hoc scheme of matriculation to meet the circumstances. That meant that in a number of colleges students did not normally matriculate in a University until the end of their first year at College. After further discussion, Mr. Kale proposed that the University be asked to start the change not earlier than 1952. Father Clifford seconded the motion and it was carried.

Entrance Qualifications for United Kingdom Universities and University College, Ibadan.

Mr. Esua (General Secretary, Nigeria Union of Teachers), said that he noticed when in England last year that Nigerian students were at a great disadvantage because they had not got the Higher Certificate. He suggested that the solution locally might be one single institution run by Government which could take over this work and give other schools time to develop their Sixth Form work properly. He understood that the Regional College would undertake that work.

Mr. Thorp said that this question had been discussed at Ibadan; it had appeared there that there was a strong opinion held by some people that this work should not be done at a centralized institution of that kind. It had also been suggested that the Regional College might try to take this kind of work away from the schools - this was not the case. So, working on the decisions of the Ibadan Conference he was trying to make provision for Higher Certificate work for the older students and for those who had no opportunity of taking it at school, purely with the idea of providing an entry to overseas universities in the first place and later with the idea that firms or Government Departments might prefer to employ somebody who had gone up to Higher Certificate level rather than taking them direct from School Certificate classes. His provision was really for the people who were outside the normal stream of education, i.e. "outside

candidates". His whole scheme had been built up on the assumption that schools would look after their own development, and he envisaged a single class entry in arts and science for Higher Certificate. If changed circumstances brought forth a request that more Higher Certificate work should be done, it was a thing which the new College would have to consider very seriously. Mr. Thorp did not see how he could help with the immediate problem. The factor which made possible the rapid expansion of Ibadan also made it impossible for him to offer anything in the immediate future. Ibadan had been offered the only temporary buildings and equipment available, so the Regional College would have to start from the beginning. He saw no possibility of being able to build up a complete Higher Certificate class within two years. He had to find sites, put up buildings, lay on public services and obtain equipment and staff, and he warned that he might be delayed in his plans even further than the two years mentioned if decisions regarding finance were not reached very quickly - that is, if the Area Development Boards meeting next month did not vote for extreme priority. If they granted money straight away, then he could make provision for this type of work as quickly as anyone could.

Mr. Esua then proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Adelaja and was carried by 7 votes to 2:-

"This Conference, realising the urgency of the need for providing post-School Certificate education for Nigerian students who are about to proceed to the United Kingdom and other overseas universities, requests Government to give immediate attention to this question by accelerating the establishment of the Nigerian College, which could provide such courses. This meeting urges that pressure be brought on the Area Development Boards to this end. As an interim measure it is suggested that the Government secondary schools be given, as a matter of priority, additional staff, equipment and accommodation."

Further questions regarding the entrance qualifications for U.C.I. were raised. Mr. Bunting asked whether a candidate taking the examination this year and answering questions only on the arts side would be allowed to take a science course. Mr. Braithwaite said that the Faculty of Science would welcome students whose main interest was Science but who showed a broader cultural background; if, however, the candidate answered arts questions only, the Faculty would want to know why he had neglected Science altogether.

Mr. Jeffers wanted to know whether a boy coming from a school with a proper two-year Higher Certificate course giving exemption from Intermediate, would be exempt from the

University entrance examination. Dr. Mellanby said that at the moment he got exemption from the entrance examination but that if there were a larger number of candidates later on they would have to review that policy.

The next question to be discussed was which schools were prepared to start post-School Certificate work.

Mr. Spicer, from Zaria Secondary School, said that they had not yet got their science equipment but would within the year, and that they were going to start at once with a class of five boys.

Mr. Clark said that the Protestant Missions in the Eastern Provinces had decided provisionally to have courses at Dennis Memorial and Hope Waddell but that they had not promised to take the Higher Certificate. There were 17 boys at Dennis Memorial, 15 at Hope Waddell, arts being taken at the latter and science at the former. They were also taking in boys from Methodist schools.

Miss Plummer said that Queen's College had started in a limited way, that the Convent of the Holy Cross would start in 1951 in arts, St. Theresa's, Ibadan, in 1952 in arts and science, and the Convent of the Holy Rosary in Onitsha in 1952.

Mr. Parnby (Acting Chief Inspector, Eastern Provinces) said that C.K.C., Onitsha, proposed to start in 1951, and that St. Patrick's Calabar, was starting this year experimentally. Sasse were already running a course and Government College, Umuahia, had the usual two terms post-School Certificate.

The Rev. Father Jordan, speaking for the Catholic institutions in the Western Provinces and Colony, said that it was hoped to start in 1951 at St. Gregory's and St. Patrick's Asaba.

Mr. Bunting said that King's College had started a post-School Certificate class this year and hoped to start Higher Certificate work in October of this year if they got the staff and accommodation required (14 boys).

Mr. Jeffers said that Ibadan Government College was the same as Umuahia, running a two-term course till July. There were 22 boys in it at present.

Mr. Adeyefa said that Oduduwa College hoped to start in 1951. In answer to a question from the Chairman about staff, he said that there were two coming from Fourah Bay this year and there were two more in training there also. They proposed

to take in boys from other community secondary schools.

The Chairman repeated that the Education Department would have to be satisfied that the starting of Sixth Form work did not harm the rest of the school.

Mr. Adelaja (Principal, C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos), said that they were starting a post-School Certificate class with 8 boys this year.

Mr. Adeyefa said that Abeokuta, Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode Grammar Schools had decided to pool their resources with the intention of starting Sixth Form work. The Chairman stated that these schools were already hopelessly under-staffed and he could not see any chance of any of these schools undertaking Sixth Form work for the time being.

Mr. Kale asked whether Government could strengthen the staff at King's College sufficiently for them to begin at once and take in boys from other Lagos schools. In the past King's College had provided the School Certificate course and other schools had only gone up to Junior Cambridge standard; for the immediate future might not King's College provide the Higher Certificate work and transfer their Secondary I and II boys to other schools? The Principal, King's College, said that King's was fuller than ever before and there was no spare room. The Chairman remarked that it could be recorded that Mr. Kale's opinion was shared by other members of the meeting, but pointed out that King's College was not a Lagos school but a territorial one. Mr. Adeyefa made the same suggestion regarding Government College, Ibadan; Mr. Jeffers said they would be taking in boys from Edo and Warri Colleges.

Miss Plummer reminded the meeting that they could not spoil the general development of the school for the sake of Higher Certificate work. What Mr. Adeyefa was suggesting was a top-heavy school in which it would be necessary to cease admitting bright young boys for the sake of taking in older boys who were thought to be capable of taking Higher Certificate work; she thought that the number of the latter was being over-estimated.

Mr. Bunting suggested that if they merely wanted to get a Higher Certificate the University Evening Classes might be able to help.

Miss Wedmore (Principal, C.M.S. Girls' School, Lagos), said she assumed that the idea of helping other schools was not discouraged by Government in principle, merely because of practical difficulties. This was confirmed.

Miss Plummer suggested that the Chief Inspectors should make a survey to find out how many boys who wished to go on to Sixth Form work were suitable for it.

Mr. Mellanby pointed out that the problem being discussed really concerned students who wished to go to overseas universities and that U.C.I. could not grow any more quickly for the time being.

The next question discussed was the qualifications of the students for entry to post-School Certificate classes. Part of the difficulty was that of getting results of the School Certificate quickly. Miss Plummer suggested that there might be two distinct examinations for internal and external candidates; if that came about, it would be easier to get the results more quickly from Cambridge and it might also be possible to press for a different date for the examination.

Mr. Hunt-Cooke (Acting Chief Inspector, Western Provinces), suggested that the qualifications for entry should be a Credit in English language and a Credit in the subject to be taken for the Higher Certificate or its necessary precursor subject, and that it was not essential for the student to hold a Grade I Certificate or exemption from London Matriculation. The Chairman pointed out that there were varying opinions on this subject.

Miss Saunders said that it was usually left to the schools whom they selected, and the meeting generally agreed.

The final question to be discussed was the all-important one of cost. Mr. Esua suggested that when the estimate was made of what the extra cost involved would be, Government should find the money by some means or other. Mr. Child estimated the cost as £ 10,000 a year for a class of 30. Mr. Thorp said that economy could be effected by combining Higher Certificate work with work at a similar level and that an estimate made "in vacuo" would be unreal. The Chairman, supported by Mr. Kale, suggested that some of the cost involved might be met by raising school fees.

It was generally agreed that the Education Department should make up as quickly as possible an estimate of the extra cost and ask Government what provision could be made to meet this cost.

F.K. Butler, DDE HQ,
Chairman. 1 Feb. 1950.

APPENDIX B

POST SCHOOL CERTIFICATE WORK

1) Letter.

No. DEX. 5102/105
Headquarters, Education Dept.
Lagos, Nigeria. 26th Jan. 1950.

The Chief Inspector, Northern Provinces, Kaduna.
" " " Eastern " Enugu.
" " " Western " Ibadan.
Colony Education Officer.
The Chief Woman Education Officer, Eastern Provinces, Enugu.
" " " " " Western " Ibadan.
Copy to The Chief Woman Education Officer, Northern Provinces, Kaduna.
The Chief Woman Education Officer, Lagos.

Post-School Certificate Work.

At the recent meeting of the Principals of Secondary Schools, University Colleges' delegates and Dr. Jeffrey, it was recommended that a survey should be made of the schools which intend to undertake Post-School Certificate work, and the years when it is considered that they will have the staff, accommodation and equipment available to enable them to begin.

2. It was further suggested that a survey should be made of the numbers of boys and girls in Secondary Schools who would wish to enter post-School Certificate classes and who are fit to profit by the work therein.

3. It should be remembered in considering the first of these two points that post-School Certificate classes should not be given permission to open if this means reducing the quality of the staff in the rest of the school to such a degree that the work in the main body of the school will suffer. I think, therefore, that you should impress on the proprietors of all Secondary Schools that they should not start post-School Certificate work until they have had full consultation with you.

F.K. Butler, for Director of Education.

30/1/50

2) Letter.

The Deputy Director of Education,
Regional Headquarters,
Education Department, N.P. Kaduna.

ZSS No. 271/26.
Secondary School Zaria,
15th February, 1950.

Post-School Certificate Work

With reference to your endorsement No. DDN. 2526/20 of the 8th February, 1950, it is difficult to give accurate answers to the Director's questions. Where Sixth Form work arises as a natural development in a School there is bound to be a certain amount of equipment available to make a start. In this School where a steady indent for stationery and other equipment has been made annually for four years the needs of an extra class can be met readily. It is when the question of Staff is considered that difficulties arise, because it depends on how far down the School the members are involved. For example in the Sixth Form here, where 38 periods are taught each week and where 15½ hours are devoted to organised preparation periods, five Senior Service graduates are required for English, History, Geography, Mathematics and Science. If Science includes Biology - as it might next year - six officers would be needed. Now, each of these masters is teaching in other parts of the School where there has been an increase in the number of classes for which new masters have been provided, and even a careful perusal of the time-table analysis fails to give a definite indication of the exact increase in Staff consequent on introducing Sixth Form work. In actual fact there are 3 more classes in the School and 4 more masters than there were last year. But I should say that for the extra Sixth Form the increase in Staff required is two. I shall certainly need 2 new Junior Service Staff in 1951 for the lower part of the School when the Senior Service officers will have another Sixth Form, making two in all, to teach.

2. The answer to para. ii is presumable, yes.

3. Para. iii. In a complete Secondary School such as this, there is sufficient accommodation. The only extra accommodation needed is that of Quarters. Cost of two Senior Service houses is £ 4300.

4. Para. iv. I find this very difficult to estimate as I implied in my No. 271/11 of the 6th Jan. 1950, but for this school:

Physics apparatus	£ 171.0.0
Biology "	nil
Text-books	£ 100.0.0
Total say	£ 300.0.0

5. This sum can be met from the Vote 1950-51, in fact I have already paid for some of the text-books required, and so nothing is required from "Development Funds" except the £ 4300 for quarters, and this I believe has already been requested.

A.W.A. Spicer,
Principal (17 Feb. 1950)

3) Letter.

No. DDN. 2526/22
Regional Headquarters,
Education Department,
Northern Province, Kaduna,
Nigeria. 20th Feb. 1950.

The Honourable,
The Director of Education,
Lagos.

Post-School Certificate Work.

With reference to your Memorandum No. DE. 3067/23 of 4th February, 1950, the Principal, Zaria Secondary School has submitted the attached reply.

2. In the matter of Senior Service Staff, he does not mean that two more will be needed since he already has the two extra this year, but we have not yet obtained the funds for building their quarters. Where we are to find the two Junior Service men next year I do not know.

J.B. Cott,
Deputy Director of Education,
Northern Provinces.

4) Memo.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. DE. 3067/43
Lagos, 27 February, 1950.

DDE, NP, Kaduna.
DDE, EP, Enugu.
DDE, WP, Ibadan.
CEO, Lagos.

Copy, for information, with reference to my No. DEX. 5102/105 of the 26th of January, 1950.

F.K. Butler,
Director of Education
(1/3/50)

5)

1 March. 1950

EXTRACT FROM DRAFT REPORT FROM DR. G.B. JEFFREY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

* * * * *

16. I think that provision should continue to be made for the holding of the Higher School Certificate Examination, but that this provision should be used with extreme care for a number of years to come. Some pressure is being put upon West African secondary schools to prepare candidates for the Higher School Certificate Examination in order that they may qualify for entry to Universities in the United Kingdom under the new conditions or for entry to the West African University Colleges. Very few schools have the staff or the equipment to undertake this work with any prospect that it will be really well done. The consequences of premature action might be quite disastrous. Students might proceed to University studies with the necessary paper qualifications but with a seriously inadequate foundation for a proper approach to University studies. At the same time the schools, by straining themselves to undertake this form of Sixth Form work prematurely, might seriously endanger the soundness of their work at the lower level. The great majority of schools have not yet an adequate graduate staff to cope with the work up to School Certificate level and the effect of the diversion of such graduate staff as there is to Higher School Ceritficate work would be disastrous. West African secondary schools should look forward to the time when they are in a position to deal adequately with the whole range of secondary schools studies including Sixth Form work which in appropriate cases is directed towards the Higher School Certificate. The attainment of this aim will, for the majority of schools, take many years. I cannot express too strongly my conviction that the immediate policy for West African secondary schools should be to improve and consolidate their work up to the School Certificate level and that they should abstain from embarking upon Higher School Certificate work until they are in a position to do so without detriment to the work in the lower part of the schools. The problem of African students proceeding to Universities in the United Kingdom and the bridging of the gap between the School Certificate and the new entrance requirements of the Universities should be solved in some other way. These students would gain in maturity and would be better prepared to undertake University studies in the United Kingdom if bridging courses could be provided for them at a relatively small number of centres in West Africa either at University Colleges, Regional Colleges or at carefully selected secondary schools. The problem of students proceeding to the West African University Colleges is, in many ways, simpler. It is the problem in the West

African setting which must arise in every country - namely, the adjoining of University studies to those of the secondary schools from which the University students come. It is a problem which must be solved in any country by consultation between the schools and the Universities with due regard to the needs of the latter and the possibilities of the former. I would hope that the Council would be able to play its part in the solution of this problem in West Africa.

APPENDIX C

TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Address Given Before the Western Conference of Principals at the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria, on October 26th 1954, by Mr. J.R. Bunting.

For many years the main trend of Secondary education in Nigeria has followed the pattern of secondary education in England. In consequence, as in England, the secondary school curriculum has for many years been highly academic in nature and largely controlled by the requirements of examinations set in England. Subjects which may be offered in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination have been included in our curriculum without question, and the introduction of other subjects has been done cautiously and often in the face of public and parental opposition, or not at all. The resemblance has been noticeable, too, in out-of-class activities, which have for many years consisted mainly of team games, often compulsory, and the House system also imitated from the English Boarding schools, has centred almost exclusively around internal competition in these games. The prefect system is another example of the influence of the English tradition, and very often we in Nigeria have been content with these posts as practically the only ones providing opportunities for responsibility, confined though they have usually been to the senior members of the highest class in the school. Whether they have been used consistently to develop an attitude of responsibility and a spirit of service, rather than to provide opportunities for the exercise of unquestioned power and the wielding of a little brief authority is a matter of opinion.

The fact that the English tradition has been built up over many years and that it has stood the test of time is evidence of its strength; that it is a virile tradition is proved by its survival in recognizable form after having been transplanted to distant lands to serve so many different members of our Commonwealth family. It has withstood the test of wars and has helped to build not only a nation but a family of nations.

Without analysing in detail the main characteristics of the British tradition, we might remind ourselves of the prominence of certain clearly marked features. These, not necessarily in order of importance, include the stressing of the importance of character, and, in particular, the

inculcation of the concept of unselfish service; the strong foundation of religion on which the main edifice has been built; the importance of discipline; the stress on athletics in the broadest sense, with particular accent on the ideas of co-operation and team spirit; and the importance of culture-knowledge for its own sake, as opposed to vocational knowledge.

I do not need to remind members of this Conference that the stress laid on the various aspects of the English tradition varies widely from school to school, but the fact that they are still discernible in our schools is evidence that the tradition of centuries lives on.

There is, however, a danger which all of us who are concerned with education in Nigeria today might pause to consider. The pattern of the past is not always the best blue-print for the future. Changing needs often require changing treatment to satisfy them. In the field of medicine newly identified diseases demand further research and familiar ailments receive new treatment. In the field of education, the demands of the twentieth century cannot be entirely met by the methods of the nineteenth century, and most important of all for us, Nigeria today may not always be served best by an approach to education which is based exclusively on what was fashionable elsewhere years ago. Tradition is a living thing; to keep alive and vital and remain strong it must adjust itself to changing needs, but by "needs" I do not mean the clamourings of public opinion, which is not always sound in assessing educational essentials.

A few weeks ago a new Chapter was opened in Nigeria's history. Those who are now attending our schools will very soon be helping to write the contents of this new chapter, and in it the story of the most crucial years of this country will be recorded. Are we justified in thinking that our present standards and our present approach to the problems of secondary education are good enough? Do we feel that our present outlook will ensure that the youth of this country will be educated sufficiently well to meet the challenge of a changing Nigeria, with its problems and its opportunities? Or do we feel that unquestioning reliance on the traditions of the past, sound though they may be in many respects, is not enough?

If we agree that we must adjust the education we give to our changing needs, I hope we shall also agree that a policy of iconoclasm would be dangerous, if not disastrous. It is true that we must move with the times, but it is equally important that education must influence the way in which the times move. The horse-drawn vehicle is now almost a museum piece, but we still speak of horse-power. In this

connection, I would refer to the Inglis lecture given in 1939 to the graduate school of Harvard University by Charles Allen Prosser. His subject was "Secondary Education and Life", and during the course of his address he referred to a report which was adopted some years before by the National Education Association. This report named seven cardinal principles which were declared to be the objectives which the American secondary schools should follow in improving the adjustment of youth to life. "So far as any official action is concerned," he said, "they still remain the objectives on the basis of which all high school (i.e. secondary school) courses are supposed to be selected." He then suggested checking the content of the curriculum against these principles, which are health, common knowledge of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time and ethical character. The lecturer then continued, "The results will be most disturbing, but that is what objectives are for - to measure what is being done against what it was proposed to do."

I have referred to this passage not in order to "sell" the principles just mentioned, although we might consider individually whether we agree with any of them, and, if so, whether or not our own curriculum takes them into account. My purpose is to stress that we, too, should consider, almost every day, the principles and objectives which we believe are desireable and examine whether our aim is on the target or not. The ship of education is a sturdy one and it will not easily sink, but it can drift aimlessly and dangerously, unless the captain takes his bearings regularly and steers well and truely on his course. I have from time to time heard discussions on what our aims and principles should be in Nigeria today. Sometimes the views expressed are helpful, enlightening and stimulating, but occasionally one deduces that the speakers are either at sea without a compass or that with the Ancient Mariner they might have said:

"Day after day, day after day
We stuck, nor breath nor motion..."

It is, I believe, such Conferences as this that can guide and inspire our teachers to renewed efforts, and can help to widen the horizons of those who, often for lack of opportunity and guidance, are not sure where they are going or why they should go.

Let us, then, consider Nigeria's needs at this time, for our aims if they are to produce desirable results, depend on these needs. Increasingly, the Nigerian citizen will be expected to accept greater and greater responsibilities. It is fashionable to use the word "Freedom" but we must ask ourselves the question, "Freedom - for what?" Among the answers might be "Freedom to govern ourselves." This implies

the full acceptance of the responsibilities I have just mentioned; it also implies that the citizen must understand these responsibilities and be trained to accept them. Another answer might be: "Freedom to make up our own minds." This implies that the citizen must be capable of sound judgement independently. It should not imply license and the satisfaction of our own personal needs irrespective of the needs of others. If we agree that "Freedom" should not mean this, then, as a corollary we shall need to impart a clear concept of self-discipline and encourage a highly-developed civic sense wherever possible.

What are we doing in our schools to help our young men and women to answer such questions as those correctly - and with deeds as well as words? What can we do to help them to give the most effective answer to problems which affect the nation's destiny? If we agree that secondary education should help to make the youth of this country better human beings, better citizens and better workers and that this combined goal will help the country, then we must re-examine our approach to secondary education, and, while courageously retaining what is good and vital we must weed out what is ineffective and dead, introducing innovations which will freshen and give new bloom to the tree of tradition. Pruning and budding and fertilizing are good practices in agriculture; the same processes are not to be overlooked in education. An eminent British Member of Parliament once shocked an informal gathering of rather serious-minded people by declaring that the introduction of the Cambridge School Certificate to West Africa had done more harm than all the gin ever exported to the same area. In common with all sweeping statements, this one has an element of truth in it and we might consider one aspect of its implication for a few moments. For many years the possession of the Cambridge School Certificate has been the goal of most of our secondary school children; they and their parents have regarded it as the hall-mark of a good education and the quality of our schools has often been assessed by public opinion on the results obtained in this examination. Reverting to the aims mentioned a few moments ago, we should ask ourselves to what extent this school certificate provides reliable evidence that the holder has the qualities of a good human being, a good citizen, and a good worker. Its importance has been exaggerated out of all perspective by the additional fact that it has in many countries for many years been regarded and used as a passport to a job. Without decrying the importance of external examinations, and the need for objective standards of achievement in them, one cannot claim that the Cambridge School Certificate (or the G.C.E.) provides visible evidence of the holder's true worth or his employability. It is a test of academic achievement, and therefore indirectly of a certain type of intelligence and

ability, but it is fair to point out that many of the world's criminals have been men and women of intelligence who might have done remarkably well in an examination of this type. Most of Shakespeare's villains, as I have said on another occasion recently - if they could be brought to life - would probably have little difficulty in obtaining a reasonably good Cambridge School Certificate.

My aim in developing this argument is not to run down an examination which has for many years served a useful purpose in the framework of our educational structure, but it is to plead for a new outlook, for a revised sense of values which will place the examination and the certificate in their proper perspective and context. Public opinion must be educated and helped to understand that our sole aim is not to produce generation after generation of what are loosely called "Cantab" Certificate holders who believe that possession of this certificate entitles them to think that the world owes them a living. If our aim is to help the youth of this country to become good human beings, good citizens, and good workers, then our schools and those who leave them must not, in future, be assessed so exclusively on external examination results. We must indeed maintain and improve our academic standards, but we must do more, and children, parents, and some schoolmasters, I fear, must be brought to realise this.

This brings me then, to the first innovation I would suggest for your consideration. In addition to any external examination certificate obtained, I would like to see every boy and girl on leaving given an internally awarded certificate, divided into three main sections which would provide in words a summary of the boy's or girl's cumulative record throughout his or her school life. The first section would reflect development as a worker, and would show the academic record, including details of internal as well as external examinations; the second would reveal his or her qualities as a human being, and would be a character analysis based on the pooled opinions of the school staff. This section would include comment on the development of such qualities as reliability, leadership, honesty, a spirit of service, cooperativeness, moral courage, loyalty, consideration for others, punctuality, and so on. The third main section would reveal the holder's potentiality as a citizen, and in it would be recorded posts of responsibility, service, and leadership held in the school, as well as membership of various out-of-class activities. Comments on health, vocational guidance, etc., might form an appendix (in this connection, incidentally, the appointment of a careers master is still overdue in many schools).

I have found that such a certificate, if explained to

boys as soon as they enter school, can have a useful effect in various ways. In the first place, it helps them to understand what is expected of them, and it also shows them how they can plan to help themselves by reminding them that there is more to education than mere bookwork. There is another point too, which is not without importance. Many employers in the country in which I first used this type of certificate assured me that they much preferred it for purposes of helping them to assess employability to any other kind of certificate simply because it covered more ground. It told them what they wanted to know, and although the report on the holder's academic achievement was quite comprehensive they were also seen in perspective. The brilliant all-rounder lost nothing in this way, but the self-centered bookworm who had a good brain was helped to realise that character and citizenship are important too. The boy who tried hard but who was, like Sir Winston Churchill, not distinguished in certain traditional studies, was encouraged to find that he was not a failure in life, having discovered that there are other things in heaven and earth which were not to be lightly regarded merely because they were not "in the examination syllabus". Briefly then, I feel we all have a constant duty to remind ourselves and the public as a whole that we are educating in our schools not simply for the examinations of Cambridge or London, but for a far more important examination for which no definite syllabus can be prescribed but which everyone must take - the Test of Life. From now onwards in Nigeria this will be a test which will demand the maximum efforts of each one of us and of those who are entrusted for a few brief years to the care and guidance of members of the teaching profession in this land.

I mentioned briefly at the outset of my remarks the traditional use of the house system and pointed out that it usually centres round internal sports contests. Arising from what we have just been considering, I would now suggest for your consideration that it is possible to make the house system more significant and more educationally useful in our schools if we widen its area of operation. Just as, in class, not every boy finds himself able to make a mark, so on the sports field many a youngster comes to feel something of a nonentity or even a social outcast because, to use a familiar phrase, he is "no good at games". If we are to try to make every member of our school develop civic sense he must first be brought to feel a member of a community and be able in some way to contribute actively and positively to the welfare of that community. If house activities and competitions are organized so that they cover almost every aspect of school life, it is fairly certain that every child will find that he or she is able to make some contribution in some way which will give him a real sense of belonging to his group and of being valuable to it. If this can be done, the battle of converting

the passive citizen to the active one is half won. The annual inter-house competitions, then, might be based not on games alone but on games, work, Arts competitions and so on. I mention this without expatiating on it. All I would add is that the House system can be made more effective and educationally useful if a few innovations are added to its traditional usage.

I do not intend to encroach on the ground which I suspect will have been covered by your President in his address on the curriculum in Nigerian schools, but I would, if I may, put in a strong plea that you consider introducing a course of civics and citizenship training in your schools if it is not already there. It seems to me that anything we can do in our schools to help the youth of this country to understand the virtues of good citizenship and practice them is more than desirable. Preparation, training and coaching are regarded as essential for the good footballer, athlete and cricketer; every games player is expected to know the rules or laws of the game. Why, then, neglect as we have done for so long, the preparation and training so essential for good citizenship under a democratic form of government? Here the schools of the U.S.A. have been pioneers and we can learn from them, provided that learning does not deteriorate into mere slavish imitation.

This brings me to the subject of the School Council which occupied the deliberations of this Conference briefly a year or two ago. We have seen the introduction of the prefect system into most of our schools. Where it has been used as a training ground for increased responsibility and duty rather than as a club for the exercise of privilege and power it has served and may continue to serve a most useful educational purpose - for the selected few who reach prefectorial status by seniority, or, as I would prefer, by clear merit. But not all our boys and girls can be prefects, nor can all our citizens be leaders. All can however, be trained under wise and patient guidance to know what the acceptance of responsibility entails. There is much in the day to day affairs of school life which can be gradually turned into useful training ground for the acceptance of future civic duties, provided it is done gradually and wisely. Some extreme opponents of this idea talk sweepingly of what they call the "maddness of letting kids run the schools". I would personally be the first to agree that to allow such a thing would be entirely unsound, but much can be done realistically and without sham here in Nigeria despite the views of those who oppose moving away at all from the traditions of the English public school prefect system. That it has been done in one school, and is being introduced with correct caution in some others may encourage us all to consider whether this is not annother innovation which might

help us to achieve our objectives.

It is a peculiar fact that political advance has usually preceded wide-scale educational developments, and this paradox has appeared in Nigeria as the milestones of Constitutional progress are passed. For many years we and our colleagues in the Primary and Secondary Modern Schools will be working to bridge the gap, so that in this country the education of the people may keep pace with the steps being made towards government by the people. It is with this in mind that I have mentioned four possible innovations for your consideration; first, a new form of School Leaving Certificate to be given to all school leavers; secondly, the introduction of a course in Civics and Citizenship training with the stress laid on converting knowledge into action; third, a reconsideration of the nature of the House System, and fourth the expansion of school activities to include a School Council. To this might well be added the introduction of a wider variety of out-of-class activities generally. Not all our children are great games players, but all need more guidance in the right use of leisure.

It may have been noticed that I have so far said very little of the things of the spirit. May we, therefore, remind ourselves of what were listed earlier as some of the enduring qualities of the British tradition of education. I stress these again now, for to discard them would be the first step in a rapid decline to the darkness of the totalitarian concept of education where man becomes a mere cog in the state machine, and where belief in the importance of the individual human personality is submerged and lost. An Italian statesman Mazzine once declared: "He who can spiritualize democracy will save the world". I wonder if you will agree with that, or with the statement that the soul of education is the education of the soul? If so, you may also wish to recall a phrase of Abraham Lincoln's neatly varied by Mr. Randall Hogarth when he lectured to teachers in Ibadan a few years ago. "Where there is no vision," he said, "the pupils perish."

All this, then, implies for us the importance of remembering daily that in all our plans and in all our teaching, the ultimate Good - in the finest sense - of the individual child must constantly be in the forefront of our minds. If such things as Art, Music, Poetry and Drama have found little place in our schools so far, and if we have not given prominence to things of the spirit and the ideals taught in the religion we profess to believe, we may wish to take stock and examine from whence we have come, and where we are going. Are we leading our children to the light, or down into the dark valley of materialism and self-interest? "Spero Lucem" is a motto well known to all of us who are concerned with education in Nigeria. I hope we shall not see future

generations perverting this noble concept into the all too popular "ideal" of this century - personal gain at any cost, and let the rest look after themselves. "Spero Lucrem" is bad Latin, I admit, but would be an even worse outlook !

Are we still faithful to that aspect of tradition which places character before intellect? I fear myself that we have sometimes wandered down the by-paths to worship the false gods of external examinations, and in doing so, have moved away unconsciously from the concept of the importance of educating the whole man, body, mind and spirit, and have concentrated on cramming the mind. Let us beware of this danger, for we want citizens capable of independent and sound critical judgement, not citizens who are human parrots or sheep; we want from young men and women not selfishness and unscrupulous personal ambition but integrity, co-operation, and a spirit of service. The words of a great school-master, Percival, come to mind here. During a sermon which he gave at Clifton College Jubilee he expressed feelings which will find an echo in the heart of all who hope to see the youth of today meet the challenge of tomorrow successfully. This is what he said:

> "I still dream of the time when from some school, under some influence which as yet we know not, there shall go forth year by year a new generation of man, who shall be characterized not merely by some social, athletic or literary accomplishment, some conventional varnish or culture, but by a combination of gifts and strength and moral purpose, which shall stamp them as prominent workers, if not as leaders and prophets, in the next stage of our country's evolutionary progress. There is still abundant room, to say nothing of the crying need, for these social missionaries of a new type, who shall be men of simple and pure tastes, the declared enemy of luxury and self-indulgence and greed, whether vulgar or refined; men in whom public spirit, public duty and social purpose shall be practicable and guiding motives, not vague and intermittent sentiments; men who shall feel the call to alter the conditions of life, and remove the manifold temptations which are working so destructively among the multitudes of our poorer classes; men who, with all these, are not bigoted, but who realize that earnestness of purpose and a tolerant spirit are not incompatible, and above all, men whose life shall be guided by a serious and humble and reverent spirit who may fairly be described as true Christian citizens - strong, faithful, and not afraid."

These words, one feels, have a not insignificant message for us in Nigeria today whether we are Moslems or Christians.

Turning now to the remaining outstanding features of our tradition we find the importance of discipline is still accepted, but we might perhaps remind ourselves that external discipline through fear is the discipline of totalitarianism, and the weapon of dictators. Self-discipline born of knowledge, understanding, and loyalty, has usually proved more real and therefore more lasting.

Lastly, the prominence of games in our schools is again a reminder of a long tradition. All will be well if we continue to insist on fair play, chivalry, team spirit and the lessons of co-operation, and stamp out all signs of bad sportsmanship and that unfortunate attitude which attempts to persuade boys that victory is all important, and defeat is disgrace. These have no part in our tradition, and it were better that no games were played at all than that they were played in such a spirit.

We stand, then, today at a very crucial stage in the educational history of this country. New problems have arisen, new opportunities present themselves. Of all countries it is true to say that "Upon the education of the people of this country, the fate of this country depends." Let us therefore take up the challenge together and by self-examination ensure that we are adjusting our secondary education to the needs of present day Nigeria. One man's educational meat may not provide the best nutrition for his brother. Adherence to what has proved clearly valuable in the past together with wise innovation and modifications for the future will help to ensure the fulfilment of our aims. It is then, because I feel that we might find not only the safest but the best highway for our future progress along these lines that I have spoken today on tradition and innovation in secondary education.

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APPENDIX D

STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Federation of Nigeria - Northern Region

APPENDIX E

LETTER: RE: H.S.C.

D.E. 3067/153
7th April, 1951.

The Deputy Director of Education, EP, Enugu.
" " " " " WP, Ibadan.
" " " " " NP, Kaduna.
The Colony Education Officer, Lagos.

There may be a danger that the Resolution recorded in Item XVII (The Jeffrey Report) of the Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Central Board of Education will obscure our intention and obligation, expressed elsewhere in the Minute, of introducing Higher School Certificate work into suitable schools as soon as we can. It has been reported to me lately, too, that there is a rising demand for Higher School Certificate work and very possibly a reasonable number of pupils able and willing to follow the course. In my letter No. DEX 5102/105 of the 26th January, 1950, to Chief Inspectors and Chief Woman Education Officers (a copy of which is attached) it was asked that a survey be made of the numbers of boys and girls in secondary schools who would wish to enter post-School Certificate classes and who are fit to profit by the work therein. Replies were somewhat fragmentary and, although I realise that it is a rather nebulous assignment, I shall be glad if you will arrange for a new survey to be made and the results sent to me by the end of July.

2. It has been suggested that the Regional College should undertake this work for a period of years and the Principal would reluctantly agree to this, if it were absolutely necessary. It is not within the planned scope of the College nor do its financial arrangements provide for it. The Principal made a very rough estimate that to provide for an annual entry of 50 pupils on a two year course would require £ 50,000 in Capital Expenditure and an annual recurrent expenditure of £ 130 per pupil. These sums would have to be found by the Regional Governments in rough proportion to the number of pupils from each Region. The College might be ready to receive pupils in September 1952. The course would be located at Enugu.

3. Frankly I think that this is an expedient that should be avoided if possible and I would prefer to press on with our intention of providing this course at certain Government Colleges and selected Voluntary Agency Schools. King's

College has already introduced the Higher School Certificate course, both on the Arts and Science side, with nineteen pupils, five of whom are girls. I should like special consideration to be given to the possibility of Ibadan Government College and Umuahia following suit in the near future. Already a considerable building programme is in operation at these Colleges and any extension that may be required to include the Higher School Certificate course could most suitably be discussed soon to be in time for the 1952/53 estimates. Consideration can be given at the same time to the requirements of the Voluntary Agencies which may be deemed suitable and are willing to undertake this work. As the additional expenditure will fall on Regional funds at least in regard to Government Colleges, regional action will be necessary, although I will, of course, represent the case, too, to Government as a 'major overall Nigerian interest' when I have received your proposals. The provision of additional funds for the Voluntary Agencies may be a central responsibility but I shall need your views and estimates to support an application.

4. I cannot help thinking that some of the requirements previously mooted for the staffing of Government Secondary Schools are a little extravagant. To ask for a staff of 24 teachers plus 6 leave reliefs (in addition presumably to the Principal) for a double-stream secondary school with a single-stream Higher School Certificate course seems to me to be 'reaching for the stars'. While I would deprecate the conversion of our schools into 'cramming shops', I suggest that we must also avoid the temptation of considering them in the terms of the more expensive Public Schools at home.

5. The Arts and Science Panels of the Secondary Syllabus Sub-Committee have made the following recommendations:-

"Minimum Qualification for Teachers.

After some discussion, the Board agreed:-

(a) that post-certificate work shall be considered extra to the graduate requirements of the school;

(b) that the graduate requirements of the code (i.e. 1 graduate per 90 pupils) was too low a ratio, and that every effort should be made to increase this in order to strengthen the foundations of School Certificate work and work prior to that;

(c) that there shall be one graduate member for each subject taken at post-certificate level, with proviso that non-graduate staff, with long and successful experience in this work, should be eligible for consideration;

(d) that all schools must be approved by the Chief Inspector of Education before undertaking post-certificate work;

(e) that for Geography and Mathematics, a General Degree would be accepted; but for History, English and Latin an Honours Degree was preferred, though a good pass degree specializing in these subjects would be accepted;

(f) for Science subjects, an Honours or Special Degree in the subject is considered essential.

The Board suggested that, although it was not within their terms of reference, every effort should be made to induce graduates holding honours degrees and now employed in Administration, to revert to the teaching side of the Service."

R.J. Mason,
Ag: Director of Education.
(12/4/51)

APPENDIX F

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS IN 1952

Northern Region of Nigeria, Government Printer, Nigeria, 1953. (17 pp)

page 10. VI. Post Secondary.

"There are at the moment only nine Northerners at the University College Ibadan. The reason for there being so few is that only now are our secondary schools producing students of sufficient educational standard to pass the University Entrance Examination. This examination is competitive, that is to say, candidates sit for the examination, and the University Examination Board select the best on the examination results. There is no question of a candidate obtaining a certain number of marks and thereby automatically obtaining entrance. The reason for this is that the number of places available are still not sufficient for the number of those wishing to enter University College. The fact is that the Northern students have to compete on an equal basis with students from the other two regions. The North has had little success so far, but with much better results in School Certificate achieved in Zaria last year, the hopes for the future are brighter. Seven boys have just sat the entrance examination and there is good reason to believe that several of them will gain admittance. But there is another reason for there being only a few Northerners at the University College. In the past, students have not wanted to go there, and for two main reasons. It has been easy to get a lucrative job with a school certificate qualification, and a few of the Northerners have not been happy at the college; the large number of students from other regions has tended to make them feel very much in the minority and political tensions between the regions has not made the atmosphere congenial.

page 12.

The need in this Region for pre-university training needs further explanation. It is not generally understood that a School Certificate, even Grade I is not a qualification which guarantees entrance to a University in the United Kingdom, even if there is an opening available. Nowadays with the increasing competition for university training in the United Kingdom, a Higher School Certificate or an equivalent examination is required. The difficulties do not end there; a credit is required

in the particular subject or subjects which the university think are fundamental to success in studying for a particular career.

For instance the student who wishes to be a Doctor must have credits in Physics, Chemistry and Biology."

APPENDIX G

REPORT OF THE VISITATION

Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology,
March/April, 1958.
D. Greenway & Sons, Ltd., Day and Night Printers,
London, 1958.
From the Ahmadu Bello University Library.

Members of the Visitation:
Sir Daniel Lindsay, Chairman, Council for Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology.
Anthony M. Chitty,
D.H. Alexander.

page 3. College History.

11. The outline of the College history can be found in the 'Report of the Visitation', and it is only necessary to record here the origin, purpose and intentions of the College in sufficient detail to provide the backcloth to our investigation. The Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed a Commission in 1943 to consider higher education in West Africa; some of its views were endorsed by a delegation of the Inter-Varsity Council for Higher Education in the Colonies in 1947; in 1950 a working committee (Dr. F.J. Harlow and Mr. W.A. Thorp) published its recommendation to establish the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology - the College to be a Federal Institution with branches at Enugu, Ibadan and the Zaria headquarters, by direction of the Council of Ministers, being established at Zaria.

12. The College was set up to be complementary to the other institutions of higher education in Nigeria - University College Ibadan, and University College hospital - its main purpose being to provide courses leading to the attainment of full professional qualifications in subjects other than medicine.

page 4. Courses of Study.

15. Intermediate courses, leading to Advanced Level in the General Certificate of Education of London University or to the Preliminary examinations of various professional bodies, have in practice been confined to Arts courses in Latin, English, History, and Geography, and Science courses

in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology and Botany. The number of students enrolled for Intermediate courses has risen from 135 in 1954-55 to 401 in 1957-58, these representing percentages of 53 and 56 respectively. The courses therefore form an important part of the College's teaching responsibility. Supplying as they do teaching equivalent to that carried out in Sixth Forms of Grammar Schools, they are an indispensible supplement to the secondary school facilities which the regional Governments are endeavoring to provide, but which they can only provide slowly owing to shortage of buildings, equipment, staff and money, and in smaller or remoter secondary schools may never find its economics are even practicable to provide at all. These courses can therefore be regarded as a Federal Service provided free of cost to the Regions, which it is the advantage of the Regions to retain while their own secondary schools are being brought up to Sixth Form standard.

page 7. Recommendations.

39. We now turn to consider what educational developments seem advisable during the next four years. In regard to Arts, Science, we put forward three recommendations- (1) that the present arrangements for post-School Certificate teaching should be continued for these four years and for one further year beyond, during which year a thorough reassessment of the College's commitment in this field should be undertaken, having regard to the progress actually achieved by the Regions in providing Sixth Form work in their secondary schools. Meanwhile no extension of the teaching at this level in the College should be authorized, either in respect of the number of subjects taught or of students admitted....

APPENDIX H

SUBJECT GROUPING - GENERAL EDUCATION THROUGH SPECIALIZATION

Timetables I and II are possible ways of developing a wider range of studies offered to sixth form pupils; they show that the provision of FOUR subjects to the Advanced Level, spread over the Arts and Sciences, would not present insuperable problems in devising sixth form or general school timetables. It is even suggested that most schools would benefit by the new arrangement in that the timetables give greater flexibility without incurring more teacher-hours.

Note that a 35-period week is assumed. Each of the main subjects is given seven periods per week and the remaining seven are reserved for Religious Instruction, Methodology and Philosophy, Physical Education, Arts and Crafts, etc. Current Affairs may be added but one often wonders what this subject really means, (better in an extracurriculum society).

By arranging the subjects in FIVE blocks, there will be no timetable clashes providing that any pupil will take ONE subject and not more than one from each of the FOUR examination subject blocks. A high proportion should take Mathematics and English is so arranged as to make it easy to include it in one of the FOUR advanced levels.

The subjects are grouped as follows:

Group A (1)	Group B (2)	Group C (3)	Group D (4)
Maths.	Hausa	Physics	Latin or Classical
Biology B	Yoruba	Biology A	Arabic
African Studies	Ibo	French	Geography
	French	Ancient History	Chemistry
	Modern Hist.		English B
	English A		(Maths.2)

Group E (non-exam.)
Religious Instruction
Music (local or general)
Philosophy & Methodology
Arts or Crafts
Physical Education

Assuming that there are at least TWO sixth form sets in all of the subjects taken, then the above combinations work well, staffing being considered optimum. To assist versatility, two parallel sets, both in the first and second years, operate in Biology and English. The timetable allows that for each practical subject there will be TWO double periods and THREE single periods; also that specialist teachers would be able to teach all of the classes in their subjects. Linguists might find this last point difficult to apply, but then the languages could be shared out.

Physical Educational and optional subjects like Art, Music, etc., could be interchanged if necessary (e.g. in co-ed schools) with Philosophy and Methodology and any other <u>two</u> subjects. Where double Mathematics is required then a second Mathematics group could be added to Block D.

APPENDIX I

TIMETABLE I - LOWER VIth

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
M	Vernacular Af. Stu. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Vernac. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	P.E.	Latin (Arabic) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Philos. & Method.
I	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	R.I.	Maths. Biol. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Maths. Biol. B
W	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Maths Biol. B	Vernac. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Vernac. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Maths. Biol. B	Arts Music Drama Crafts	
TH	Vernac. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Latin (Arabic) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Maths. Biol. B	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Vernac. Mod.Hist. Eng. A
F	Vernac. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Maths. Biol. B	Maths. Biol. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Philos. & Method.	P.E.

Note: 1. Maths. is counted as a science subject.
2. Geography is counted as an arts subject.
3. Non-mathematicians must do geography.

TIMETABLE II - UPPER VIth

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maths. Biol. B	Maths. Biol. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	P.E.	Latin (Arabic) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Latin (Arabic) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	R.I.
Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Philos. & Method.	Vernac. Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Vernac. Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A
Latin (Arabic) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Vernac. Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Maths. Biol. B	Maths. Biol. B	Vernac. Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Philos. & Method.	P.E.
Maths. Biol. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Latin (Arab.) Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Vernac. Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Latin (Arab.) Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Art Music Drama Crafts	
Maths. Biol. B	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Vernac. Geog. Chem. Eng. B	Vernac. Mod.Lang. Mod.Hist. Eng. A	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Physics Biol. A French A.Hist.	Maths. Biol. B

Note:
1. Maths. is counted as a science subject.
2. Geography is counted as an arts subject.
3. Non-mathematicians must do geography.

APPENDIX J

SELECTED SAMPLES OF HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS SYNDICATE
Higher School Certificate and G.C.E. (Overseas Centres).

CHEMISTRY.

Paper I. (Monday Nov.22, 1965) 2½ hours.
Instructions: Answer five questions. Include question 1 or 2 or both of these questions. Write on one side of the paper only. Mathematical tables are provided.

1. How, and under what conditions, does acetaldehyde react with (a) sodium hydroxide, (b) sodium hydroxide and iodine (c) sulphuric acid, (d) hydroxylamine, (e) sodium bisulphite? Describe one reaction of acetaldehyde not included in the above examples, that would distinguish it from acetone.
2. Describe the preparation of phenal from benzene. Give two reactions to show how the properties of the hydroxl group of phenol differ from those of the hydroxl group of ethanol (ethyl alcohol). How would you distinguish between phenol and benzoic acid by means of two chemical tests?
3. What do you understand by the terms (a) proton (b) electron (c) neutron? Show how these particles contribute to the atomic structure of an atom with an atomic number of 13 and a mass number of 27, and deduce the valency of this element. Draw diagrams to show the electronic structures of (i) magnesium chloride, (ii) carbon tetrachloride. How do these structures account for three of the observed differences in properties of these two chlorides?
4. Describe how you would measure the depression of the freezing point of water due to the addition of a solute. Illustrate your answer with diagrams of the apparatus used. Calculate the freezing point of a 0.75% solution of acetamide (C_2H_5ON). What conclusion could you draw from the fact that a 0.50% solution of ammonium acetate freezes at the same temperature? (H=1,C=12,N=14,O=16; the cryoscopic constant, K, per 1000 gm. of water =1.86°C)
5. Explain the following facts:
(a) The pH of an aqueous solution of sodium bicarbonate is greater than 7. (b) A solution of sodium hypochlorite can be obtained by electrolysing brine. (c) Iodine is

more soluble in an aqueous solution of potassium iodide than it is in water. (d) Calcium phosphate dissolves in dilute hydrochloric acid but calcium sulphate does not. (e) The solid obtained when an aqueous solution of sodium sulphate is evaporated slowly at 25°C differs from that obtained at 40°C.

6. Outline the experimental evidence and give the reasoning upon which the molecular formula of ammonia is based. How and under what conditions does ammonia react with (a) silver chloride (b) sodium (c) carbon dioxide?
7. Outline one method for the industrial extraction...etc.
8. Explain what is meant by each of the following...etc....

BIBLE KNOWLEDGE

Paper I. (Nov./Dec. 1966) 2½ hours.
Instructions: Answer four questions, 3 from Section A, one from Section B.

A. 1. What contribution did Moses make to the religion of Israel?
2. What were the political and religious results of the entry into Canaan?
3. Give some account of the organization of the kingdom under David and Solomon.
4. Discuss the place of prophets in the political affairs of the nation up till the time of Jehu.
5. 'Each of the prophets in his own way emphasised an aspect of the truth of God needed in his contemporary situation.' Discuss this with reference to either Amos or Hosea.
6. State what you know about the place and function of priests in Israel in the pre-exile period.
7. 'Isaiah more than any other pre-exile prophet made prophecy an important factor in the life of the nation.' Discuss.

B. 8. What estimate of Jeremiah's character can be made from the book?
9. (Jeremiah 38:4) How far was this allegation made about Jeremiah true?
10. Summarize briefly the main elements in the message of Jeremiah.

HISTORY Paper 3. ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS Paper 5.
(30 Nov. 1966) 2½ hours. Answer four questions.

1. In what ways, and for what reasons, did working-class diet improve either between 1815 and 1914 or between 1920 - 1960?
2. Discuss the importance of overseas possessions for the British economy during the nineteenth century.
3. What were the main legal or organizational problems which faced trade unions either before 1848 or between 1848-1914?

Questions 4 - 12 are in like vien.

ENGLISH 2½ hours.

Paper 2 (Shakespeare) (Thursday Nov. 25, 1965)

Instructions: Answer Section A and any two questions in Section B.

A.

1. Choose two of the following passages, of which one, but not more, must be taken from passages (a) to (d) and then:
   (i) Rewrite each of your chosen passages in full in Modern English. Your chief object is to make the meaning as clear as possible.
   (ii) Indicate the exact context of each in not more than two or three sentences.
   (iii) Comment on those aspects of each passage which contribute most towards its particular poetic and dramatic effects.

(a.- 16 lines from Hamlet. b.- 14 lines from Hamlet. c.- 20 lines from Coriolanus. d.- 19 lines from Coriolanus. e.- 18 lines from The Tempest. f.- 16 lines from Much Ado About Nothing. g.- 8 lines from Henry.)

B.

2. Either (a) How important is the theme of guilt in Hamlet?
   Or (b) Discuss the dramatic function of Hamlet's relationship with Laertes or with Ophelia.
3. Either (a) 'Rome is the real hero Coriolanus'. Discuss.
   Or (b) 'The Roman cult of uncompromising virtue is responsible for the downfall of Coriolanus'. Discuss.
4. Either (a) 'Prospero's Revenge'. How far do you think this is suitable sub-title for The Tempest?
   Or (b) Discuss Shakespeare's use of the supernatural in The Tempest.
5. Either (a) What evidence, if any, of cynicism do you find in Much Ado About Nothing?
   Or (b) What dramatic use does Shakespeare make of the contrast between Beatrice and Hero, or Benedick and Claudia?
6. Either (a) 'A colourful pageant, lacking subtlety and realism.' Comment on this estimate of Henry V.
   Or (b) 'In Henry V the characters held up for our admiration are the least life-like'. Discuss.

ART Paper 5. CRAFTS A. (Nov./Dec. 1966) 3 hours.

Instructions: Answer one question. Except where questions ask for a particular medium candidates are recommended to consider the choice of different media and processes; printing with lino, vegs, fruit, wax, stencil, inks, collage, poster and water colour.

1. Write the following poetry into a book....Use good foundational or italic hand, adding any decorative features you wish.
2. Design pictorial poster for exhibition of food, using only the following words in the design: FOOD FAIR DECEMBER 1966.
3. Make a decorative bookplate for a book presented by musicians.
4. Make an all over pattern for end papers for album...in color.

GENERAL PAPER

(Friday Nov. 19, 1965) 2 hours and 40 minutes.

Instructions: Answer two questions, each from a different section. Sec. B,C,D, require compositions. All questions carry equal maximum marks. Begin each answer on a fresh sheet of paper.

A. Read the following passage carefully and then answer the questions (a), (b), (c), (d) on p.4. Use your own words, and credit will be given for relevancy and logical presentation.

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals....etc. (75 lines from Elspeth Huxley, adapted).

(a) Summarize in not more than 90 words the first 2 paragraphs.
(b) Explain the first economic argument that the author advances for the preservation of wild animals.
(c) Explain what you think the author means by (i) heritage, (ii) 'if beauty is no passport to survival' (iii) proliferate (iv) habitat (v) a world becoming daily more drab and ridden by routine (vi) replacement capacity.
(d) What proposals does the author make about buffaloes in her last paragraph?

B. 1. 'To understand another nation you must know something of its history'. Discuss this statement.
2. The greatest evil is fear.
3. 'A two-party system is not the only form of democracy.' Discuss.
4. Discuss the relative merits and demerits of direct and indirect taxation.

C. 1. Sixty years ago the conservation of mass and the conservation of energy would have been accepted by scientists as basic principles. How far have they had to modify their views since?
2. 'Scientific training tends to destroy the power of artistic appreciation'. Discuss.
3. Sources of energy, today and tomorrow.
4. 'The wealth of a country depends on the work of its people rather than on its natural resources'. Discuss.

D. 1. 'It is better to do things than to read about them'. How far do you agree with this?
2. 'Studying past or present European cultures hinders us from developing a culture appropriate to our own situation today'. This is often expressed by students in your country. Do you agree?
3. In this age of mass production, on what grounds would you encourage the old crafts?
4. Story-telling as an art in your country; its past, present and future.

PURE MATHEMATICS

Paper 3. (Wednesday Dec.1, 1965) 3 hours.

Instructions: Answers to not more than nine questions are to be given up. A pass mark can be obtained by good answers to about four questions or their equivalent. Begin each answer on a fresh sheet of paper and arrange your answers in numerical order. Mathematical tables and squared paper are provided.

1. Prove that $\frac{1}{x^2+\lambda x+4}$ is positive for all real values of x, if λ is numerically less than a certain positive quantity k. Sketch the graph of the function (i) when λ =5, (ii) when λ =2, (iii) when λ =k.
2. (i) If a, b, c, are the roots of the equation $x^3 + px^2 + qx + r = 0$, form the equation whose roots are bc, ca, ab.
   (ii) If the roots of the equation $27x^3-63x^2+qx-8=0$ are in geometrical progression, find the value of q.
3. (i) Prove that ... etc.
   (ii) Find the sum of the series $(n-1)^2+2(n-2)^2+3(n-3)^2+\ldots+(n-1)1^2$.
4. Find the general solutions of (i) $\tan^2 x+\sec 2x = 1$
   (ii) $4\cos x \cos 2x \cos 3x=1$.
5. The median AD of the triangle ABC makes.....etc.
6. (i) If $x \geq 1$, prove that.....etc.
   (ii) Prove that .....etc.
7. (i) Evaluate to 3 significant figures ....etc.
   (ii) If $y=\cos^2 x$ prove that .....etc. Deduce.....etc.
8. Sketch the curve given parametrically by the equations....
9. Prove that in polar co-ordinates.... Determine the value of.... Obtain the polar equation of ....etc.
10. (i) Obtain the solution of the differential equation....
    (ii) Obtain the differential equation of the third order....
11. Prove that....(geometry, 3 sections)....etc.
12. In a tetrahedron VABC....etc. (2 parts).
13. Prove that circles....cut orthogonally....find the equations of the circles....Verify that their common chord....
14. Obtain in its simplest form the equation of the chord joining the points.... prove that .... etc.
15. Prove that the locus of the meets of perpendicular tangents to the ellipse.... prove that .... etc.
16. Who were the mathematicians who, in your view, did most between 1600 and the present day to develop the methods and notation now available to us in algebra? Give the names, dates and countries of three or four of these men, and outline briefly their work in this field.

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