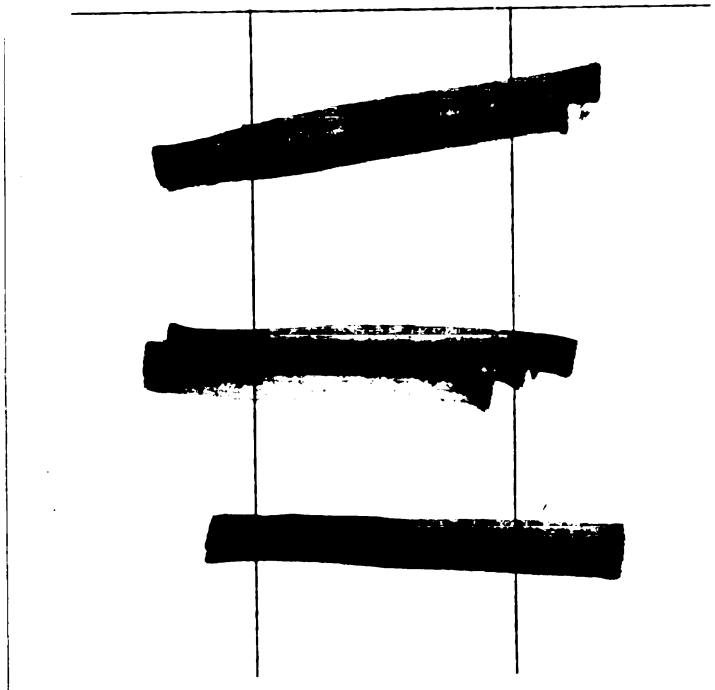

EDUCATION IN WEST AFRICA: THE DAILY GRAPHIC (GHANA) AND THE DAILY TIMES (NIGERIA) AS MIRRORS OF CONCERN

By

Philip Mark McDonald

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Administration
and Curriculum

1983

ABSTRACT

EDUCATION IN WEST AFRICA:
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The critical link in informing the public of governmental policy and practice is the news media, and in particular the role the press plays in informing its readers. The press provides an arena of communication for the struggle that exists between the public's demand for education and the government's ability to deliver proper educational services.

The dissertation research analyzed the press coverage of education in two national daily newspapers of independent Ghana and Nigeria. The Daily Graphic of Accra and the Daily Times of Lagos were selected on the basis of longevity, circulation, and availability for research.

The newspapers were analyzed in four twelve-month periods. Each daily was examined immediately after independence and again after each country's most recent return to civilian rule.

A content analysis of the database examined the quantitative and qualitative components of educational news reporting. A space scan sample, based on the constructed time period method, produced a content profile of the newspapers. A general content sample (GCS) analyzed educational news according to form and educational category.

A thematic analysis qualitatively sampled the educational issues recorded in the general content sample. The criteria for selecting the major themes depended on whether an issue was a national policy concern and whether it received a major portion of issue-oriented coverage.

Educational news reporting in Ghana and Nigeria reflected deep linkages that existed between education and other sectors of the society. Political stability or instability, along with changes in the economy, directly affected the quantity and quality of educational services in both countries.

The press recorded the massive rate of expansion of the education sector in Ghana and Nigeria along with the particular problems accompanying growth. In addition, the press mirrored the degree of status each kind of education possessed. In both countries, the press consistently gave more coverage to the traditional academic institutions of grammar schools and universities than to vocational schools or teacher training colleges.

Finally, the press reflected changes in societal attitudes toward education across time. As political and economic realities changed over the years after independence, educational concerns of society changed also.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank John Hanson, Ph.D., my advisor, for his friendship, encouragement and helpful suggestions on the manuscript. I wish to express my appreciation to Jack Bain, Ph.D., Ben Bohnhorst, Ed.D., Gene deBenko, Ph.D., and Ken Neff, Ph.D. who graciously served on the guidance committee. A special word of gratitude is due Yaw Twumasi, Ph.D. of the University of Ghana, for his advice on the African press.

I wish to thank my father, Cleveland McDonald, Ph.D., for his support and proofreading assistance, and my father-in-law, Donn Ketcham, M.D., for his encouragement. Also, I wish to thank Dale Andrus, Vice-President of Kindel Furniture Company, for his support in generously granting me a flexible schedule while completing this degree.

I want to express my appreciation to my wife, Rebecca, for her love, understanding, and valuable assistance in helping me pursue this program.

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INTRODUCTION

Significance and Description of the Study

There exists in Africa, as in other areas of the developing world, a strong public interest in formal education and the rewards its attainment can bring. The high level of private and social demand for education makes education an important social and political issue. The critical link in informing the public of governmental policy and practice is the news media, and in particular the role the press plays in informing its readers. However, the press also informs the government of public opinion, as it often mirrors the public's perspectives and attitudes towards the educational system. The press provides an arena of communication for the struggle that exists between the public's demand for education and the government's ability to deliver proper educational services.

The press is often caught in the middle of this struggle and more often than not creates it by the kind of reporting it does. But, regardless of the origin of the struggle, it remains that the press is an avenue of communication and reflects the concerns of both the government and the public. Hachten points out that, "A mass media system is also a kind of mirror image of a nation's political and economic

structure. Each is sensitive to the other."[1] It also seems feasible that a media system would be a mirror of the education sector as well.

There is very little scholarly literature available that deals specifically with the relationship between the African news media and African educational systems. While there is sufficient literature covering African education, recent scholarship on the African press is scarce. Barton sadly states, "There has not been a book from Britain about the press in Africa for ten years. There have been only two in that time from the United States."[2] As far as specific studies of newspaper content are concerned, Twumasi comments that, "Few detailed studies of the newspaper press exist, and the few studies on the subject are general."[3]

The apparent lack of research has prompted this researcher to explore the relationship between the press and education in West Africa's largest Anglophone countries--Ghana and Nigeria. These coastal countries have perhaps the best post-independence education systems in West Africa, and both have a long tradition of an indigenous press as well.

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[1]William A. Hachten, Muffled Drums: The News Media in Africa. (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1971), p. xv.

[2]Frank Barton, The Press in Africa: Persecution and Perseverance (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1979), p. x.

[3]Yaw Twumasi, "The Newspaper Press and Political Leadership in Developing Nations: The Case of Ghana 1964 to 1978," Gazette 26 (1980), p. 11.

The dissertation research analyzed the press coverage of education in two national daily newspapers of independent Ghana and Nigeria. The Daily Graphic of Accra and the Daily Times of Lagos have been selected on the basis of longevity, circulation, and availability for research (either on newsprint or on microfilm). National papers were selected because they reflected national policy issues. Regional papers tended to be less national in scope and were often dominated by political parties.

The newspapers were analyzed in four twelve-month periods. A twelve month period was selected in order to cover the full cycle of a school year. Each daily was examined right after independence and again after each country's most recent return to civilian rule. The dates for the four one-year periods are as follows:

Ghana

March 6, 1957 through March 5, 1958.

September 24, 1979 through September 23, 1980.

Nigeria

October 1, 1960 through September 30, 1961.

October 1, 1979 through September 30, 1980.

The data from these four one-year periods will be compared both cross-nationally and cross-temporally with an attempt to discover possible similarities and differences.

Historical Background

Ghana and Nigeria have similar backgrounds in the areas of history, education, politics and the press. Flint states:

> Both countries at first glance appear to have passed through similar historic phases:. . . a similar subjection to the European slave trade; a strong Islamic influence on the northern parts of both countries; a modern period of colonial subjection to the same power, Britain, and nationalistic movements which have secured independence.[4]

The formal education systems of Ghana and Nigeria trace their origin back to the time of British colonialism. The African nationalist believed British colonial educational objectives were clearly designed to perpetuate British rule, not necessarily to aid the African's welfare. One Nigerian scholar has summarized the end result of British colonial policy: "Promising as the educational policies might have been, the ultimate attitude of imperial rule in Nigeria vetoed any possibility of giving priority to Nigeria's welfare. The ultimate objective, whether expressed or implicit, was the welfare of the British people."[5]

While education for the African may have been biased in favor of the colonial regime's own aspirations, it did

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[4]John E. Flint, Nigeria and Ghana (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 1.

[5]Okechukwu Ikejiani, ed., Nigerian Education (Ikeja: Longmans of Nigeria, Ltd., 1964), p. 12.

serve finally to liberate him from the British. The rise in African nationalism was a direct result of the African receiving a formal education from the government and mission schools.

> Rebellious reactions of some sort were never completely absent. But they took forms which did not directly challenge the white man in his own institutions and in his own terms. It was this challenge that African political nationalism brought. . . . The coming of people who could lead this challenge was above all a consequence of education.[6]

With the rise of nationalism came a strong social demand for education. Education was seen not only as helpful for political liberation but for economic and social liberation as well. "Nowhere else in the world possibly had people seen so clearly the transformation that education could bring about in a man's way of life and standard of living. They wanted such betterment for their children and made great sacrifices to make it possible."[7] Regardless of the motivation, British education transported the African into the modern age. This period of expansion actually got started after the Second World War but, "The really great decade of expansion was between 1950 and 1960."[8] The 1960's

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[6]Francis X. Sutton, "Education in Changing Africa," in Education and Nation-Building in Africa, eds. L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell, and David G. Scanlon (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1965), p. 194.

[7]James O'Connell, "Education, Economics, and Politics," in Education and Nation-Building, pp. 187-188.

[8]Ibid., p. 188.

and 1970's were decades of continued expansion as well, and expansion continues to the present time.

The expansion of the education systems not only brought about rapid change but also created numerous problems. One problem was the increased financial burden that it placed on the poor countries' economies. "The money so spent is being withheld from industrial and agricultural investment that might provide an increased national income and more jobs."[9] In the early years after independence, many African policy-makers and expatriate consultants believed that education was an investment and that by allocating a large portion of a national budget to education, it would lead to economic growth. Perhaps in the long run it would, but in the short run the education system overran the capacity of the economy to provide full employment. Clignet and Foster wrote, ". . .the socio-economic structure of these countries cannot fulfill the aspirations and expectations of succeeding waves of school graduates."[10] The oversupply of school leavers led to a migration from the rural areas to the urban centers as students either came looking for a job or attempted to get into a school higher up in the

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[9]O'Connell, "Education, Economics, and Politics," p. 188.

[10]Remi P. Clignet and Philip J. Foster, "Education and National Unification in Africa: Historical Backgrounds," in Education and the Development of Nations, eds. John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 258.

education hierarchy. As O'Connell notes, "The most evidently dismaying fact is that primary school leavers are piling up in towns where not enough employment opportunities exist for them, and where they are straining housing and water supply facilities, burdening ill-paid relatives and turning to delinquency."[11] Primary school leavers piled up in the rural areas, and rural unemployment was also a major problem. This lack of balance between the economic and education sectors pointed to an inherent inefficiency. Hanson wrote, "Obviously, serious inefficiency exists whenever school leavers cannot be absorbed by the economy or when they are employed in positions that fail to utilize their training. . . ."[12] Unemployment was not just a result of a lack of jobs but also a result of a lack of properly trained school leavers. In the case of Nigeria, for instance, primary training was not enough.

> . . .the emphasis on and money devoted to primary education. . .diverted attention and money from developing more fully secondary schools (especially with science streams) and technical schools. This deficiency injured the providing of the intermediate skills that are badly needed by a developing country.[13]

The bottleneck created by the secondary school shortage perpetuated a shortage of technically skilled manpower.

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[11] O'Connell, "Education, Economics, and Politics," p. 188.

[12] Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 4th ed., s.v. "Education in Developing Nations," by John W. Hanson.

[13] O'Connell, "Education, Economics, and Politics," p. 188.

Lewis states:

> Absence of secondary schools, however, is an enormous handicap. These schools supply the persons who with one or more years of training (in institutions or on the job) become technologists, secretaries, nurses, school teachers, bookkeepers, clerks, civil servants, agricultural assistants, and supervisory workers of various kinds.[14]

Part of the reason for a lack of intermediate manpower lay in the fact that the secondary curriculum was heavily oriented toward the liberal arts. This, again, was a legacy of the British style of education, but also a reflection that limited facilities were available for technical training.

After independence, the African did little to change the existing European-oriented system of education. Clignet and Foster claim, "To be sure, there has been a great deal of talk about Africanization, but very little attempt has been made to transform the curricula or the educational structure."[15] The need for curriculum reform was overshadowed by the expansion that started in the 1950's. "The priority given to educational expansion in earlier years has prevented serious work on curriculum reform."[16]

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[14]W. Arthur Lewis, "Education and Economic Development," in Education and Nation-Building, p. 205.

[15]Clignet and Foster, "Education and National Unification," p. 258.

[16]David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 284.

The lack of curriculum reform provided a sterility that did little to help spur economic growth. The heavy emphasis on examinations, British curriculum materials, and certificates retarded much of the economic return from educational expansion. Hanson states:

> Educational expansion is difficult in countries with limited economic resources and qualified personnel; educational rethinking is difficult everywhere. The tragedy in African education in our time is not, as is so often stated, that there is too little schooling; the tragedy is that what there is of it is inappropriate, partakes too much of the superficial attributes of schooling everywhere and too little of the qualities of education which makes a difference.[17]

The failure of Nigeria and Ghana to adjust their educational systems to meet the needs of development was costly. However, both systems were better off than many of the surrounding countries, both Anglophone and Francophone. The growth pains and learning experiences of the new countries were to be expected. It was their chance at managing their own educational affairs. Abernethy contends that, "One of the major accomplishments of self-government was to permit a synthesis of views that were in fact complementary rather than contradictory, giving the new elite an insight into both the opportunities and the dangers of rapid educational expansion."[18] Nigeria and Ghana were leaders at independence

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[17]John W. Hanson, Imagination and Hallucination in African Education (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1965), p. 3.

[18]Abernethy, The Political Dilemma, p. 281.

and are in many ways still leading the way in African education.

In the realm of politics and government, Nigeria and Ghana have also been the leaders in Black Africa. "Nigeria and Ghana are probably the two most important states of tropical Africa, both because of their present and prospective internal development and because of their roles in the politics and economy of the African continent."[19] While they both inherited a parliamentary style of government from the British, after independence their political structures adjusted to fit the political realities of their people. Thus, geography and religion have been critical factors in shaping their political destinies:

> Geography thus goes a long way in explaining one of the main contrasts between Ghana and Nigeria, for Ghana is a unitary state ruled by southern non-Muslim groups, while Nigeria since independence has been involved in attempting to work out a political system which will give northern Muslims and southern non-Muslims a share in government. . . .[20]

The military or one-party state that developed in Ghana was a direct result of its first leader's policies. "Between 1957 and 1960, Nkrumah completed his work of converting the former colonial possession into a single nation state totally dominated by his personality and his party."[21]

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[19]Flint, Nigeria and Ghana, p. 1.

[20]Ibid., p. 7.

[21]J. D. Fage, A History of West Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 214.

Without any significant political opposition, his Convention Peoples Party (CPP) was, ". . . consistently winning 70 percent of the seats in the Assembly at general elections. . . ."[22]

Without any significant political opposition to keep check on Nkrumah's policies, the CPP government's bad fiscal policies finally turned the nation against him. "Nkrumah's reckless financial administration had turned the richest nation in West Africa into its greatest debtor, and it had been a major factor in bringing about his rejection by the people. . ."[23] Nkrumah's downfall in 1966 ushered in a series of military governments that, except for two brief civilian governments, have continued to the present. A sketch of Ghana's post-independence political history is given in Figure 1. Since independence, Ghana's political environment has grown increasingly hostile and dramatically autocratic. The precedent started by Nkrumah's authoritarianism has been duplicated in almost every regime since independence.

The political story in Nigeria has been similar. Nigeria has also had to cope with severe ethnic and religious cleavages. The political environment has reflected these competing groups' cleavages as each region developed its own political party.

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[22]Fage, A History of West Africa, p. 214.

[23]Ibid., p. 219.

Fig. 1. Political History of Ghana.

CIVILIAN	1957, March - Independence - 1st Republic Nkrumah 1960, New Constitution
MILITARY	1966, Coup - National Liberation Council (NLC) Ankrah and Afrifa in Power 1969, January - New Constitution
CIVILIAN	1969, October - 2nd Republic - Busia
MILITARY	1972, Coup - National Redemption Council (NRC) Acheampong in Power
MILITARY	1978, Coup - Akuffo in Power
MILITARY	1979, June - Coup - Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) - J.J. Rawlings in Power - Executions 1979, June - Elections
CIVILIAN	1979, September - 3rd Republic - Limann
MILITARY	1981, December - Coup - Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) - J.J. Rawlings in Power

> Nigeria is dominated by three main cultural groupings, Hausa-Fulani, Ibo, and Yoruba, which correspond closely to the main geographical zones and to the regional structure of the federation. These three groups also express themselves in the three main political parties of Nigeria.[24]

In an attempt to hold these competing political forces together, ". . .the 'founding fathers' of Nigeria adopted federalism as a pragmatic instrument for holding together the entity called Nigeria. . . ."[25] The thinking behind the founding fathers was, ". . .through federalism, they will maintain 'unity in diversity,' that within the federal structure the diverse ethnic groups can be welded into a modern nation."[26] The "unity in diversity" lasted from 1960 to 1966. Then, as was in the case of Ghana, the military took over. Nigeria's post-independence political history is presented in Figure 2. Nigeria finally returned to a civilian government (just one week after Ghana) in 1979 to make another attempt at federalism.

The essential similarities underlying Ghanaian and Nigerian politics seem to result from geography, ethnicity, and religion. These political formations since independence have had profound effects on the press. Before discussing

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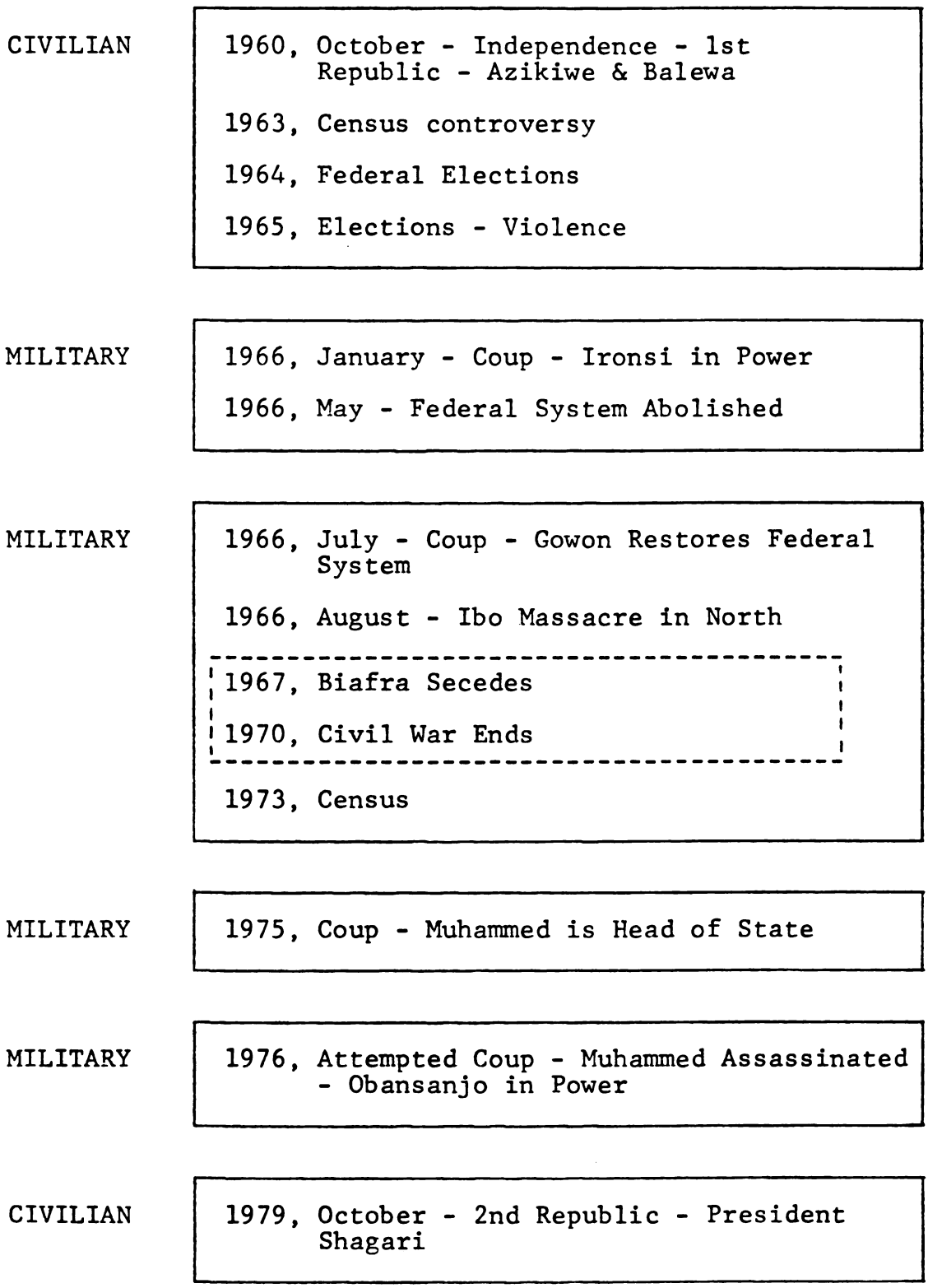
[24]Flint, Nigeria and Ghana, p. 9.

[25]Uma O. Eleazu, Federalism and Nation-Building: The Nigerian Experience, 1954-1964 (Elms Court: Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 1977), p. 9.

[26]Ibid.

Fig. 2. Political History of Independent Nigeria.



the issue of press freedom, it would be beneficial to briefly trace the historical development of the press and in particular the two daily newspapers that have been selected as the database for this study.

The history of the newspaper press in British West Africa goes back to the early part of the nineteenth century. "The history of the Ghanaian press dates from 1822 when Sir Charles McCarthy, the British Governor. . . . founded an official paper, The Royal Gold Coast Gazette."[27] The paper folded in two years and, ". . .no newspaper was published until the first African-run newspaper started publication in 1857."[28] Two years later, Nigeria began its long tradition of newspaper publishing:

> Nigeria's first newspaper had been started by missionaries in 1859. It began as a vernacular in the Yoruba language, Iwe Thorin, (sic) but soon became Africa's first bi-lingual newspaper when English was added. It sold for thirty cowrie shells. . . .[29]

The press in Nigeria came about as Nigerians sought to express themselves. "The history of the press in Nigeria. . . arose to meet the needs of the citizenry of Lagos which had become a crown colony in 1861, to express their opinions

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[27]Yaw Twumasi, "Media of Mass Communication and the Third Republican Constitution of Ghana," African Affairs 80 (January, 1981), p. 14.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Frank Barton, The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perseverance (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1979), p. 18.

on Lagos Affairs."[30] During these formative years, the production of newpapers was from the start an indigenous operation. "In English-speaking West Africa. . .apart from official publications, and a very few missionary papers, it has from the beginning been almost exclusively in African hands."[31]

During the colonial era, the press became a voice for African nationalism. This illustrates the important linkage that has existed between the press and politics. "The most celebrated African leaders in the region were all newspaper editors of note, men such as Azikwe, who founded the West African Pilot, and Nkrumah of the Accra Evening News."[32] Barton notes that, "For more than a century and a half this press played an important part in the struggle against colonialism."[33]

In Nigeria, "The appearance of the Daily Times was a landmark in African journalism. From its first issue on 1 June 1926, it towered above all the others in West Africa in professionalism."[34] The quality of the industry began to improve in the favorable environment provided by the

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[30]Eleazu, Federalism, p. 178.

[31]Rosalynde Ainslie, The Press in Africa (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1966), p. 21.

[32]Sydney W. Head, "Trends in Tropical African Societies," in Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures, ed. George Gerbner (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. 87.

[33]Barton, The Press in Africa, p. 5.

[34]Ibid., p. 22.

British colonizers as, "The British tradition of press freedom was generally sustained in colonial West Africa."[35]

During the late colonial rule, a new dimension entered the indigenous African press scene. Hachten states:

> A major development of the 1940's was the entry of foreign newpaper capital into West African journalism. The London Daily Mirror group, then headed by Cecil H. King, used its financial and technical resources to establish three West Coast dailies -- the Daily Times in Nigeria, the Daily Graphic in Ghana, and the Daily Mail in Sierre Leone. From the beginning the policy of these papers was vigorous neutrality between the competing parties, objective reporting of news by African reporters and editors, constructive criticism, volume production, and territory-wide distribution, using air transport for remoter areas. . . . The papers were staffed editorially by Africans and were never identified with the colonial governments.[36]

Twumasi agrees with Hachten by stating that in the case of Ghana:

> . . . major development was entry of British newspaper capital into Ghana journalism in 1950-1951. Cecil King, the British newspaper magnate of the London Mirror Group, established the Daily Graphic, a daily, and the Sunday Mirror, a weekly. Well-endowed with money, plant and machinery, these two papers were not only the best produced, technically speaking, but also they had the largest circulation.[37]

The Daily Times and Daily Graphic were basically independent of government control at the time of independence when this research study used them as part of the journalistic

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[35]Hachten, Muffled Drums, p. 148.

[36]Ibid., p. 147.

[37]Twumasi, "Media of Mass," p. 16.

database. Although they were owned by expatriates, yet run by Africans, the press freedom of the colonial era continued early into the independent years until the transfer in press ownership took place. This freedom was encroached upon as the new African governments began taking over much of the privately-owned media. "The 1960's were a time for shedding European influences, the good as well as the bad, and for increasing government involvement in all aspects of mass communications."[38] The free press, once a beacon of nationalist hope during colonialism, began to appear as a detriment to national development rather than a help. Barton claims:

> When the struggle was won, the press of Black nationalism withered away or, in a few cases where it survived, was surpressed by Black leaders who saw in it the same threat to their own rule as it had been to White rule.[39]

The case of Ghana stands to illustrate the change in the political attitude of the government. Nkrumah's socialistic but totalitarian philosophy embraced the notion of press censorship rather than press freedom. The Daily Graphic did not escape Nkrumah's all-encompassing attack on privately-owned newspapers. "Seeing the handwriting on the wall, Cecil King in 1963 sold the paper to the Nkrumah government, which placed it under a government trust and

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[38]William A. Hachten, "Newspapers in Africa: Change or Decay?," African Report vol. 15 (December, 1970): 25.

[39]Barton, The Press in Africa, p. 6.

appointed a new board of directors favorable to the government."[40] The Daily Times of Nigeria also was affected as the political turbulence of the 1960's began to blow. "With the abolition of political parties and of civilian rule in 1966, the press-government relationships changed drastically."[41] While there was no overt suppressive government control of the press, the editors, ". . .all knew how far they could go under the federal military government."[42] The insecurity caused by political instability was not the only reason for the decline in newspapers after independence. There have been social and economic reasons as well. "Poverty, illiteracy, lack of private capital, linguistic diversity, and political conditions have combined to inhibit such development."[43]

Whatever the barriers have been since independence, the political one stands out. The dilemma of the government revolves around whether or not to trust a free press system. "African leaders would like their press to speak with the authority of the autonomous Western press, but not at the price of losing control of what the press says."[44]

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[40]Hachten, Muffled Drums, p. 168.

[41]Ibid., p. 164.

[42]Ibid., p. 165.

[43]Hachten, "Newspapers in Africa," p. 28.

[44]Head, "Trends in Tropical African Societies," p. 99.

Ghana, more so than Nigeria, has had a precedent of squelching the press, starting with Nkrumah. Twumasi states, "Authoritarian structures had been effectively established. It is these structures of social and political control that have been bequeathed to successive governments."[45] The perpetuation of one-party control in Ghanaian politics had hindered the quality and freedom of the press. This includes the research year of 1979 as the Daily Graphic was 100 percent government owned. The situation with the Daily Times of Nigeria was somewhat different for the year 1979. The press in Nigeria had experienced a great deal of freedom compared to Ghana or any other West African state. Some, such as Barton,[46] believe this freedom was a result of the strong capitalistic orientation of the Nigerian economy. Others, such as Twumasi[47] and Hachten, tend to think the answer lay in Nigerian federalism. Hachten claims, ". . . at the federal level, because of the uneasy balance between the three regions, the political atmosphere permitted a degree of press freedom and diversity of expression that was unusual in post-independence Africa."[48] Perhaps the explanation is found in both the economic and political structures,

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[45]Twumasi, "Media of Mass," p. 18.

[46]Barton, The Press in Africa, p. 7.

[47]Interview with Yaw Twumasi, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 4 May 1982.

[48]Hachten, Muffled Drums, p. 151.

but the fact is the Nigerian press appears to have been more free. The Daily Times was still operated as a commercial enterprise in 1979 although the Federal government by this time owned partial interest in the newspaper. Therefore, in the 1979 years under study, the Daily Graphic and Daily Times were different from each other in terms of press freedom and both papers in 1979 were definitely different from the 1957 and 1960 years, both in content and the degree of freedom.

There is one other issue involving the press that we should consider before concluding with the "mirror" effect of the press, and that relates to the concept of elitism. From the start, as the historical sketch has shown, newspapers were targeted to an elite audience that was urban-centered, educated and aware of national issues. However, the majority of the population in Africa live in the rural areas. Although urban news eventually filtered back to the hinterlands, the press has never bridged the rural-urban gap. Head states, "But the most intractable dilemma for the news media is how to deal with the rural-urban gap. . . . Some African journalists go so far as to say the gap cannot be bridged."[49] Here the problem seems to be that poor logistics and high costs prevent the papers from reaching the rural population. However, Twumasi intimates that even the govenment-owned newspapers have not tried to reach out but

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[49]Head, Trends in Tropical African Societies, p. 94.

have instead become more elitist in trying to shore up their own interests as the power elite. He states:

> In content, these papers are used by the well-educated in underwriting the privileged status of urban-based elites. No serious attempts are made by governments to use the newspapers to bring the mass of the people within the mainstream of economic activity.[50]

A basic question this research will seek to answer is, "Does educational news reporting reflect the interests of the educated elite and if so, to what extent?"

It was mentioned earlier that the press mirrors or reflects the economic, political, and educational concerns of society. Analyzing the mirror concept from a systems approach, the press works as an integral function among these other societal functions. The linkages between the political, economic, and educational functions affect the media function as well. On this basis, the various interrelationships would be affected if disequilibrium occurred in one or more functions. For example, if the educational function were to deteriorate, it would affect the economic and political functions by not being able to produce the qualified manpower needed to keep a steady state in those sections.

In summary, this introductory chapter has attempted to outline the significance of the research and provide a brief description of the project at hand. It has also tried

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[50]Twumasi, "The Newspaper Press," p. 14.

to trace briefly the historical development of education, politics and the press and in particular address some of the salient concerns affecting both countries. Finally, elitism in the press and the effects of societal sectors that are directly or indirectly connected to the media system have been discussed.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The methodology employed in this research project involves a dual approach. A content analysis is used with the comparative method. Of the two methods, the content analysis is used more rigorously and precisely. The comparative approach is helpful in cross-nationally analyzing data that has been generated by the content analysis.

Content analyses have been used for analyzing various kinds of communication, ranging from propaganda to political speeches. Borg and Gall claim that, "The raw material for the research worker using the content analysis technique may be any form of communication, usually written materials, but other forms of communication such as music, pictures, or gestures should not be excluded."[1]

Content analysis is basically a systematic analysis of some form of content. "Content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling -- it is a tool for observing and analyzing the overt

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[1]Walter R. Borg and Meredith D. Gall, Educational Research, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman Inc., 1979), p. 360.

communication behavior of selected communicators."[2] Holsti defines content analysis as, ". . .a multipurpose research method developed specifically for investigating any problem in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference."[3]

It should be kept in mind that content analysis, like any research method, is only a tool or a means to an end. The important fact is that the key to significant research lies in the area of research design.

> . . .It should be apparent that the value of a content analysis will depend upon the quality of the apriori conceptualization. It will depend, also, upon the adequacy with which this conceptualization gets translated into the variables of the analysis outline.[4]

Unfortunately, many researchers who have used content analysis in the past seem to have been more impressed with it as a technique than as a means to an end. Cartwright states, "In reviewing the work in this field, one is struck by the number of studies which apparently have been guided by a

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[2]Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorpe, and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1967), p. 2.

[3]Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Menlo Park, California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), p. 2.

[4]Dorwin P. Cartwright, "Analysis of Qualitative Material," in Research Methods in the Behavior Sciences, eds. Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953), p. 448.

sheer fascination with counting."[5] Kaplan also reminds us of the importance of having proper research priorities when he says, "Too often, we ask how to measure something without raising the question of what we would do with the measurement if we had it. We want to know how without thinking of why."[6]

Most research projects ask "why" by stating hypotheses or predicting outcomes. However, some research topics are not always suited to making hypothesis statements, especially if the research invades an unexplored field or is involved in comparative studies. Davis and Parker claim, "Some topics are not amenable to hypothesis statements. For example, conceptual development and comparative analysis are not usually amenable to hypothesis statements."[7] Although the purpose of the study at hand is not theory building or concept development, it does invade relatively unexplored territory and uses comparison as a part of the methodology. Instead of developing hypotheses, Parker and Davis write, ". . . the research methodology can be clarified and defined by restating the topic in terms of a set of objectives for the research. . . ."[8]

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[5]Cartwright, "Analysis of Qualitative Material," p. 477.

[6]Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 214.

[7]Gordon B. Davis and Clyde A. Parker, Writing the Doctoral Dissertation (Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1979), p. 69.

[8]Ibid., p. 70.

The research at hand asks a basic but general question. "What was the relationship that existed between the press and the education sector concerning national educational policy in Ghana and Nigeria?" Following Parker and Davis' suggestion that a set of objectives be determined, the above general question was broken down into four research objectives:

1. Determine what percentage of the newshole was given over to education in comparison with other subject matter.
2. Of the educational news coverage, find out what proportion was given over to a particular educational category (ie. primary, higher, teacher training, etc.) in comparison with some other educational data.
3. Discover what the issues, problems, and concerns of national education policy were as reflected in the press.
4. Compare the educational news coverage in Ghana with that in Nigeria.

These four objectives determined the research design of this project. The first two objectives were handled by using the conventional quantitative form of content analysis. By counting the column inches, the percentage of the newshole given to education was determined. This was accomplished by using a space scan sample. For the second objective, a

frequency count determined the distribution of educational news among categories.

The traditional quantitative content analysis is not appropriate for determining the issues and concerns demanded by the third objective. This called for a qualitative content analysis. In the past, there has been a great deal of argument between the proponents of the quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative group argued that the qualitative approach was not scientific. The qualitative proponents believed that precise measurement was too restricting and allowed little freedom to see the whole picture. Berelson summarized the two approaches by stating:

> Quantitative analysis tends to break complex materials down into their components so that they can be reliably measured. 'Qualitative' analysis is more likely to take them in the large on the assumption that meanings preside in the totality of impression, the Gestalt, and not in the atomistic combination of measurable units.[9]

After some years of debate, many scholars came to believe that quantitative and qualitative methods were not antithetical to each other but mutally helpful in achieving a balanced and wholistic perspective. Holsti reminds us, ". . .the content analysis should use qualitative and quantitative methods to supplement each other. It is by moving back and forth between these approaches the investigator is

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[9]Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencol, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 126.

more likely to gain insight into the meaning of his data."[10]

The third objective of discovering national policy issues was accomplished using a thematic analysis that precluded beginning with a group of standardized and rigid categories. The themes were selected in an aposteriori fashion, after all the data on the subject had been collected.

In a sense, quantitative methods report a different kind of information than do qualitative methods. For instance, a weather report may state that the temperature was 32° F, humidity 65% and precipitation measured .2 of an inch. A qualitative weather report may not be precise but still convey a certain kind of information. In this case, the forecast would state that the weather was cold, damp, and gloomy. How does one measure gloominess? Yet, the information is descriptive. Axinn distinguishes between these two kinds of information by terming the quantitative aspects as indicators and the qualitative aspects as descriptors. In discussing these concepts in the context of rural sociology, he states:

> The indicators will involve measurement and comparison with other rural social systems -- as well as comparison with the same system over time.
> The descriptors will tend to illustrate the setting and the environment in which the indicators operate.[11]

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[10]Holsti, Content Analysis, p. 11.

[11]George H. Axinn, New Strategies for Rural Development (East Lansing, Michigan: Rural Life Associates, 1978), p. 37.

This research utilizes both indicators and descriptors in an effort to achieve a wholistic balance. The format of the subsequent chapters uses both to accomplish this. Each chapter begins with a section entitled the "setting." This uses political, economic and educational descriptors (and some indicators) and provides for the reader the societal background. It is within this context that educational news was reported. The second section, "data analysis," contains mainly indices of the educational news reporting. The third section, "thematic analysis," concludes the chapter by presenting certain descriptors or themes that reflect the major policy as reported in the press.

The fourth objective of cross-national comparisons is accomplished by implementing the comparative method. However, the comparative method is also confronted with the problem of the quantitative versus the qualitative. The degree of precision should determine how rigorous the comparisons should be. It would not be systematic to compare quantitative data from Ghana with qualitative data from Nigeria. In other words, indices should only be compared with indices of the other country and descriptors with descriptors. Because of this, the French scholar Maurice Duverger has classified the comparative method into two levels -- close and distant. Close comparisons can be made when the measurements are precise. But, when the data to be compared are not similar, then the distant method should be used. Duverger describes the distant comparative approach:

> Different types of structure or institutions from different cultural contexts or different dimensions or of different significance are compared. They are either historical comparisons covering widely separated periods or ethnographical comparisons.
>
> One is mainly looking for resemblances. . . . The extent to which they are the same and the significance of these resemblances are the main points of interest. The techniques of comparison are not rigorous.[12]

Another way of stating the problem is that as more uncontrolled and different variables are entered into the analysis, the more difficult the comparison becomes.

Within the context of close-distant comparisons, the scope of the current project is to make comparisons in three categories -- area studies, the press, and educational policies.

In the first category, since two different countries are being analyzed, the societal backgrounds are taken into account. An area study approach seems best suited for doing that. Duverger reminds us that, ". . .the main point is that the interdisciplinary character is basic to the method. The analysis of an area by a single discipline is not an area study."[13] Unlike much of educational research, cross-national educational research involves comparing entire educational systems with other national systems. When operating on such a large scale, the societal context of each nation must

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[12]Maurice Duverger, An Introduction to the Social Sciences, trans. Malcolm Anderson (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 266-267.

[13]Duverger, Social Sciences, p. 271.

be taken into account. Such "macro" research studies require analyzing education systems as they are linked to the nation's economic, political, religious and social systems. At this broad level, educational planners are operating in a complex network of linkages. Education does not involved just buildings, teachers, curricula and students. Education on a national level also becomes a social and political concern. At this level then, cross-nationally the comparisons are by nature more distant, as concerns in one country may not be the same as concerns in another country.

The second category deals with comparing the press in each country. The comparisons can be closer than in the area studies since comparisons can be based on indices rather than descriptors. It should be pointed out that a basic limitation of this study is that only one major daily is analyzed in each country. Therefore, generalizations about either country's journalism and press realities are kept to a minimum.

The third category, educational policy, is a crucial one. Here, close comparisons can be made of statistics generated from the data analysis. The thematic analysis require more distant comparisons. Although themes in both countries are sometimes similar, broad generalizations have been limited.

Space Scan Sample

The space scan sample is designed to produce a "content profile" of the Daily Times and the Daily Graphic. The sample design was based on the constructed time period method:

> One approach to sampling dates, which has been tested for validity is the constructed time period. This method of sampling was devised by Carter and Jones. . . in a study devoted to procedures for determining the size of a newspaper's newshole. They created an artificial week consisting of six days, Monday through Saturday, by drawing calendar dates randomly from a three-week period (the defined universe). . . .In other words, the universe was stratified by both days and weeks to ensure an equal distribution of both.[14]

The space scan sample substitutes months in place of weeks since the universe consists of one year periods. This sample is a stratified systematic sample of six issues for each annual period. It is stratified in the sense that each of the six issues convered the six days of the week (Monday through Saturday). It is systematic in that every other month is sampled. The procedural formula devised and followed is:

1) Start with the first day of the second month of the annual period.
2) Proceed with each consecutive day of every other month.

Following this procedural formula, the sample days and dates are selected from each annual period (see TABLE 1).

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[14]Budd, Content Analysis, pp. 26-27.

TABLE I

SPACE SCAN SAMPLE DAYS AND DATES

	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
Ghana: Period I						
Wed. 3/6/57 -- Wed. 3/5/58.	Ap 1	Jn 4	Au 7	Oct 3	Dec 6	Feb 1
Period II						
Mon. 9/24/79 -- Tues. 9/23/80.	Oct 1	Dec 4	Feb 6	Ap 3	Jn 6	Aug 2
Nigeria: Period I						
Sat. 10/1/60 -- Sat. 9/30/61.	--- Sep 4	Nov 1	Jan 4	Mar 2	May 5	Jul 1
Period II						
Mon. 10/1/79 -- Tue. 9/30/80.	---------- May 5	Jul 1	Sep 3	Nov 1	Jan 4	Mar 1

The newspaper content is divided into two general categories. These general categories, newshole and advertisements, are broken down into further categories. The advertisements are categorized as either classified, non-classified, or paid announcements. The newshole is broken down into five categories. Each newshole category is made up of several descriptors related to the category (see TABLE 2).

TABLE 2

SPACE SCAN NEWSHOLE CATEGORIES AND DESCRIPTORS

CATEGORY	DESCRIPTORS
Regular	Children's news, comics, horoscope, obituaries, puzzles, radio, sports, women's news, cinema, weddings, horse races, stock exchange, religious commentaries.
Domestic-Foreign	Accidents, disasters, celebrations, entertainment, corruption, crime, foreign news, political parties, unions, strikes, elections, riots, civil unrest, security, honors.
Government	Finance, budget, foreign relations, information, military, parliament, local government, state government, national government (general), civil service, ministries, foreign aid, delegations, bureaucracy, judiciary, national guard.
Social	Arts, education, ethnic groups, language, health, law, media, racism, religion, science, charities, youth organizations, volunteer organizations, social agencies.
Economic Development	Agriculture, business, economic growth, environment, industry, infrastructure, international trade, transportation, urban growth, housing, labor, rural development, foreign aid, government contracts.

This is not an exhaustive survey, but a simple space scan following some system of regularity. The purpose is to inform the reader of the breakdown of the newspaper according

to various topics, as in the case of newshole delineation, or according to categories, as in the case of advertisements. The actual newshole topics or advertising categories are measured in terms of column inches and are reported in terms of percentages.

General Content Sample

The scope of the General Content Sample (GCS) is limited to the formal education system. It does not analyze nonformal education. Formal education is defined as that sector of traditional academic public and private institutions that are credential-based, preparatory, graded and hierarchical. It does not include adult education or graded systems within the military or public administration sectors. It begins at class one in primary school and continues throughout graduate school. It does not include nursing or pre-primary schools since very little of the educational reporting dealt with these categories. The formal sector is separated into five categories of primary, secondary, vocational, teacher training, and higher education for Nigeria. Ghana has six categories as their system also includes middle schools. Middle schools do not exist in Nigeria. These categories should not be considered as hierarchical levels since some categories have more than one level included. In the case of Ghana for instance, Certificate B teacher training is at secondary level while Certificate A teacher training is post-secondary. Yet, both levels of teacher training are classified as part of the teacher training category.

The purpose of the general content sample is not to report educational news by grade level but to find out what kind of education is reported.

The general content sample deals with only domestic educational news and does not include foreign educational news. However, it does cover news that involves foreign places as in the case of reporting on Ghanaian and Nigerian students studying abroad or having study opportunities abroad (eg. students studying in the United Kingdom or scholarships awarded by foreign governments). The general content sample covers every available daily for all four one-year periods. It does not include Sunday editions or suplements. Four complete one-year periods were selected for two reasons. First, a whole year covers an entire school year. Secondly, total coverage of a whole year guards against missing some information that a random sample over the year might not have covered. Bowers supports this by saying:

> For this analyst, any sampling is unwise. He will do better to narrow the topic of his research and analyze all materials relevant to that topic. By sampling, he will probably eliminate the very materials that are most interesting to him: the extremes that set the outer limits on the range. . . . Studies concerned with ranges of communication behavior should treat whole populations, not samples, of messages.[15]

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[15]John Waite Bowers, "Content Analysis" in Methods of Research in Communication, eds. Philip Emmert and William D. Brooks (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970), p. 294.

Rather than random sample a particular form of educational news reporting (eg. editorial comment on education) over a period of years, the general content sample seeks to sample all kinds of educational data for an entire year.

The general content sample is designed to analyze newspapers both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative aspect of the general content sample includes three components -- a unit of analysis, a system of categories, and a test for reliability. The unit of analysis determined what information would be coded, the categories determined how information would be coded, and the reliability test insured that the coding process was valid and systematic.

A unit of analysis is a measurable coding unit by which information is classified. "The smallest segment of content counted and scored in content analysis is the coding unit. The most common coding units are a word; a theme or assertion; a paragraph; an item, a character, group, object, or institution; and space or time."[16] The basis for deciding which coding unit is appropriate depends on the nature and scope of the research problem. Holsti contends that, "The investigator must determine how fine are the discriminations he needs in order to satisfy the requirements of his problem; generally, the greater the need for

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[16]Budd, et. al., Content Analysis, p. 33.

precision, the higher will be the costs of the analysis."[17] The general content sample needed a coding unit that would be discrete yet flexible. Since many articles in the two West African dailies had more than one topic, event or opinion included in them, the article as a workable news unit was considered to be too general to use as a category. At the same time, a theme, phrase, or paragraph would have been overly specific for the purpose of this study. The general content sample uses as a workable news unit the "item," but not in the sense some content analysts use it.[18] The term "item" is redefined as any distinguishable amount of educational news that constitutes a complete unit. An item could be a whole article, paragraph or sentence. It could be an event or opinion. But the standard that is followed stipulates that an "item" has to have some semblence of a complete unit of information. This approach was experimented with in a preliminary fashion for some length before a system was established that was regular and systematic. For example, it was found that an article often started with an educational event (item), followed by an expert's opinion of the event (item) and then finished with a totally unrelated list of scholarship

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[17]Holsti, Content Analysis, p. 119.

[18]Holsti in Content Analysis uses the term "item" to mean a whole "article, film, book, or radio program. . . ." (p. 117). Several other sources used the term in the same manner so there appeared to be a strong consensus on how the term was used among professional content analysts.

winners (item). By using the item as a coding unit, it allowed the coder the flexibility in coding without the tediousness of excessive counting or the rigidity demanded by using another unit of analysis. The paragraph could have been used as the unit of analysis but by using the item as the unit, a topic which covered three or four paragraphs could still have been coded as one item. Therefore, the item became the flexible answer to the "too specific" paragraph and the "too general" complete article. Overall, the majority of items often turned out to be either a paragraph, paragraphs or a complete article as educational news reporting in both the Times and the Graphic were usually systematically concise.

Besides the unit of analysis, another important research question to be considered in content analysis is the area of category formulation. Categorization is a strategic concern as it determines the way information is processed. "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories. . . .Since the categories contain the substance of the investigation, a content analysis can be no better than its system of categories."[19]

Berelson maintains that there are two types of categories:

> . . .a rough distinction can be made between the what and the how, i.e., between

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[19]Berelson, Content Analysis, p. 146.

> substance and form. Some kinds of categories (for example, subject matter) deal clearly with what is said and others (e.g., form of statement) with how it is said.[20]

The form of statement categories in the general content sample is determined by the nature of the database. Newspapers report information in different forms and these forms are followed. Therefore, the general content sample form categories are news articles, letters to the editor, feature articles, editorials and a miscellaneous category that included paid announcements, budget reports, and lists of scholarship recipients, new admissions and graduates. In addition to these form categories, a category of photographic coverage was created to record non-print educational reporting. Pictures are coded as separate items if they are not accompanied by an article. These are considered complete units of information as they always have a caption next to the picture explaining what the photograph is about.

While the form categories are determined according to the journalistic considerations, the subject matter or substance categories are influenced by educational considerations. In other words, the general content sample is asking what kind of educational news was reported in the newspapers. The educational categories developed in the general content sample are primary, middle (for Ghana only), vocational, teacher-training, secondary and higher. These categories

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[20]Ibid., p. 149.

become the backbone of the subject matter categories.

Once an item is coded according to newspaper form and educational category, it is then classified as either an event or an issue to designate whether it is a report of an event or a discussion of an educational issue. If the item is coded as an issue, a further determination is made as to the nature of the issue. A classification scheme was designed to allow the coder to be able to code an "issue-oriented" item according to three criteria -- positive, negative, and change. If the item is an opinion calling for change, the area of change is noted as well. Figure 3 explains the "issue-oriented" classification scheme.

In an effort to establish a level of reliability and validity, the criteria used in Figure 3 for issue-oriented items were developed into a test. Budd, et. al, explains that,

> For the content analyst, the test-retest method requires more than one coder using the same instructions to classify the same material. Thus, the method tests the clarity of instructions and definitions and the ability of the coders to follow instructions and comprehend definitions.[21]

Two groups of evaluators were selected to take the reliability test.[22] A group of five professors and a group of five graduate students in international education were individually

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[21]Budd, Content Analysis, p. 67.

[22]A sample of the reliability test is included in the appendix.

Fig. 3. Issue-oriented classification scheme.

Positive -- Opinions reflecting full support of the current system of education including statements praising or defending the system.

Negative -- Opinions reflecting disapproval of the education system without offering solutions to problems or alternative approaches.

Change -- Opinions calling for change or reform of the educational system either by correcting a problem or adding new improvements. The change could be in any of the three areas:

C - 1 = Institutional (organizing and managing)

- government (policies, planning, evaluation)
- administrative structure
- time schedule
- facilities
- cost (budgets, salaries, fees, scholarships)

C - 2 = Instructional (aims, content, techniques)

- philosophy
- curriculum
- standards (exams, grades, admissions)

C - 3 = Personnel (human resources)

- students
- teachers
- headmasters
- staff
- parents

given the test. The results of the ten jurors were then compared with the results of the researcher. The results (reported in matrix form) are the levels of paired agreement that existed between all eleven individuals. The results of a particular group of jurors are an average of all the combined scores for that group.

The results of the level of paired agreement between the researcher and the group of professors are given in TABLE 3. The average level of agreement between the researcher and the five professional jurors is 75 percent. If the professor with the least amount of agreement between all others in the group was deleted (professor #3), the average agreement between the researcher and the remaining four professors would increase to 83 percent. The level of agreement between the five professors themselves averaged 72 percent.

The results of the level of paired agreement between the researcher and the group of graduate students are reported in TABLE 4. The average level of agreement between the researcher and the five student jurors is 83.3 percent. If the student with the least amount of agreement between all others in the group was deleted (student #3), the average agreement between the researcher and the remaining four students would increase to 84.6 percent. The level of agreement among the five students themselves averaged 83 percent.

The results of the level of paired agreement existing between the professors, graduate students and the

TABLE 3

RELIABILITY RESULTS OF PROFESSORS AND RESEARCHER

	PROF. #1	PROF. #2	PROF. #3	PROF. #4	PROF. #5
Researcher	85%	90%	60%	90%	80%
Professor 1		75	55	75	75
Professor 2			65	90	90
Professor 3				60	55
Professor 4					80
Professor 5					

TABLE 4

RELIABILITY RESULTS OF GRADUATE STUDENTS AND RESEARCHER

	STUD. #1	STUD. #2	STUD. #3	STUD. #4	STUD. #5
Researcher	90%	85%	75%	85%	85%
Student 1		100	80	85	80
Student 2			80	80	80
Student 3				85	75
Student 4					85
Student 5					

researcher are reported in TABLE 5. The average level of agreement between the researcher and all ten jurors is 77.9 percent. The level of agreement between the five professors and five students is 76 percent. If the student and professor with the least amount of agreement between all others in both groups were deleted, the average agreement between the researcher and the remaining eight students and professors is 83.5 percent.

TABLE 5

RELIABILITY RESULTS OF PROFESSORS, GRADUATE STUDENT AND RESEARCHER

	R	P-1	P-2	P-3	P-4	P-5	Average
R		85%	90%	60%	90%	80%	75%
S-1	90	75	90	60	100	85	83.3
S-2	85	70	85	55	95	85	79.2
S-3	75	65	80	55	75	80	71.7
S-4	85	80	80	60	75	80	76.7
S-5	85	70	85	55	75	85	75.8
Ave.	83.3%	74.2%	85%	57.5%	85%	82.5%	77.9%

The second aspect of the general content sample involves the qualitative sampling or thematic analysis. During the coding stage, selected articles and items were either recorded on note cards or photocopied. Later, the cards and photocopied articles were read again and sorted into

broad topics. These topics represented theme that were further analyzed. Finally, quotations were selected that best represented a particular side to a major issue. It should be noted that not all of the issues were thematically analyzed. The ones that were not analyzed are listed at the beginning of each thematic section in chapters three through six. The criteria for selecting the major themes depended on whether an issue was a national policy concern (vis-a-vis a local or isolated issue), and whether it received a major portion of issue-oriented coverage. Also, themes were selected if they possessed unique or interesting policy concerns, particularly from the perspective of the African context.

It should be emphasized that the categorization of themes was not a rigorous exercise compared to the quantitative segment of the general content sample. This lack of rigor allowed more flexibility in selecting themes. Berelson, the dean of content analysts, states:

> In "qualitative" analyses the elaboration of alternatives not only seems to go on throughout the analysis but also to differ from point to point depending upon the "context." This ordinarily means less systematic and less precise analysis though it may also mean more clever or relevant analysis because of the lack of a system of rigid system categories. . . .[23]

In summary, the methodology described in this chapter is an attempt to employ a dual approach of

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[23]Berelson, Content Analysis, p. 125.

quantitatively and qualitatively analyzing a relatively unexplored area. The basic methodological goal was to incorporate data from either approach in an effort to reflect wholistically the major policy concerns of education as reported in the press.

CHAPTER III

BLACK AFRICA'S FIRST INDEPENDENT NATION

The Setting

The colonial era actually came to an end in Ghana before 1957. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party took control of the new legislative assembly on February 20, 1951. Foster explains that national educational policy was a result of an educated African elite's aspirations. "Although formal independence was not granted until 5 May 1957, self-government was achieved long before, and educational policy in particular reflected the aims of the new African leadership. 'The Gold Coast Revolution' was as much an educational as a political one."[1] McWilliam agrees with this assertion and contends that self-government came about as a result of education.

> The connection between educational development and political development is one that is often ignored, but it is the story of education in this country which underlines the story of how the Gold Coast became Ghana. In his book, The Approach to Self-Government, Sir Ivor Jennings had written: 'The development of self-government is not one of the objectives of education, but one of its inevitable

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[1]Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 179.

> consequences. We cannot educate the people of a colony without expecting them to ask for self-government.'[2]

The transition of power did not alter the political structure but only continued the existing one. Hargreaves notes that, "Colonial machinery was taken over, not destroyed; party agents joined the chiefs and the Africanized administration in the government of rural Ghana."[3]

The new government inherited from the British a working institutional base in almost all sectors. However, in the area of economics and government spending, the euphoric mood of newly independent Ghana caused some unforeseen but long range financial problems. Nkrumah's expansionism cost dearly. But the effects were subtle as Boahen explains:

> Indeed, Ghanaians experienced an unprecendented standard of living during the first three years of independence. But though there was growth, there was really no economic development. What was worse still, expatriate firms and companies continued to dominate the economy of Ghana to the advantage not of Ghanaians but of their own shareholders abroad. The worst feature of this open door policy was that more capital was taken out of the country than was brought in. Indeed in 1958, 1959, and 1960, the annual loss was estimated at about 7 million pounds.[4]

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[2]H. O. A. McWilliam, The Development of Education in Ghana, 2nd ed. (Accra: Longmans, 1962), p. 97.

[3]John D. Hargreaves, The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1979), p. 76.

[4]Adu Boahen, Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1975), p. 200.

The free trade policy was sufficient enough in itself to provide fiscal chaos, but it was compounded by another factor -- the drop of world cocoa prices. This inverse economic phenomenon of rising import bills and reduced cocoa exports developed a balance of trade deficit that was to plague the Ghanaian economy for years.

> While prices for cocoa, Ghana's dominant export, fell and cocoa earnings leveled off, the cost of imports soared because the Government spent at a high rate for capital equipment and development projects. The balance of payments position deteriorated. By the end of the Nkrumah regime, the government had exhausted the strong reserves of foreign exchange Ghana had at independence, had built up a massive foreign debt, which was to grow to about one billion dollars, and was in arrears in payments.[5]

The lack of a diversified export sector, coupled by the world cocoa prices fluctuations, left Ghana financially shaken. All Ghana's economic growth depended on the success of one basic commodity -- cocoa. When the cocoa prices fell, the capital had to be raised in other ways. Big loans and large budget deficits led to a large national debt.

The education sector had been relatively well developed during the British Colonial occupation. Foster notes that, "By 1950, the Gold Coast had developed a more

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[5]U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Education in Ghana, by Betty Stein George (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 10-11.

extensive system of schooling than any other African territory outside the Union of South Africa."[6]

The education system continued along colonial lines during the era of autonomy and even after independence it bore a close resemblance to the British educational system.[7] The British had responded to the Africans' popular demand for education, and their colonial educational policies contributed to a strong and expanding system. Compared to the French colonial education strategy, which was not as expansionary, education in Ghana was one of the best developed in all of West Africa. For example, in 1954, secondary school enrollments in Ghana alone were almost four times the enrollment in all French West Africa.[8] By 1957, Ghana had increased its secondary enrollments a further 29.5%.[9]

While Ghana enjoyed a comparatively favorable position in relation to its French controlled neighbors in educational development, access to Ghanaian education varied greatly by region. The southern coastal region had the longest and closest relationship with the British empire and

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[6]Foster, Education and Social Change, p. 171.

[7]Ibid., p. 213.

[8]Based on a comparison of enrollments given in educational tables in George, Education in Africa, p. 205 and Elliot J. Berg, "Education and Manpower in Senegal, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast," in Manpower and Education, eds. Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 244.

[9]George, Education in Ghana, p. 205.

consequently received more educational benefits than did the people of the Islamic north. In a comparative study of social predictors of academic success in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, Clignet points out that, ". . .some aspects of the social background of an individual are better predictors of his academic level in Ghana than they are in the Ivory Coast. Thus a southern Ghanaian has about seven times a northerner's chances of entering the highest rung in the academic hierarchy."[10] A regional disparity between the north and south was not unique to Ghana as most coastal countries in West Africa revealed a similar pattern.

Another problem of unequal access developed due to the location of the schools in the urban centers. In a highly rural and agricultural nation, the rural population is at a disadvantage when it comes to educational opportunities. "In fact, the population of cities with a size of over 50,000 inhabitants has fourteen times more chance of entering the fifth form of the secondary schools than the population of villages with under 5,000 inhabitants."[11] Thus, regional and urban-rural disparities existed in Ghana; but on the whole, the new nation found itself in 1957 well endowed with an educational system that, compared to other African countries, was well organized and well developed. The administration's

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[10]Remi Clignet, "The Legacy of Assimilation in West African Educational Systems: Its Meaning and Ambiguities," Comparative Education Review 12 (February, 1968); 57-67.

[11]Ibid., p. 62.

policies were geared towards substantial educational growth as it strived to fulfill its manpower requirements.

Data Analysis

The space scan sample of six selected issues revealed that the newshole portion of the newspapers measured 47.5 percent while the advertising portion was 52.2%. The distribution of the five topic categories of the newshole was fairly equal except for economic development which only measured 9.5 percent (see TABLE 6).

Education accounted for 6.3 percent of the newshole. The non-classified section of the advertising portion constituted a large part of the total advertisements (86.0%). The mean number of pages was 14.7. However, based on the general content sample, it was observed that the majority of newspapers for the year were consistently printed in either a twelve or sixteen page format.

The general content sample coded and analyzed 313 dailies out of 314 possible issues for an effective coverage of 99.7%. There were 825 total education items coded with 80.1% being event-oriented items and 19.9% being issue-oriented. The issue-oriented items were further delineated by 43.9% calling for change, 40.2% being positive and 15.9% being negative. Of the 43.9% change items, 66.7% called for institutional change, 15.3% called for instructional change, and 18.8% wanted change concerning personnel. It should be noted that of the instructional change classification,

TABLE 6

SPACE SCAN SAMPLE OF THE
DAILY GRAPHIC, 1957-1958

Form	Mean No. of Items	Mean Column Inches	% of Col. Inches
Newshole:			
Regular	12	129.7	29%
Domestic-Foreign	15	107.8	24
Government	7	89.8	20
Social	9.8	78.7	17.5
Economic Development	4.3	42.5	9.5
Total	48.1	448.0	100%
Advertisements:			
Non-Classified	28	425.2	86.0%
Classified	12.3	36.5	7.4
Paid Announcements	3	32.7	6.6
Total	43.3	494.4	100%

not one item called for a change in curricular content. One would suppose that at a time of independence and rising nationalism, the Ghanaians would want to indigenize their heavily British curriculum. The concerns registered by Ghanaians in the general content sample were more concerned with falling standards and teaching methods than with

change in curriculum content. This supports the previously mentioned assertion by Foster that at the time of independence, the Ghanaians wanted their education to remain very much along the lines of the British system.

The results of the form in which educational news was reported is given in TABLE 7. The majority of the items were news items that had a coverage four times greater than all other forms combined (80.6%).

TABLE 7

TOTAL GCS EDUCATIONAL NEWS BY FORM, 1957-1958.

Form	No. of Items	Percentage
News	665	80.6%
Letters	72	8.7
Features	55	6.7
Editorials	16	1.9
Other*	17	2.1
Total	825	100.0%

*Includes paid announcements, budget reports, and lists of scholarship recipients, new admissions and graduates.

Total reporting of educational news by educational category is recorded in TABLE 8 along with photographic coverage. TABLE 8 also has two other columns of budgetary and enrollment figures to provide a basis for comparison.

TABLE 8.--Comparative data of GCS with national budget and enrollments for Ghana, 1957-1958.

Educational Category	% of Enrollment	% of Ed. Budget*	G C S	
			% of Written Items	% of Photographic Items
Higher	.2	34.6	46.8	51.3
Secondary	1.6	9.4	22.0	27.8
Teacher-Training	.6	11.9	5.6	5.7
Vocational	.5	2.8	8.4	5.1
Middle	19.3	31.1	8.9	6.3
Primary	77.8		8.3	3.8

*Source: George, Education in Ghana, pp. 92, 236.

**Sources: Republic of Ghana, Ministry of Education, Education Report 1957, pp. 9, 11, 12, 13, 18; Education Report 1958-1960, p. 49.

The data of TABLE 8 reveals that higher education, for its few students, received an inordinately high share of the education budget. The general content sample shows that higher education received almost half of the Graphic's written educational news (46.8%) and over half of the Graphic's photographic coverage (51.3%). George states, "University education has held favored position within the Ghanaian system, consistently receiving, in relation to the number of students it has served, an extremely high proportion of Government funds available for education."[12] Not only has

[12]George, Education in Ghana, p. 243.

higher education received an abundance of government funds, it also received much more than its share of educational news coverage.

A final word on the frequency of educational news reporting should be given. The number of total items (i.e. both event and issue-oriented items) reported on a monthly basis is given in figure 4.

Fig. 4. Frequency of educational news reporting by month*, 1957-1958.

*Based on total coded items excluding photographic coverage.

**Combination of March '57 and March '58.

The reporting is quite regular until the end of the school year in December. The rise in reporting between November and January is an outcome of the increased coverage (over and above normal news reporting) of graduations, award ceremonies and prize days, and new admissions for the next school year. After the November-January peak, the reporting

drops off considerably between February and May.

Thematic Analysis

In 1957, several concerns were expressed in the Daily Graphic involving educational needs and problems. Some minor concerns included student misbehavior (gambling at school), students' poor writing skills, and lack of parental support for the educational system. Other concerns dealt with school fee increases, lack of textbooks, and scarce textbooks being sold on the black market at exorbitant rates. A further concern revolved around the basic problem of what to do with unemployed middle school leavers. The feasibility of a new program broadcasting secondary lessons over the radio brought responses as well. But all of these concerns were overshadowed by five dominant themes that captured national attention.

Theme 1 - Language Planning and Primary Schools

The problem of what language should be used as a national language plagued Ghana just as it did other multilingual societies that received their independence in West Africa. The problem can be traced to the balkanization policies of the colonial powers that often divided territories without respecting the geographic location of ethnic groups. At any rate, Ghana found itself as a new nation with several indigenous languages. The speakers of these languages all would have desired to have their own language

as the official national language. Although English was the official language, the major indigenous languages spoken were Twi, Fanti, Eve, Ga, Hausa and Moshi-Dagomba. Ethnic rivalries, being what they are, made the controversy over a national language quite complicated. The simple solution seemed to be to retain the use of ethnically neutral English as India had done a few years earlier. But ethnic pride was attached to the use of the vernaculars. The national language issue was reflected in the issue confronting the schools as to what language should be used as the language of instruction.

The problem of multilingual classrooms in the school system was illustrated in a feature article written by J. T. N. Yankah:

> A recent investigation into the use of English as medium of instruction in Primary schools in this country showed that in many schools a class contained about four or five language groups; while the medium of instruction was say, Fanti and the Class teacher, a Ga.[13]

The Chief Education Officer announced in December that English would be taught starting at class two in the primary schools in January, 1959.[14] Three major positions were reflected in the press; one in favor of English, one against English, and a third espousing a mixture of English and a vernacular. The following excerpts explain the position of those favoring English as the dominant means of communication:

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[13]J. T. N. Yankah, "A National Language for Ghana?," Daily Graphic, 14 June, 1957.

[14]Daily Graphic, 9 December, 1957.

> I know there is a lot of talk about using Twi or some other such dialect as our national language. Maybe the dialect chosen can be developed, but until it is developed enough to embrace all the current expressions of the sciences and the arts, it will be a good idea if we stuck to one official language -- English -- using our vernacular for after-office talk and affairs of the heart![15]

> Throughout history, insignificant languages have always been displaced by more civilized ones. Some people think one of the vernacular languages can be developed and used as a common national language. But Ghana needs a cultivated and rich language for use now.
>
> The wealth in such a language cannot be transferred to an uncultivated dialect without the vocabulary and the flexibility to express the thoughts and feelings of the new and growing civilization in Ghana.[16]

> The importance of English in Ghana lies in its being an avenue to western technical knowledge. It is an adequate lingua franca for the different peoples collected in Ghana. It is, also a means of contact with world thought and commerce. . . .
>
> It is, also, difficult to remodel for general educational purposes languages with an old aristocratic and literary tradition but unfitted for modern school teaching, just as it is difficult to prefer one vernacular to others of the same or even higher political prestige.[17]

On the other side of the issue were those who did not support the use of English as the medium of teaching. Feeling that the standard of English being used in the

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[15]Osenkafo, "Mixing Vernaculars with English," Daily Graphic, 6 December, 1957.

[16]Yankeg, "A National Language," Daily Graphic, 14 June, 1957.

[17]P.A. Owiredu, "Wanted: A National Language for Ghana," Daily Graphic, 28 May, 1957.

classroom was too low, one writer said:

> Needless to say that the standard of English of the schools is so low that if they are compelled to use it as their only medium of instruction, they will teach nothing but 'poison."
>
> Apart from all other arguments, we shall be running a very serious risk in this country if we should compel the pupil teachers to teach our boys and girls in a language in which they themselves are not very competent.[18]

There were several articles that reflected a "combined" view including the vernacular especially in early primary levels, with English used later in upper levels.

> In the early years of school life in Africa, instruction should depend on the vernacular medium. This will make it easy for pupils to read and express themselves with freedom, a prerequisite for efficient expression later in English. . . .
>
> Pride in the African race offers one of the most effective solutions to the language problem. And the government should offer adequate inducement to attract production of literature in the vernacular.[19]

> In primary and middle schools one vernacular should be chosen as medium of instruction in certain subjects while reserving English for others.[20]

> If we accept the English language in Ghana because it affords access to world history, art, news, technology, science. . .then we should not have any headache in choosing it as our national language. We do not want it, but we need it. . . .

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[18] Daily Graphic, 4 February, 1958.

[19] P. A. Owiredu, "A Common Language," Daily Graphic, 29 May, 1957.

[20] _____, "National Language: The Case of Officially Adopting One of the Main Vernaculars," Daily Graphic, 7 September, 1959.

> The vernacular (the compulsory second language) should be treated as a literary medium and should be taught in all schools to the complete exclusion of all other dialects. . . .
> If we learn the vernacular well, we are sure that the indigenous culture and art of our nation will never wither and die. We must blend the two things, they are all very essential to a good nation.[21]

Those who espoused the "combined" view, emphasized two points. First, early primary levels should be taught in the vernacular and then gruadually adopt English in the higher primary classes. Second, in the higher grades, English should be used for technical subjects while the vernacular should be used for literary and cultural studies. A significant omission appeared in the writings of the "combined" view that while all of them wanted a mixture of English with the vernacular, they seldom mentioned what that vernacular should be.

Theme 2 - The Teaching Profession

The controversy concerning the professional status of teachers began with Orbilus, a regular feature writer, who wrote an article purporting that Ghanaian teachers were not professionals. He argued that professionals undergo long training, set their own fees and belong to professional bodies for life:

> We very often hear teachers speaking of themselves as members of a profession and of teaching as a profession. Can they be right? . . .
> The chief characteristics of a profession are

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[21]Ohene Saforo, "Let's Adopt English -- and a Vernacular," Daily Graphic, 24 September, 1957.

> thus the following: - Learning, long professional preparation, permanent membership, public service, self-discipline. . . .
>
> So many teachers stay in the work only for a brief period until something better turns up. . . .
>
> It is a popular belief that anybody can teach. . . .
>
> The level of intellectuality among teachers is a pretty sorry affair. . . .All teachers organizations everywhere work as trade unions. They cannot quote their fees, they always have to bargain with their employees for what they can pay them. Their pay has everywhere been comparatively low. . . .
>
> As matters now stand, they do not belong to the professional status and rightly has the Ghana Labour Ordinance described them as workers.[22]

In response, Kwadzo Paku wrote a feature article defending the status of teachers as professionals. He comments:

> All who do more than echo others' opinions and who have read Orbilius' article published in the 'Graphic' recently captioned: 'Is Teaching Truly a Profession,' would unhesitatingly classify the article as biased. . . .
>
> What makes a professional? Any calling or occupation that demands special education and training be it short or long, is a profession. Teaching demands special education and is consequently a profession. Orbilius is mistaken if he thinks that anyone can teach efficiently . . . .It is not everybody that can teach a successful lesson. Even inspite of training not all professional men are successful at their work. . . .
>
> Orbilius made another point that 'the level of intellectuality among teachers is a pretty sorry affair'. . . .
>
> Our professors in the universities. . .in the estimation of that great sage, Orbilius, are unfit for their posts. For sound up-to-date knowledge and professional skill, the teacher

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[22]Orbilius, "Is Teaching Truly a Profession?," Daily Graphic, 4 November, 1957.

> has no equal. Who reads more than the teacher? Who attends more refresher courses than the teacher?. . .[23]

Obviously, both Orbilius and Paku were not above making sweeping generalizations in an attempt to prove their point. But the dialogue was indicative of concern from both sides over the standards in the teaching profession. Paku did admit there were some problems in the field of teaching:

> Conditions of service of the teachers in Ghana today are so unsatisfactory that the young ambitious teacher realising this after his training, quickly changes his mind and goes after more lucrative work else where.[24]

In addition to low pay, the teaching profession's reputation suffered from allegations of corruption. For example, in a letter to the editor, C. K. Atta of Akanteng said:

> It is being alleged that some teachers in rural schools compel their pupils to give them regular supplies of free plaintain and cassava. This is a very dangerous practice and must be stopped if this allegation is true. For fear of being caned at school, this may lead pupils to stealing.[25]

In another event concerning the teaching profession, the government announced a new policy on married women teachers. It made headlines when the Graphic reported it:

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[23]Kwadzo Paku, "Teaching is Truly a Profession and a Noble One Too!," Daily Graphic, 29 November, 1957.

[24]Daily Graphic, 29 November, 1957.

[25]Daily Graphic, 23 December, 1957.

> The Government has decided to reduce the number of married women teachers in all primary and middle schools in the country. This decision followed a recommendation made by the Ministry of Education that no more than one married woman should be employed in a middle school and not more than two in a primary school.[26]

The government gave two reasons for the new policy. First, the government wanted a better distribution of certified teachers throughout the schools in the country. Second, it wanted to cut down on absenteeism due to maternity leave. The Ministry of Education released a statement the following day claiming that the new policy had been misinterpreted. The statement said:

> The Ministry of Education do not intend to reduce the number of women teachers in the schools, whether married or not. In order to achieve a better balance of women teachers in the schools it is thought that some redistribution of these teachers may be required as a long term aim.[27]

Although the Graphic printed an apology, the political damage was done. In a time of educational expansion, the public was quite upset at the possibility of reduction in teaching staff. The ministry suspended the new policy and later terminated it. The Minister of Education, Mr. C. T. Nylander, gave an explanation to the parliament for all the confusion that surrounded the aborted policy.

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[26]Anthony Mensah, "Number of Women Teachers to be Reduced," Daily Graphic, 4 February, 1958.

[27]Daily Graphic, 5 February, 1958.

Theme 3 - Women and Education

The possibility of women getting a university degree caused new concern in Ghanaian society. In a regular feature called, "A Nobody's Diary," Mr. Henry Ofori took some stabs at University women by quoting from an issue of a student magazine:

> A university education diminishes their femininity. It unsexes them, like an angel, but entirely divested of an angel's virtues. . . . she brings home all the evils of delayed motherhood. . .As a wife, she is too free with other men, and calls this eccentricity the mark of a liberal mind.[28]

Within a couple of weeks, the editor published four letters, two from men and two from women. One man had this to say:

> I have several university friends and none of them have any intentions of getting married to women with university education. They think, as I do, that such women are too sophisticated and have some abstract ideas that make them unsuitable as housewives.
>
> Man was definitely made to rule this world. Woman was made to help him in his functions looking after the offsprings. That's all.
>
> All this talk about woman being equal to man is balderdash.[29]

The other man's letter followed the same chauvinistic vein:

> They are weak and I think this makes them admirably suited to the kitchen where I sincerely believe they belong.
>
> Give them higher education and they will never think of staying in the house to do the

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[28]Henry Ofori, "Women Only," Daily Graphic, 12 August, 1957.

[29]Daily Graphic, 28 August, 1957.

> work for which the Creator has very wisely made them.[30]

In response, one lady very clearly stated her case:

> University education does not unsex a woman, or make her unfit for married life, but rather prepares her for it and enables her to understand it better. Delayed motherhood is by no means ones of the results of university education.[31]

Another lady's reply took issue over the problem of delayed motherhood and moral implications in the quoted feature article of Ofori.

> Were all the ills of delayed motherhood and the eccentricities of women to be due only or even largely, to university education there would be fewer spinsters since only a small fraction of our women enter university or courses of formal study.
>
> He maintains that wives with university education are free with other men. If by that he means a moral laxity then statistics have yet to show that moral laxity in women bears an inverse ratio to the standard of education attained.[32]

The other concerns over women for the year involved marriage and equal opportunity. Articles were written that warned women of the perils of getting married away from home in Great Britain. On the other hand, articles were written that discussed the reasons why educated women marry late or never at all. In a feature article, Williams noted that the three main factors which contributed to such an attitude

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[30] Daily Graphic, 28 August, 1957.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Daily Graphic, 27 August, 1957.

toward the education of women were outright prejudice, the subtle belief that women were inferior to men, and the need for them in the home. On the last factor, Williams said:

> But it is doubtful whether her education as such would materially reduce her services in the home. Moreover, being educated she could apply all that she had learnt (sic) about child care when she has a family.[33]

Theme 4 - Teacher Training and Trained Teachers

The Ghanaian system in 1957 had two levels of teacher training schools. The "certificate B" was a secondary level course which a middle school graduate could apply for if he or she had a middle school certificate and one year of teaching experience. The "certificate A" was a post-secondary level course that students could apply for if they were either certificate B teachers with two years teaching experience or secondary grammar school graduates. In a system where promotions were primarily based on credentials, great concern was raised over whether it was proper to promote a B level teacher with more experience over an A level teacher with less experience. The concern surfaced when Nai Nsankie of Labodi wrote a letter to the editor stating:

> In some Catholic schools, certificate B teachers with little teaching experience are

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[33] J. Kwesi Williams, "Factors Which Contribute to the Drawback in our Girl's Education," Daily Graphic, 9 August, 1957.

> appointed Head teachers over certificate A teachers who teach in the same school.
>
> In a certain Catholic Primary school for example, there are qualified certificate A lady teachers serving under a headteacher holding certificate B.
>
> These lady teachers have had more teaching experience than this certificate B teacher.
>
> I feel that apart from disrespect to the certificate A teachers, these certificate B head teachers will never by urged to do the certificate A course to enhance the progress of better teaching in this country.[34]

Twelve days later another letter by Kofie Baonim of Accra refuted the allegation:

> In the 'Graphic' (sic) of July 18, Mr. Nai Nsakie made allegation to the effect that in some Roman Catholic schools, certificate B teachers are made headmasters of the schools though there are some certificate A teachers on the staff.
>
> I can hardly believe this allegation for it is the sort of thing that can never happen in a school controlled by the Roman Catholic mission.
>
> If on the other hand it is true, then I believe it must be only in the area where Mr. Nsakie is, and I would advise him to report the matter to his district education office as soon as possible.[35]

About a week later, another letter was printed written by Jacob A. Tata of Ho who claimed the allegation was true:

> In the Graphic of July 30, Mr. Kofi Boanin refuted the allegation that in some Roman Catholic controlled schools, Certificate B teachers are made head teachers over Certificate A teachers. I wish to emphasize this allegation is true.
>
> Even Post-Secondary Certificate A teachers with higher salarie (sic) scales are made to

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[34] Daily Graphic, 18 July, 1957.

[35] Daily Graphic, 30 July, 1957.

> serve under their juniors. There is no respect for academic qualifications and ability. No Roman Catholic Education unit in Ghana can refute the allegation. The Ministry of Education should be blamed for allowing such an anomaly.[36]

B. A. K. Griffin of Kokoso gave the last word when he wrote a letter to the editor that gave a possible explanation to the certificate B teachers being promoted over certificate A teachers:

> Some readers have in this paper on several occasions criticised the practice in some Roman Catholic elementary schools where certificate B teachers are appointed headmasters over certificate A teachers.
>
> I am sure that wherever such an arrangement occurs, there is a very good reason for it.
>
> A teacher may be certificate A man or woman, but may be fresh from the training college whereas the certificate B teacher may have about eight years teaching experience.
>
> In such a case, I think it wise that the certificate B man with more teaching experience should be made to act as headmaster until a certificate A teacher with enough experience can be appointed to the post.[37]

Teacher training received national attention on another occasion when the government announced that the teacher training program, along with some other specialized courses of study, at Kumasi College of Technology would be disassociated from the college. The Graphic's roving educational reporter, Henry Ofori, wrote an excellent three part series covering the new policy.[38] He outlined the following problems.

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[36] Daily Graphic, 7 August, 1957.

[37] Daily Graphic, 21 August, 1957.

[38] Daily Graphic, 20, 23, 26 April, 1957.

First, the teacher training unit was unique in that for all practical purposes, it functioned as an A-level course except that students received an undergraduate degree. When the government announced that it would become a regular post-secondary A-level institution, the students were upset because the program lost undergraduate status. The professors connected with it were also upset because not only did they lose their status as undergraduate level instructors but were forced to take a pay decrease as well. Then the question arose as to what other A-level teacher training institution would absorb the school since all the rest in the country were denominationally affiliated. Ofori claimed that some students had chosen Kumasi College because it was nondenominational and now they had to either change programs within the college or transfer down to a denominational A-level school.

The government gave no explanation for the action, but Ofori contended that the motive behind it lay in the fact that the board of the college thought that the teacher training institute, which functioned more or less as a post-secondary school, lowered the standards and prestige of Kumasi College of Technology.

Theme 5 - Advantages of Urban Schools

During the year there were complaints from concerned citizens that secondary schools were being favored in the capital city of Accra. One incident involved the moving of a denominational school and another incident concerned the government's building of a new school.

In a news article, it was revealed that the Presbyterian Secondary School at Odremose would be moved to Accra. The Presbyterian Synod's clerk, Rev. A. L. Quansah, explained that the decision had been made because the Synod had realized:

> . . . that students or urban secondary schools often had more advantage of getting jobs and admission into the University College than colleagues from the rural secondary schools.
>
> Besides, he said that if the Secondary School were removed to Accra most of the middle school children who normally gained admission into the school, would have the opportunity of a change from their rural environment to town life.[39]

In this instance, whether the motive (for moving the school) was right or not, it did illustrate one reason for students migrating to the urban areas.

In a similar incident, a reader wrote a letter to the editor that criticized the government's placing of a new secondary school in Accra. Joe Edmund of Poano-Denyese wrote:

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[39] Daily Graphic, 13 February, 1958.

> The establishment of a night secondary school in Accra by the Minister of Education is a welcome news and a boon to all post standard seven scholars who wish to increase their knowledge.
>
> But the government appears to be always considering the interests of the people in Accra and the large towns alone and neglecting the interests of the small towns.
>
> I am therefore appealing to the government to consider the scholars in the rural areas by establishing more of these schools in places like Ashanti Bekwai, Mampong, Juaso, Sunyani and Berekum.[40]

Both the examples stated above support the statement made by Clignet earlier in this chapter that urban schools had an advantage over schools located in the rural areas.

Summary

The first year of independence in Ghana found the major educational themes, as reported in the press, were dominated by the teaching profession. Questions arose over the status of the teaching profession, married teachers on maternity leave, teachers' level of teaching competence in the English language; and whether certificate B teachers should be promoted over less experienced certificate A teachers. In an expanding educational system, the teaching profession struggled for position and recognition in society.

In the area of curriculum, Ghanaian education appeared to not have deviated much from the colonial system it inherited. There was concern that indigenizing the curriculum might lead to a lowering of standards. The

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[40] Daily Graphic, 13 February, 1958.

general content sample reflected more of a concern for keeping standards high than for changing the content of the British-oriented educational system.

Theme five in the thematic analysis reflected a growing concern for equal opportunity in rural areas. The urban-rural educational gap appears to be a reflection of elitist attitudes in educational planning. At the same time, it is probable that the development of schools specifically in the urban areas may have been a result of natural market forces at work. The city seemed to offer better employment opportunities for students, better educational facilities for children of school teachers, and a standard of living more attractive for all educational personnel.

In general, as reflected in the press, two recurrent themes in education were causing concern. Quality in education and equality in education were important concerns. However, a third theme of curriculum reform was not uppermost in the minds of the Africans.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDEPENDENCE OF NIGERIA

The Setting

The year 1960 was a banner year for freedom as seventeen black African colonies received their independence. Nigeria was the eleventh country that year to achieve nationhood when Britain turned over the political reins on October 1, 1960.[1] The actual transfer of power had begun several years before following the same pattern the British had used in Ghana. Crowder summarizes this period of political indigenization:

> The 1954 constitution marks the effective end of the nationalist struggle with Britain; for the next six years, until the achievement of independence on 1st October 1960, Nigerian leaders were preoccupied not so much with wrestling power from the colonial government as dealing with the day-to-day administration and development of their country as well as settling the basis on which they would cooperate with each other.[2]

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[1]U. S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Basic Data on Sub-Saharan Africa, Special Report No. 61 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 2-11.

[2]Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, 4th ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 237.

Achieving internal cooperation of the three regions of Nigeria was not an easy task. The timing of the date of independence led to a major conflict as the underdeveloped north was at a disadvantage in terms of having its own educated manpower.

> During the 1950's, some of the wide divergences of outlook between the north and south emerged: the Sardauna of Sokoto, for example, argued that the process of independence should be held back because the north was not ready for it -- and he had some grounds for this attitude since at independence in 1960 there were only 41 secondary schools to serve the whole of the north.[3]

This shortage of educated manpower made the northerners somewhat dependent upon outside professionals, that is, foreigners or southern Nigerians. "With eighteen million people to govern and only a handful of university graduates. . . .the formation of a northern administration would be dependent on expatriates or southerners."[4] This regional disparity in educated government officials slowed the process of independence and reveals that education was a critical factor in the political formation of a free Nigeria.

In the economic sphere, the second World War brought about significant economic changes as the allies began tapping Nigeria's resources. In the post-war period, the increased demand for raw materials in the world's markets

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[3]Guy Arnold, Modern Nigeria (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1977), p. ix.

[4]Crowder, Story of Nigeria, p. 241.

(and changes in commodity prices) continued Nigeria's sustained pattern of economic growth.

> The basis of these post-war economic changes was agriculture, which on the eve of independence still accounted for over 85 percent of the country's exports. This was the result not so much of the increase in agricultural production, which was considerable, but of the rise in world prices for the export crops produced by Nigeria.[5]

Although Nigeria's economy was based primarily on the agricultural sector, crop exports were diversified enough to protect Nigeria from disastrous effects of large changes in the world market prices.

Nigeria's economic capacity was greater than that of most West African states but Nigeria was not better off in respect to per capita income. The British historian J. D. Fage comments on this economic comparison.

> At the time of independence in 1960, its rulers also commanded economic resources . . .which in total were very much greater than those of any other West African territory. However, in relation to the size of the population, Nigeria was poorer than Ghana. . .The larger trade and government revenues had to be spread over a population seven times as large. . . .[6]

While Nigeria was not the richest state in West Africa, it was not the poorest either. Only Ghana, Senegal, and Ivory Coast had a higher level of per capita income.[7]

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[5]Crowder, Story of Nigeria, p. 247.

[6]J. D. Fage, A History of West Africa, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 211.

[7]Fage, A History of West Africa, p. 211.

The political changes that came with self-government in 1954 also triggered changes in the education system.

> A turning point in the development of education occurred in 1954, when Nigeria became a federation and attained self-government over internal affairs including education. Numerous primary and secondary schools were established, and more students were enrolled at the two levels between 1954 and 1959 than during the whole period of British rule.[8]

The increased enrollments also brought about increased costs in financing education. Abernethy notes that, "Education was the major change on the regional government budgets, averaging just over 40 percent of recurrent expenditure in the southern regions for the post-1955 decade."[9] When the West Region introduced Universal Free Primary Education in 1957, ". . .almost 50 percent of the current budget was devoted to education."[10] A comparable percentage of the budget was devoted to education in the Eastern Region even without UPE.

Perhaps the most significant government action concerning education during this time was the commissioning of a group of scholars to investigate the educational needs of Nigeria between 1960 and 1980. The commission, commonly known as the Ashby Commission after its chairman, Sir Eric

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[8] International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, 1977 ed., s.v. "Federal Republic of Nigeria."

[9] David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 221.

[10] Crowder, Story of Nigeria, p. 251.

Ashby, was made up of three Nigerians, three Americans, and three British. Professor Harbison of the United States was not an official member of the committee but was asked by the commission to do a manpower planning survey that would outline educational needs for the twenty year period of 1960-1980. His study was included in the Report. At a time when manpower planning was a popular approach to the economics of education, the commission accepted as a basic presupposition that education was an economic investment. This investment was not just a social cost but brought an economic return. According to Lewis:

> The view that expenditure on education should be limited to what could be afforded out of current resources. . .was therefore replaced by the view that expenditure on education was in fact investment. . . .[11]

The report, finished a month before independence and relayed to the minister of education, asserted that, "The chief deficiencies of the education system are a lack of balance, both in its structure and in its geographical distribution, and a tendency for the aspirations of those who plan education to outrun the money and teachers available."[12] The recommendations of the Ashby commission recognized the huge expenditure that would be needed to properly adjust the Nigerian educational system:

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[11]L. J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), pp. 50-51.

[12]Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-school Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960), p. 4.

> Our recommendations are massive, unconventional, and expensive; they will be practicable only if Nigerian education seeks outside aid and if the Nigerian people themselves are prepared to accord education first priority and to make sacrifices for it.[13]

The commission recommended more expansion in the education system, particularly at the university level. Apparently, the recommendations of the commission were what the federal government wanted to hear. Fafunwa states, "The federal government enthusiastically accepted the Harbison and Ashby reports. It did not, however, accept Harbison's estimates of future manpower needs. It felt that they were conservative."[14] Instead of accepting the recommendation for four new universities, the government wanted five universities.[15]

In summary, the educational setting of Nigeria in 1960 was one of overall expansion, yet without a comprehensive strategy that fully equalized regional access and opportunity or dealt specifically with the rise of unemployment of school leavers.

Data Analysis

The space scan sample shows the newshole portion of the Daily Times measured 47.2 percent. The advertising share

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[13] Investment in Education, p. 41.

[14] A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1974), pp. 155-156.

[15] Ibid.

measured 52.8 percent. These two figures are almost identical with the figures given for the Graphic in Chapter III. The breakdown of the newshole shos a difference between the Graphic and the Times in two topic categories. The government section in the Graphic accounted for 20 percent of the newshole while the Daily Times of Nigeria registered only 6.3 percent. However, where the Graphic only measured 9.5 percent for economic development, the Times had 19.3 percent reported for that category (see TABLE 9).

TABLE 9

SPACE SCAN SAMPLE OF THE DAILY TIMES, 1960-1961

Form	Mean No. of Items	Mean Col. Inches	% of Col. Inches
Newshole:			
Regular	19.7	217.8	31.6%
Domestic-Foreign	21.7	174.8	25.3
Government	6.3	43.5	6.3
Social	9.8	120.7	17.5
Economic Development	7.5	132.8	19.3
Total	65	689.6	100%
Advertisements:			
Non-Classified	32.3	642.5	83.2
Classified	17.5	97.5	12.6
Paid Announcements	4.7	32.8	4.2
Total	54.5	772.8	100%

Education registered 6.0 percent of the newshole. This is almost identical to the Graphic's 6.3 percent. The mean number of pages per issue was 19.3, yet it was observed in the general content sample that the Times regularly printed issues in either a sixteen, twenty, or twenty-four page format.

The general content sample coded and analyzed 315 dailies out of a possible 316 issues. The effective coverage for the year was 99.7 percent. There were 1168 total education items coded in the Daily Times with 78.6% being event-oriented and 21.4% being issue-oriented items. The issue-oriented items were broken down into 48% calling for change, 31.6% being positive and 20.4% being negative about educational practice. In the change category, 54.2% wanted institutional change, 30% wanted instructional change, and 15.8% wanted changes in respect to personnel.

It is interesting to note that of 250 items coded as issue-oriented items, only eight items dealt with the Ashby Report and all eight were coded as positive. In every instance, the Ashby Report was praised, not criticized. This follows the assertion mentioned by Fafunwa that the government "enthusiastically accepted" the recommendations of the Ashby Report as most of the eight positive statements that were reported in the Times were made by government officials.

The educational news form results are reported in TABLE 10.

TABLE 10

TOTAL GCS EDUCATIONAL NEWS BY FORM, 1960-1961.

Form	No. of Items	Percentage
News	915	78.3%
Letters	100	8.6
Features	48	4.1
Editorials	9	.8
Other	96	8.2
Total	1168	100.0%

The last category in TABLE 10 (other - 8.2%) was larger than the same category in the TABLE reporting the Graphic (2.1%). The Times reported more scholarships and admission lists than were reported in the Graphic in the first year of Ghana's independence.

Data comparing the general content sample with other indicators of Nigerian education are given in TABLE 11. The results of TABLE 11 show, as was in the case of Ghana, that higher education received the majority of press exposure, both in written and photographic form. The Times reported over half of its written items for higher education (52.6%) and almost three quarters of all photographic coverage (72.7%) went to the same category. Photographic coverage of higher education ranged from university students

TABLE 11.--Comparative data of GCS with national budget and enrollments for Nigeria, 1960-1961.

Educational Category	% of Enrollment*	% of Ed. Budget**	G C S	
			% of Written Items	% of Photographic Items
Higher	.08%	9.5%	52.6¢	72.2%
Secondary	4.2	12.3	26.0	17.5
Teacher-Training	.9	11.3	5.5	1.6
Vocational	.3	7.0	7.2	3.2
Primary	94.5	55.4	8.7	5.5

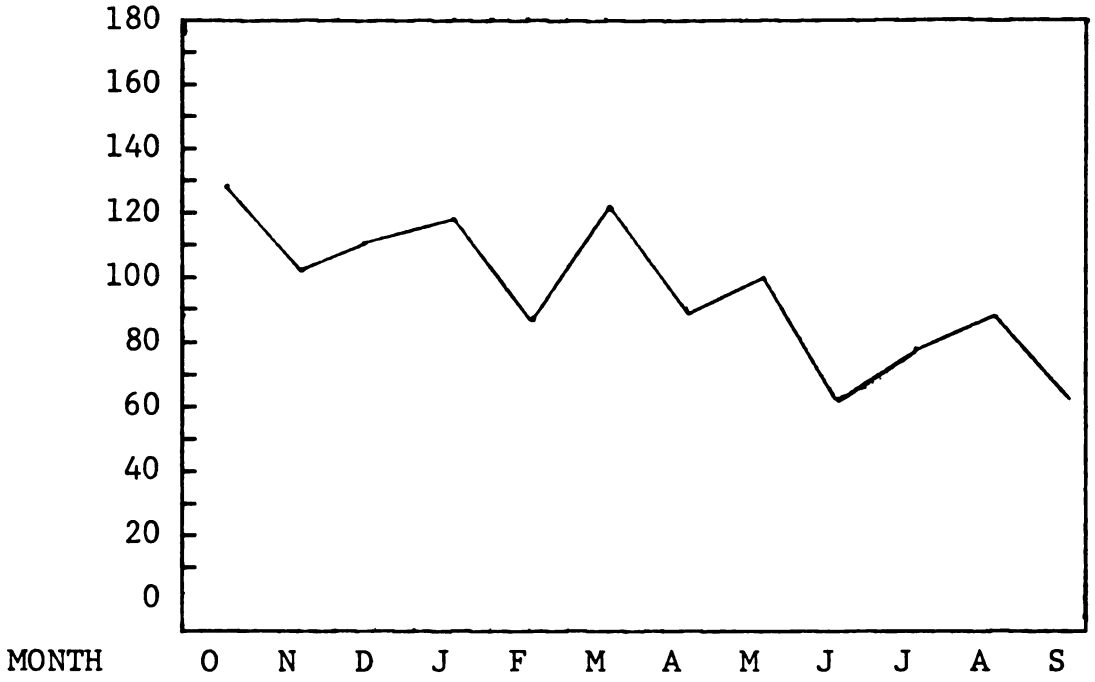
*Source: Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education, Digest of Statistics, 1960, pp. 3, 7.

**Source: A. Calloway and A. Musone, Financing of Education in Nigeria (Paris: UNESCO, 1968):132, table 17.

studying overseas and getting married overseas to portraits of scholarship recipients, both in Nigeria and studying abroad. A great many of the written items pertaining to higher education were simply announcements of students receiving scholarships and fellowships. In contrast, in another category (teacher-training) the written and photographic coverage was minimal (5.5% and 1.6% respectively) suggesting that teachers and the teaching profession had little social prestige in relation to other educational categories.

The frequency of educational news reporting is shown in Figure 5. The data includes all written items for the year but excludes photographic items.

Fig. 5. Frequency of educational news reporting by month, 1960-1961.



Unlike Ghana, in which the frequency followed the school year, Nigeria's reporting remained constant even when school was not in session (e.g. mid-December through January and the month of May). Many items, such as announcements of foreign scholarship winners were not directly related to the Nigerian school calendar and were reported consistently throughout the year.

Thematic Analysis

The independence of Nigeria brought about some interesting yet predictable comments from the press on the state of the education system. As in the case of the Graphic in Ghana, the Times of Nigeria reported on several minor issues and problems. In one instance, the Government, along with the Times readers, criticized certain voluntary agencies for not paying their teachers on time. On another occasion, some discussion went on as to the appropriateness of naming schools after the tribal names of deities. Unemployment was not an issue, but the Times did treat it with a four part series of articles written by economist Archibald Callaway. Throughout the year, the Times was besieged by readers writing letters to the editor asking the government to award more scholarships or build new facilities in their districts. The theme of expansion was predominant throughout the first year of independence.

Theme 1 - The Ashby Report

As mentioned earlier, the Ashby Report was not an issue as all who commented on it were in support of it. Four days after independence, the Times published in full the recommendations of the Ashby Report along with four photographs of the members of the commission. The next day, a Times editorial commented on the Ashby report and supported its anticipated high cost:

> Throughout the report the Commission laid emphasis on the participation of the Federal Government in all the proposals for higher education in the country. This is how it should be. And we even go further to suggest that where a Regional Government's financial resources are unable to meet its educational project the Federal Government should come to its aid.
>
> The proposals made by the Commission will be very expensive. In fact the cost will be enormous. But it is a worthy cause, for according to the Report, 'Our recommendations are massive, unconventional and expensive.'[16]

Later on that month at the cornerstone ceremony of the new Ahmadu Bello University, the Premier, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello commented on the Ashby Report in his speech:

> The Premier then commended the report of the Ashby Commission on Higher Education in Nigeria. The report, he said, brought out clearly the immense need for post-primary education and laid the right emphasis on the effort required to expand, evenly, primary and secondary education, if the sixth forms and the university were to flourish.[17]

The official government white paper that responded to the Ashby Report was not released until seven months later. In a news article, the Times published the official statement released by the government and the following excerpt expresses the federal government's support:

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[16] Daily Times, 5 October, 1960.

[17] Daily Times, 18 October, 1960.

> It is also the Federal Government's view that the implementation of the Ashby Commission's recommendations as amended must be given the highest priority.[18]

Theme 2 - Private Schools

During the month of May, 1961, a letter to the editor was published that condemned schools that catered to the children of the wealthy because they created a problem of class distinction. This letter spawned a series of feature articles during the following month that gave proponents and opponents an opportunity to defend their views. In defending exclusive schools, Rosemary Uwemedimo claimed:

> It seems then that private schools fulfil a definite need. Are they to be condemned merely because all parents cannot afford them? That seems illogical.
>
> No-one would claim that because not everybody can afford a cement house therefore the whole population must live in mud huts in order to avoid class distinction.
>
> The equality of man means that every human soul is of equal value to God, not that all be reduced economically, educationally, and socially to the lowest common denominator.
>
> If properly used, the private schools could eventually abolish or at least reduce the gap between the rich and poor by setting a high standard for all to aim at.[19]

In response to Mrs. Uwemedimo's article, Bola Ige stated:

> We who fight for equality do not want to reduce

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[18] Daily Times, 20 April, 1961.

[19] Rosemary Uwemedimo, "In Defense of Private Schools," Daily Times, 12 May, 1961.

> anything; we only ask that everyone be not hindered from achieving everything; and as soon as any group has an edge of advantage, inequality begins.[20]

In the following day's issue, Constance Bassir also criticized the elitism of the private schools run by expatriates:

> There are several ways in which the standards of primary schools in Nigeria may be improved, but sending the children of influential parents to expatriate private schools is not one of them.
>
> If on the other hand, we made it compulsory for every politician and every senior civil servant to send his children to the NEAREST primary school, we should see a rapid improvement in standards. . . .
>
> Schools run with the English social and educational systems in mind, however, satisfactory their material conditions may be, cannot provide the ideal education for a Nigerian child of primary school age.[21]

The final article gave Mrs. Uwemedimo a chance for a rebuttal in which she said:

> I heartily endorse the cry that we must all work to improve the lot of the majority, for when I protest that those who are up should not be dragged down, I do NOT imply that those who are down should not be raised up.
>
> However, the process of elevation is not so easy as Mr. Ige and Mrs. Bassir gliby state. Corruption clogs the wheels of progress in Nigeria, and while the men of influence are battering their heads against the brick wall

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[20]Bola Ige, "Away with 'Private Schools,'" Daily Times, 17 May, 1961.

[21]Constance Bassir, "It's a Poor Case for Private Schools," Daily Times, 18 May, 1961.

> of bribery, their children, if sent to a local primary school, MAY be receiving poor education.[22]

She concluded by thanking her two critics for their concern and claimed that ". . . it is a healthy sign when there is controversy about the best type of education; for apathy brings no progress."[23]

Theme 3 - Russian Scholarships

Tai Solarin, a regular feature writer on educational issues, wrote an article which revealed that Nigerian law discriminated against Nigerians who had studied in Soviet Universities. He states:

> There is a certain Nigerian law which forbids the intake into our national service any Nigerian who has been educated in the U.S.S.R. . . . .
>
> That law of ours is stupid which condemns a Nigerian graduate from a U.S.S.R. University. That law is anachronistic. It ought to go, when next the house meets -- lock, stock, and barrel.[24]

In a letter to the editor, Basil M. Okon of the University College Ibadan, supported Solarin in his criticism of the Nigerian law:

> I agree with Tai Solarin that the law which prohibits the communist-trained graduates from joining the Civil Service of their country should be abrogated immediately.

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[22]Rosemary Uwemedimo, "Private Schools are necessary," Daily Times, 2 June, 1961.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Tai Solarin, "Academic Penalty," Daily Times, 13 May, 1961.

> It might have been enacted in the colonial days to discourage students from studying in Communist countries, but Nigerians still study in these countries in spite of the law and one may therefore conclude that the law has not been able to fulfill its function.[25]

Another letter to the editor also supported Mr. Solarin's viewpoint. A. O. Olayisade of Zaria wrote:

> I strongly support Mr. Tai Solarin's attack on 'Academic Penalties'. . . .
>
> First, let us all accept that a man can be Russian-trained without being a communist. . . .
>
> Therefore, that part of the Nigerian Constitution which prohibits a Russian-trained man from entering our Civil Service is unreasonable and unprogressive and should be deleeted (sic) immediately.[26]

Neither the government nor anyone else responded to Solarin's charges and after several weeks Solarin wrote a final feature article on the subject. He wrote that the constitutional provision that Russian-trained Nigerians were ineligible for government employment was a legacy of British colonialism and was not appropriate for the new Nigerian government. The government was already short on educated Nigerian manpower and could not afford to continue down the same ideological road that had been laid out by the British. Solarin concluded:

> To carry in our heads the British bias against the Russians and to reinforce this bias with the undisguised spite of gargantuan America against their academic and technological rival, the Russian Bear, is to cut our nose to spite

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[25] Daily Times, 29 May, 1961.

[26] Daily Times, 30 May, 1961.

> our face. . . .
> To refulse to accept help on this front, therefore, is to commit a crime, not against the Nigerians alone, but against humanity. . . .
> And lastly, if we hate the Russians so much let us stop smiling at them. Let us ask them to fold up their embassy and go back home.[27]

Theme 4 - Language Planning and the School Curriculum

Nigeria has three major language groups -- Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba. As in the case of Ghana, Nigeria also was interested in using a Nigerian language as the national language of instruction. As far as the school curriculum was concerned, some thought that by teaching the vernaculars, national unity would result. Adelanwa Coher of Abeokuta wrote:

> May I however, suggest to the committee charged with reviewing the education policy the advisability of recommending the teaching of the main language of Nigeria in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools in the Region. In my own opinion, this would go a long way in bringing about the much-like-of unity of our country.[28]

On the other hand, others thought that English was the unifying force in the country:

> Mr. Obiajunwa Wali a resident teacher of the Department of extra-mural studies, Onitsha, has said that in Nigeria the English language is the most efficient and reliable means of communication between various tribes of the country and one of the permanent factors of understanding and unity in our country.[29]

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[27]Tai Solarin, "Toying With Russian Scholarships," Daily Times, 7 August, 1961.

[28]Daily Times, 23 December, 1960.

[29]Daily Times, 28 April, 1961.

At the same time, there were some who were afraid that English might jeopardize their African heritage. Indicative of this view was M. Onwuegbuna of Lagos:

> Though a very important language, English must never be allowed to displace our own languages, which, together with our own cultures constitute one precious heritage which we must never allow to decay.[30]

Still others were sure that a national lingua franca was needed to replace English and that language should be Hausa, the language of northern Nigeria. In a feature article, Sam Sara wrote:

> The choice for a lingua franca to replace English seems to be generally agreed upon by the suggestion of Hausa, for an obvious reason: it is already spoken by more than half of the people of Nigeria.[31]

B. C. Osunwa of Bida suggested in a letter to the editor that the language should be Hausa and that it should be taught right away:

> The time is overdue for the Federal Ministry of Education to make compulsory the teaching of Hausa language in all schools and colleges throughout the Federation.[32]

Still others, such as K. Ogenghe of Warri, did not see the necessity of quickly deciding on a national lingua franca:

> It is most surprising that despite so much silence by the Federal Government on the issue of a 'lingua franca' for Nigeria,

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[30] Daily Times, 14 December, 1960.

[31] Sam Sara, "Let Us Adopt Hausa Language," Daily Times, 4 May, 1961.

[32] Daily Times, 16 February, 1961.

> many people still indulge in jamming the whole affair down our throats.
>
> Personally, I do not see the necessity of imposing one particular language on all the citizens to the detriment of all other languages.[33]

The Nigerian experience with language planning in the schools differed somewhat from the Ghanaian concerns. In Ghana, the major language issues was over the language of instruction in primary schools. Nigeria, on the other hand, was more concerned with the teaching of a national African language in the schools.

Theme 5 - The Teaching Profession

The teaching profession did not appear to be held in high esteem during the first year of independent Nigeria. As in the case of Ghana, Nigerian teachers were struggling for recognition.

Attack was launched on teachers by Innocent Iluoji of Surulere who wrote in a letter:

> My own candid opinion is that -- apart from teachers in the civil service who enjoy only normal leave facilities -- as things stand at present, teachers are enjoying an overgenerous salary structure for the eight months work they do in a year.[34]

His letter brought a quick response in defense of teachers:

> It is an undisputed fact that the teaching profession is noble and this fact gives teachers the pride of their place. Yet

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[33] Daily Times, 1 June, 1961.

[34] Daily Times, 22 December, 1960.

> they do have the right to call on the government to better their conditions because teachers are in so many ways being relegated to the background.[35]

> To be specific, teachers combine the jobs of technicians and clerks, farmers and tradesmen, administrators and missionaries, et cetera and et cetera into one. Their official hours in schools are not their only hours of work.[36]

At this time, teachers were also asking for compensation and benefits that other civil servants enjoyed. The following excerpts reveal the concern individuals had for the inequity that existed between teachers and civil servants:

> The headmasters of primary schools in Ilesha have called on the Western Nigerian Government to make it possible for all primary school teachers in the region to enjoy the same facilities and priviledges as civil servants. . . .
> Replying to the points raised, the Minister said that although the teachers were paid by the government, it would not be possible for them to enjoy similar facilities and priviledges as their contemporaries in the civil service. This was because the teachers were employed by voluntary agencies.[37]

> The notion of the general public that teachers are not among the people who matter in the community seems to have been confirmed by the attitude of the various Nigerian governments in the recent award of one month salary advance to workers in the country for the independence celebrations. This award did not extend to

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[35] Daily Times, 29 December, 1960.

[36] Daily Times , 2 January, 1961.

[37] Daily Times, 15 December, 1960.

> teachers and naturally their view this discrimination with grave concern.[38]

> If the educational standards in Nigeria are going to rise as they should then there must be teachers well trained to man the schools. To attract graduates to the teaching profession, the salaries should be a par with those in other spheres where grads are in demand.[39]

> At the moment, the statement by some Governments of the Federation that most teachers are not employed directly by the government and therefore should not merit full government support, is merely a policy of escape which will soon be abandoned as we progress towards full and buoyant nationhood already in sight.[40]

Summary

The first year of independence for Nigerian education, as reflected in the press, was similar to Ghana's experience on five counts. First, higher education received an inordinate amount of educational news reporting, both in written and photographic coverage. Both countries' universities also received a large proportion of the education budget in respect to the size of their enrollments. Second, teacher-training received little exposure in the general content sample. Third, the teaching profession was struggling to assert its professionalism in both societies.

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[38] Daily Times, 13 December, 1960.

[39] Daily Times, 30 December, 1960.

[40] Tai Solarin, "Don't Blame Teachers," Daily Times, 8 April, 1961.

Teachers complained of low wages, long working hours, and unfair benefits in comparison to their civil service counterparts. Fourth, since both countries received their independence from Britain, they had to decide what role the use of the English language would play in the educational system. In the case of Ghana, the major concern was over what language to use as the medium of instruction. Nigerians' concern centered around the teaching of African languages as part of the curriculum. However, the two types of language questions were addressed by both the Times and the Graphic.

Fifth, as was the case in most of West Africa, Ghana and Nigeria had regional disparities in the delivery of educational services. The southern, coastal, non-Muslim areas were better educated than the northern Muslim hinterlands.

However, there were differences as well. Much emphasis was given in the Times to manpower planning as a result of the Report of the Ashby Commission while educational planning in Ghana did not receive press coverage. Also press coverage of the issues of Russian scholarships and private schools were unique to Nigeria as were the press issues of educated women and teacher training programs in Ghana. A question remains as to how much pressure the Nigerian government put on the press to report on manpower planning.

One other observation can be made from the data in this chapter. Both the quantitative indices in the data analysis section and the themes in the thematic analysis section complement each other in two areas. First, the low

press coverage of teacher training was followed by the theme of the teaching profession rebelling against low social acceptance. Second, higher education received high press coverage in the data analysis and also received high social acceptance in the theme dealing with the Ashby Report. There appears to be a relationship between the level of press coverage a particular educational category receives and the kind of concerns that are reflected in the corresponding themes. The more press coverage a category receives, the more it is likely to result in more favorable coverage of themes. In other words, higher education had more favorable discussion in the thematic analysis than did the teaching profession. The teaching profession had lower quantitative press coverage and its themes were less favorable. In this instance, the quantity of news items and the content of educational press coverage appears to reflect important attitudes in the societies of Ghana and Nigeria towards their respective educational systems.

CHAPTER V

CHAOS AND CORRUPTION IN GHANA

The Setting

The scenerio that was found in Ghana when civilian rule was restored in 1979 can ultimately be traced back to problems in the first republic. The economy in 1979 was in a shambles. Several years of successive governments had caused its deterioration. Part of the blame rested with the precedent started by Nkrumah's expansionistic and reckless economic policies.

In 1966, Nkrumah's regime was overthrown by the military while he was on a state visit to China. The military organized the National Liberation Council (NLC), which was led by Major-General Ankrah and later by Major-General A. A. Afrifa. The NLC was, in effect, a caretaker regime that happily turned over the country's problems to the newly elected Dr. Busia and his Progressive Party (PP) in 1969. The election was suspiciously conducted and hotly contested by the four losing parties. Nevertheless, "The result was a sweeping victory for the PP, who captured 105 of the 140 seats, with 59 per cent of the poll."[1]

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[1]Africa South of the Sahara 1981-1982, 11th ed., s.v. "Ghana."

Once in power however, the Busia government was not able to change the direction of the economy, leading to the military's reentry into the goverment.

> By the close of 1971, therefore, there were strong parallels with the previous civilian regime; the balance of payments had considerably deteriorated, foreign debt repayment saddled the country, food prices had shot up and various key groups such as the military, civil service and the cocoa farmers had been alienated. For the second time within six years, therefore, critical political strains emerged as the result of inept economic measures and it was a disillusioned Ghana that experienced its second military coup in January, 1972.[2]

The coup, led by Acheampong, legitimated its move on the basis that bad economic policies of the civilian regime had required a change. "General Acheampong came to power by force of arms accusing the Busia government of economic mismanagement and repeatedly stated that the Army would hand over the power after the national economy had been salvaged by him."[3] The salvage never took place as Acheampong's inexperience and administrative ineptness only exacerbated an already bad situation.

> . . . its fortunes deteriorated rapidly from 1974, and by 1977, with inflation running at over 100 per cent per annum and acute shortages of both imports and home-produced goods,

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[2]Africa South of the Sahara.

[3]Mike Oquaye, Politics in Ghana, 1972-1979 (Accra: Tornado Publications, 1980), p. 27.

> the army proved itself as incapable of economic management as any civilian administration.[4]

Acheampong stepped down under pressure and was allowed to go free by his successor, Akuffo, instead of being called to account for his administrative ineptness. In 1979 things had deteriorated to the point that junior officers led a coup to oust the corrupt regime. Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings led the coup and quickly administered "justice" by executing several high level officials including Acheampong and Akuffo. Rawlings arranged for a speedy return to civilian rule. Dr. Hilla Limann and the People's National Party (PNP) won the election and the transfer of power came on September 24, 1979, less than four months after Rawlings and his Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) staged their coup. The new civilian government, hastily put together, inherited an enormous number of problems at the time of the transfer.

> Seldom has a new democratic government entered into office under such dismal circumstances. Apart from the severe and highly disrupted economic conditions, the economic and social infrastructure. . .had deteriorated severely from years of lack of investment, in part because of foreign exchange constraints. Many government institutions were in a state of disarray or collapse and had manifested a declining competence to fulfill their roles.[5]

The indicators of Ghana's economic disaster are

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[4] Africa South of the Sahara.

[5] Jon Kraus. "Rawlings' Second Coming," African Report 27 (March-April 1982), p. 61.

multiple and mutually compounding. Ghana had a deficit in its balance of payments and had been in arrears in paying off short-term debts. Major exports had declined since the mid-1970's. The country was in non-compliance with donor agency guidelines and consequently the IMF and World Bank did not make more funds available. Furthermore, the government financed its own budget deficits by printing more money. Inflation increased dramatically as the money supply rose by 675 percent between 1974 and 1978. On top of this, a sharp contraction of imported goods slowed the economy even more. Since 1976, prices rose 50-100 percent annually. All of this was compounded by a shortfall in food production coupled with a high unemployment rate.[6] The debacle of economic planning had a very serious impact on the average Ghanaian.

> The average economic conditions of recent years have created among many Ghanaians a single-minded concern with their own survival, regardless of the social costs. Smuggling, blackmarketeering, and the misappropriation of public funds have come to be regarded by many as economically imperative rather than simply self-serving.[7]

The civilian government, under President Limann's leadership, apparently did not have the political capacity that was needed to lead the country out of the depression.

> Limann was orderly, methodical, slow, and apparently undynamic in trying to rebuild the

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[6]Jon Kraus, "The Political Economy of Conflict in Ghana," Africa Report 25 (March-April 1980), pp. 9-10.

[7]Ibid., p. 16.

> capabilities of Ghana's public institutions, whose qualities of debility, incompentence, lethargy and resource scarcity are apparent to all Ghanaians.[8]

Moreover, what Limann lacked in leadership abilities was intensified by his erroneous strategic planning.

> . . . the Limann government also made crucial misjudgements, some under strong political pressure. When the Limann/PNP government came to office in late 1979, instead of emphasizing the sacrifices that would have to be made, it promised to 'flood the market' with consumer goods, thus providing needed supplies and reducing prices through ending scarcities. It had no resources to do this.[9]

In retrospect, a major question should be asked concerning the basic economic structures in Ghana. Why did each successive regime after Nkrumah continue to place its hopes in the public sector for economic renewal? One development economist comments:

> Shortages of personnel, institutional problems of administration and co-ordination, corruption, and politicization persisted beyond Nkrumah, together with the problems which they generated. In view of Nkrumah's inability to effect radical improvements under the system which he created, it is puzzling to understand why governments maintained so much continuity with this system after 1966. For what emerges . . . is that there was throughout the sixties and into the seventies an abiding faith in the efficacy of the state as an economic agent, despite much evidence of its inefficiency.[10]

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[8]Kraus, "Rawlings' Second Coming," pp. 63-64.

[9]Ibid., p. 65.

[10]Tony Killick, Development Economics in Action: A Study of Economic Policies in Ghana (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), p. 318.

The progress of educational development in Ghana was also severely impeded due to the effects of economic mismanagement. Shortages of essential goods, especially textbooks, were common throughout the seventies. "Schools and colleges were without textbooks for even the few who were ready, willing and able to pay their unreasonably high prices."[11] Schools in 1979 were hard hit, especially secondary boarding schools, in that some were unable to open on time since essential goods (eg. food) could not be found to supply storehouses.

In the realm of capital expenditure, the Ministry of Education had good intentions, but new building and improvements were hampered by shortages of construction materials. For example, in the 1980-1981 fiscal year, the Ministry of Education had planned for the completion of 295 projects that included science laboratories, classrooms, workshops, staff bungalows and new equipment purchases.[12] "Out of the projects approved, thirty-five (35) were completed and are being used. The low performance in project implementation was due to the slow down of constructional activities as a result of lack of building materials and other imputs."[13]

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[11]Oquaye, Politics in Ghana, p. 27.

[12]Republic of Ghana, Budget Proposals for 1981-82 (Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1981), p. 62.

[13]Ibid., p. 63.

Shortages of supplies and materials were not the only shortages the school system faced. Shortages of teachers and educated manpower developed as many Ghanaians sought employment in other countries. Kraus reports that, "A significant brain-drain of educated persons, including 8,000 teachers, who left Ghana to find employment or avoid the harshly depressed living conditions, occurred during 1974-79."[14] The loss of educated manpower hurt the economy as many migrated to escape deplorable conditions. On another occasion, Kraus stated, "Thousands of educated and skilled Ghanaians had left Ghana to escape the inflation and absence of commodities, reducing sharply Ghana's ability to renew its capacities."[15] Ghana's creative capacity in the form of human resources was being depleted via the "brain-drain." The "brain-drain" became an important educational issue during the civilian government of the Third Republic. The turnover of teachers endangered the quality of all levels of education.

While education expanded in the two decades following independence, there was evidence that elitism still persisted, especially above the primary level. Secondary schools were a case in point. For example, in a follow-up of Foster's study of social class and education in Ghana, Lois Weis investigated secondary students by duplicating Foster's

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[14]Kraus, "The Political Economy," p. 10.

[15]Kraus, "Rawlings' Second Coming," p. 61.

methodology:

> Two databases are used in the analysis as follows: information on the composition of Ghanaian fifth formers in 1961 derived from Philip Foster's pioneering work, Education and Social Change in Ghana and information I gathered through questionnaires administered to a second nationally representative sample of Ghanaian secondary school students in 1974. The 1974 sample is comparable with Foster's 1961 sample.[16]

The two variables used in both studies to determine school access were; 1) father's occupation and 2) urban experience. The overall occupational distribution and rural/urban proportions had not significantly changed since the early 1960's. Secondary schools had expanded from 39 in 1960 to 139 in 1972. Enrollments in publicly supported secondary schools had increased to 58,000 in 1972 from 14,000 in 1960. However, Weis noted that:

> Clearly, the children of urban parents receive more than their proportional share of secondary school places. What is more important, however, is that expansion of the educational system has enabled urban individuals to achieve even greater representation relative to rural individuals than they had at an earlier stage of development. . . . It appears that consolidation and perpetuation of privilege vis a vis schooling is taking place to a greater extent in the mid-1970's than it did in the early 1960's.[17]

Expansion, according to Weis, has tended to promote elitism and suppress upward social mobility. She concluded:

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[16]Lois Weis. "Education and the Reproduction of Inequality: The Case of Ghana," Comparative Education Review 23 (February 1979), p. 44.

[17]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

> Rather than serving to broaden the base of recruitment, expansion has made it comparatively less likely that children from rural and/or low socioeconomic backgrounds would receive places in the nation's secondary schools. This suggests that the secondary level of the educational system is acting increasingly to reproduce social inequality rather than offer opportunities for mobility.[18]

In summary, the Ghanaian education system in 1979 appears to have expanded several fold over the early 1960's. However, this expansion appears to have solidified the elite's hold on the system. In addition, the system was plagued with logistical problems that resulted from failing economic conditions.

Data Analysis

The six issues constituting the space scan sample disclosed that the newshole share of the newspapers measured 51.4 percent, and the remaining 48.6 percent was comprised of advertisements. These percentages almost parallel the figures of the earlier year (1957) of 47.5 percent continaing newshole and 52.5% of advertisements. The topic categories were also similar to the first year (see Table 12). There were increases in the domestic-foreign and government categories and decreases in the regular and social categories. Interestingly, the portion of newshole classified as economic development was almost identical to the first year (9.5% -- 1957; 9.7% -- 1979).

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[18]Weis, "Education and the Reproduction of Inequality," p. 50-51.

TABLE 12

SPACE SCAN SAMPLE OF THE
DAILY GRAPHIC, 1979-1980.

Form	Mean No. of Items	Mean Col.. Inches	% of Col. Inches
Newshole:			
Regular	19.8	163.3	27.9%
Domestic-Foreign	14.3	170.5	29.2
Government	5.5	132.3	22.6
Social	3.8	61.8	10.6
Economic Development	4.3	57.0	9.7
Total	47.7	584.9	100%
Advertisements:			
Non-Classified	26.3	270.8	49.0%
Classified	10.0	30.5	5.5
Paid Announcements	30.2	251.7	45.5
Total	66.5	553.0	100%

The economy was much worse in 1979 than it was in 1957, but the space scan would not indicate it. One explanation may be that in 1979 the Graphic was completely owned and controlled by the government, and it probably did not want to draw unusual attention to the plight of the economy.

The newshole alloted 2.8% to education. This represents a significant decrease in comparison with 1957's 6.3%. The mean number of pages per issue was 12. The papers tended to be issued in either an eight or sixteen page format. The proportion of non-classified advertisements decreased significantly over the fiscal year. Whereas, non-classified advertisements constituted 86.0% in 1957, the 1979 year registered only 49.0%. A major increase came in paid announcements when it increased from 6.6% in 1957 to 45.5& in 1979. These changes reflect a major difference in that in 1979 the government owned Graphic did not solicit finances from the business community in the form of advertisements as it did in 1957 when it was a privately-owned commercial paper.

The effective coverage of the GCS was 99.4% as 310 out of a possible 312 issues were coded and analyzed. There were 637 total items coded and this revealed a 22.8% decline compared to the first year. Event-oriented items constituted 77.6% of the total items while issue-oriented items were 22.4% of the total. The issue-oriented items were broken down into 84.6% calling for change, 9.8% being being positive and 5.6% being negative. In 1957, only 43.9% called for change and 40.2% were positive. The change items were further broken down into 61.2% calling for institutional change, 12.4% calling for instructional change, and 26.4% calling for changes from personnel. The major difference in the issue-oriented items between 1957

and 1979 is the larger amount of items classified as change. The three kinds of change were comparable in breakdown in both years. The majority of change items revolved around issues caused by an education system struggling to survive. Concern was raised over teachers' strikes, student unrest, shortages of personnel and essential supplies. The educational news reporting by form is reported in TABLE 13 along with data from the first year. The major change seems to be in the area of news articles and the "other" category.

TABLE 13

EDUCATIONAL NEWS BY FORM

Form	1957-1958		1979-1980	
	No. Of Items	%	No. Of Items	%
News	665	80.6%	289	45.3%
Letters	72	8.7	21	3.3
Features	55	6.7	16	2.5
Editorials	16	1.9	23	3.6
Other	17	2.1	288	45.2

News articles decreased 35.3% compared to the first year. The other category increased 43.1% over the first year. There was a dramatic increase in the amount of paid announcements as schools announced reopenings (due to

shortages), Alumni association announced meetings, and exam schedules were announced. Total reporting of educational news by educational category is recorded in TABLE 14. The table compares written and photographic coverage of 1957 with 1979.

TABLE 14

COMPARATIVE GCS DATA

Educational Category	1957-1958		1979-1980	
	% Of Written Items	% Of Photo. Items	% Of Written Items	% Of Photo. Items
Higher	46.8%	51.3%	31.5%	39.5%
Secondary	22.0	27.8	43.7	36.8
Teacher-Training	5.6	5.7	4.3	0.0
Vocational	8.4	5.1	14.9	10.5
Middle	8.9	6.3	1.9	5.3
Primary	8.3	3.8	3.7	7.9

Secondary education's written and photographic coverage increased while the coverage of higher education decreased in 1979. However, higher education still claimed the greatest portion of photographic coverage. The teacher training and middle school categories' photographic exposure decreased and the vocational and primary categories increased over 1957. Higher and secondary categories still dominated

the coverage educational news.

The frequency of educational news reporting is reported in figure 6. The rise in news reporting between December, 1979 and March, 1980 can be attributed to the ending and beginning of school years. Graduations, exam announcements, and application information were reported, especially in the form of news articles and paid announcements. The sudden increase occurring between June and August of 1980 can be explained for the same reasons.

Fig. 6 Frequency of educational news reporting by month, 1979-1980.

*Combination of September 1979 and September 1980.

Thematic Analysis

A major difference emerged in 1979 as educational news was more influenced by the government than by the concerns of the public. In comparison to the 1957 figures for Ghana, the letters to the editor and feature articles in 1979 dropped to one half of the former level. However, editorials (written by government paid editors) almost doubled in 1979 compared to 1957 when the Graphic was an independent newpaper. It appears that the Graphic mirrored more of a government bias in 1979 as letters to the editor were hardly published at all. There could be two possible explanations. First, the government owned Graphic may have been more selective in what letters it published (both in content and in quantity) or, second, fewer readers were writing letters to the editor. It could also have been a combination of both. Nevertheless, issues did emerge and were commented upon. Since letters to the editor were scarce, debate and controversy tended to be expressed more by discussion than by argument.

There appeared on occasion several minor themes that had significant relevance to national policy issues. A youth farm scheme was questioned on the grounds that similar programs in the past had lacked full support from the ministry of education. On another occasion an editorial blasted the promotion system that elevated quality educators to administrative posts where their teaching talents

were lost. A feature article criticized foreign African students who took advantage of Ghana's free education and then immediately returned to their home country without staying to provide service for Ghana. There were news articles that reflected the shortages of essential goods (mainly food stocks) and several schools had to postpone their opening dates. A further issue evolved when an editorial denounced the educated elite in the country for not getting more involved in helping to solve Ghana's problems. These minor themes however, were outweighed in favor of three dominant national concerns.

Theme 1 - Tensions in the Schools

There were several threats of teachers strikes throughout the year and one that received a large amount of attention involved the dispute between "graduate" teachers in post-secondary schools and "diploma" teachers, who possessed lower credentials. "Graduate" teachers wanted more pay than the "diploma" teachers since their training had been longer in duration.

The Graphic published two editorials before the strike and pleaded with the teachers to remain on the job, thus aligning itself on the side of the government:

> . . . . the proposed strike action by the 2,000 strong post-secondary teachers in support of their claims for new salary gradings. . . is quite unfortunate. . . .
>
> The post-secondary teachers may have a very genuine cause to be unhappy and as a result resort

> to strike action. But they must remember that as teachers who, in no small way, contribute to shaping the minds of their students, a strike action at the beginning of an academic year would, to say the least jeopardize their education.[19]
>
> We are hoping, however, that the teachers will be willing to listen to a certain amount of talking because nothing ruins an otherwise good point more than unwillingness to hear the other side. . . .
>
> The state of most of the nation's schools is deplorable enough without the pupils being left without teachers. . . .
>
> That is why we appeal to the teachers to return to the classrooms while the matter is being resolved. . . .
>
> For, if the threat they are holding over the Government in case their demands were not met is that they would leave for "Agege" to find employment, then they are definitely not going to win many sympathisers to their cause. That is not the spirit of the Third Republic and that smacks of irresponsibility; at this time in Ghana, everybody stays to face the problems, fight inertia in officialdom until Ghana is rebuilt. Surely this spirit must pose a challenge to teachers especially.[20]

The issue was not only salary grade scales as there existed other grievances as well. In a news article, the Graphic stated, "The statement enumerated other grievances of teachers as lack of responsibility, allowances, undue delays in promotion and lack of basic 'materials.'"[21]

The government called on the teachers to end their

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[19] Daily Graphic, 2 November, 1979.

[20] Daily Graphic, 16 January, 1980.

[21] Daily Graphic, 26 January, 1980.

strike and the Director-General of the Ghana Education Service, Professor N. O. Anim, favored the position of the diplomate teachers.

> He said the graduate teachers had always felt cheated by being put on the same salary scale as diplomate teachers but the Education Service Council had indicated that if payment should be for the job one does, the diplomates should be on the same scales with fresh graduates even though the graudates could rise to head institutions while the diplomates would not.
>
> Professor Anim said reports from most of the secondary schools now showed that the head-teachers preferred to have more diplomates in their institutions because they are more conscientious in their work and stay longer in the service.
>
> Moreover, he said, the diplomates possess Advance Level passes and do three years training geared towards teaching just as the graduates have their Advance Level passes and three or four years training at the university.[22]

The president of the Student's Representative Council of the University of Cape Coast responded to Professor Anim in a paid announcement. He stated:

> The Director asserted: "Graduate teachers and diploma holders have almost the same qualification and the same job content." The Director contradicts himself by stating that the graduates can head institutions whereas the diplomates cannot. If the two categories receive equal training then where is the justification in the diplomate not being able to head institutions when graduates are present?
>
> The Director asserted: "The Education Service had indicated that if payment should be for its job one does, the diplomate should be on the same scale with the fresh graduates."
>
> If equal payment is made on job done, why does the Council not give Specialists Teaching in the

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[22]Daily Graphic, 6 February, 1980.

> same Secondary Schools the same pay as diplomates since they have "almost. . . the same job content"?
>
> Why does the three-year post secondary teacher teaching in the same institution not get the same pay as the diplomates?
>
> He stated: "Our system makes people feel unless you hold a University degree you are useless".
>
> It is such a ruling body headed by a person like the Professor himself which has made the system what it is now. If it were not so, why does the Ghana Education Service insist still that no diplomates can head institutions or the Ghana Education Service itself?
>
> He stated further: "Headmasters preferred to have more diplomates in their institutions because they were more consciencious and stayed longer in the service!
>
> If Heads appreciate the effort of diplomates better, this reflects rather negatively on the kind of teachers the Ghana Education Service makes of graduate teachers.[23]

The Director-General issued a statement that reflected a change of opinion on the preparation of graduate and diploma teachers. A Daily Graphic news article reported:

> The Office of the Director-General of the Ghana Education Service (GES) has announced that the content of the Diploma Course currently operated by the Service is not the same as the content of a first degree course in the universities.
>
> A statement signed by Miss Agnes A. Laryea, acting Director of Education for the Director-General explained that any impression to the contrary which might have emanated from a recent press conference by the Director-General is wrong as a study of the syllabuses of the two courses would clearly show.[24]

The students were also active in putting pressure on the government to end the strike. In a news article,

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[23] Daily Graphic, 27 February, 1980.

[24] Daily Graphic, 26 February, 1980.

a student representative's statement claimed:

> We want to be educated like everybody else in the society and so our fervent appeal goes to all those who are concerned with this matter to speed up the process of solving the problem. . . .[25]

The article also reported:

> Earlier, hundreds of placard bearing students had converged in front of the Ghana National Cultural Centre, Kumasi from where they went on a route march through the principal streets.
>
> Some of the placards read: "No Teachers, No Examination", "We Owe The Right to Be Educated, Nothing More, Nothing Less," "Improve Conditions Of Our Teachers," and "Help The Teachers To Help Us."[26]

Students were not innocent of causing other problems during the school year. At one point, headmasters themselves threatened to go on strike because of student behavior:

> The Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), has expressed profound concern about the manner in which students have been beating up the heads of schools.
>
> The Association has, therefore, warned that unless the students desist from their behaviour, headmasters will have to withdraw their services.[27]

In December, the Graphic published an editorial entitled "Students on the Rampage" and asked for all parties to resolve the problems:

> . . . . there is no denying the fact that some students, especially those in secondary

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[25] Daily Graphic, 6 March, 1980.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Daily Graphic, 17 November, 1979.

> schools have persistently exhibited negative approach to problems confronting them on their various institutions.
>
> . . . it must be pointed out that it is the height of immaturity for people fighting to improve their conditions to destroy the little that they have. . . .
> . . . We would like to think that this deplorable situation is a result of a break down in communication between the students and staff. . . .
> . . . While we condemn the mob action approach by students in such matters we call on the Ministry of Education and administrators. . . to remember that after the riots, always come the sobering realization of waste of both human and physical resources. Nothing therefore beats jaw-jawing.[28]

Secondary schools were also affected by a new government policy on boarding fees as the government attempted to cut costs in education. The Minister of Education, Dr. Kwamena Ocran, made the policy speech during a prize day ceremony in Cape Coast. The Graphic reported:

> Parents will soon be paying two-thirds of the total cost of boarding and lodging fees of their wards in secondary schools as a short term solution to the increasing expenditure of the boarding school system.[29]

The new policy had been recommended to the Minister several months earlier by the Ghana Education Service:

> The Governing Council of the Ghana Education Service has recommended to the Government to review its policy of subsidising fees of students in boarding schools.
>
> It is the view of the Council that the present policy is "discriminatory."
>
> Disclosing this in Kumasi yesterday, Mr. Nicholas Asante, Ashanti Regional Director of the Service, explained that under the current system, "the government subsidises

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[28]Daily Graphic, 18 December, 1979.

[29]Daily Graphic, 24 March, 1980.

> meals for students in boarding schools, leaving out the day students. . . ."
> . . ."in certain villages in the country, pupils in elementary schools sit on the floor and use pieces of blocks as classroom tables while a huge sum of money is being spent in subsidising boarding fees."[30]

The Graphic took a position on the issue when it published a two-part editorial on the boarding fees controversy. The first half of the editorial again sided with the government:

> The central question is: Are most parents financially strong enough to pay their wards' fees considering the generally low level of economic activities and the fast rising cost of living?. . . .
> . . . We must all admit that the load on government expenditure is increasing by leaps and bounds and with each leap, the taxpayer is bound to wince since it is his pocket that gets squeezed. . . .
> . . . It is the opinion of this paper that it is about time the whole boarding school system was phased out. With the general improvement of the educational system and transportation parents would not bend over backwards to send their wards to prestigious secondary schools in far away places but be contented with what they have near home.[31]

The editorial on the following day discussed not only boarding fees but the whole subject of scholarships. The editorial concluded:

> Quite understandably the plan aimed at shifting two-thirds of boarding and lodging fees in secondary schools to parents while government pays the remaining one-third is kicking up a lot of dust. . . .

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[30] Daily Graphic, 27 October, 1979.

[31] Daily Graphic, 25 March, 1980.

> . . . It is an open secret that the whole CMB Scholarship Scheme, for instance is fraught with loop-holes through which children of those who can afford to pay school fees rather benefit while children of farmers and other people whose incomes really need to be subsidised, are left in the lurch. . . .
> . . . We need to take a hard look at the hefty educational bill; streamline scholarship awards to benefit as many wards of underprivileged parents who through various ways amassed wealth at the expense of the state and even those who through their own sweat and using Ghana's resources have made it, pay for their children's education. It would be a small price to pay in face of the catastropic economic burden Ghanaians are condemned to shoulder.[32]

Theme 2 - Systemic Problems in Ghanaian Education

The Daily Graphic reported on many educational problems during the period under review. There was an abundance of articles calling on a change in educational philosophy. Other articles desired a change in educational planning. One example of this was published in a news article:

> Contributing to a symposium on the theme "The Educational Needs of the Child" in Accra last Tuesday night, Mr. Ayikwei Bulley of the Psychology Department regretted that Ghana had since independence had as many as seven educational plans which had all tried to radically change the trend but had all failed because they were not "based on any identifiable philosophy or criterion to facilitate evaluation of such programmes."
>
> Ghana, he observed, has been following bits and pieces of philosophies on educational plans

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[32] Daily Graphic, 26 March, 1980.

> without a comprehensive educational system and this led to the hanging on of educational programmes.[33]

The Graphic published a series of feature articles that dealt with a particular education problem. The first article discussed the declining social status that a graduate from universities possesses if he does not have a job to correspond to his level of education. The second article discussed problems in the examination system. The third article espoused the view that the educational system needed a new ideological base, namely socialism rather than elitism. The fourth article examined the aspects of elitism, particularly on the issue of private prep schools versus public schools. The author stated:

> Any exhaustive study made on the Common Entrance Examination over the past few years would show startling results of imbalance. The reason is that the children of the rich get the upper hand over the children of the poor. In fact, statistics could be produced to prove that Common Entrance results favoured children whose parents can afford the very high fees charged by the private special schools; and generally such Schools are in the urban areas.
>
> Regrettably too, these are the children who get the Scholarships. This means that the low income group children were being effectively excluded from admission to the best Secondary Schools in the country, and from scholarships. . . .
>
> It is true that better qualified teaching, rehousing, recreational facilities, etc. are factors that influence a child's education. But when it comes to the Common Entrance issue,

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[33] Daily Graphic, 17 January, 1980.

> these are not the causes of the imbalance. The real cause is that two educational systems (the private and the public Schools) operate with different objectives in mind. The private schools aim at and specialize in preparing their pupils to pass the Common Entrance whilst the public Schools aim at giving the pupils general education. . . .
>
> But the most shocking thing is that those I have mentioned above are the very people who never send their children to the public Schools to get the very type of education they are advocating for. Instead, they chose to send their wards to the special private Schools which specialize in preparing their pupils for the Common Entrance Examinations. . . .
>
> Our educational policy-makers advocate one type of education for the public schools (and for that matter the poor) while they prescribe another type of education for their own children. Is this not a moral and social injustice?[34]

In a letter to the editor, Yaw Adusei Nyarko of Accra commented on the private/public school differences. He claimed public school children were at a disadvantage at exam time because they spent so much time preparing for independence day celebrations, an event their private school counterparts were exempt from:

> It is really sad to observe that school children in Accra have learned virtually nothing this term. Actual classroom work got interrupted because the teachers and their children were busy preparing for 6th of March activities. . .
>
> The children take two good months to learn and rehearse at the Independence Square. . . .
>
> Finally, on the fateful 6th of March, these children put up a six-hour performance, and their only reward is a bottle of Fanta or Coke each, plus a handful of chips.
>
> Having thus wasted almost the whole term, the

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[34]E. S. Bruku, "The Present Educational System: What's Wrong With It?," Daily Graphic, 29 November, 1979.

> children have less than three weeks to prepare for the Common Entrance Examination.
>
> On the other side of the coin, one would see that pupils in 'Preparatory' Schools have this term as the busiest period to prepare for the same exam. As if that is not enough, it is reliable learnt that the same public school children will be invited to perform again on Republic Day this year.
>
> This year's parade, like all previous ones, was watched by Ministers of State, diplomates, distinguished guests, etc. etc. Fair enough. But my question is: How many of these personalities have their children among those who perform for them to watch?
>
> The answer is 'None' because these big men do not educate their children in public schools.[35]

A further problem in the education system stemmed from poor administration in the Ghana Education Service (GES). The Graphic covered in detail the proceedings of a commission set up to investigate the GES. The six-member appointed Commission of Enquiry delved into such issues as textbook shortages, misappropriation of funds, and administrative incompetence.

Theme 3 - The Brain Drain

The departure from Ghana of many educated professionals and skilled laborers has caused an enormous problem, at least as it was presented in the Graphic. The universities experienced a large turnover in lectures during the late 1970's. In a full page feature article written by Adu Gyamfi, he reported:

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[35] Daily Graphic, 22 March, 1980.

> Perhaps one would be alarmed by the figures of lecturers who have left the service of the University of Ghana, Legon, given by Dr. Appianda Arthur (Nzema-East), during the debate on the motion. He noted that between 1976/77 academic year and the 79/80 year there had been 228 teaching appointments at the university, as against a loss of 283 lecturers and described the situation as "very pathetic."
>
> Additionally, Dr. Arthur, himself a former lecturer of the University, said 113 people who had benefitted from the University's scholarship programme to study aborad since the 1969/71 year had failed to return for appointment for reasons of poor reward for lecturers. . . .
>
> The brain-drain is not peculiar to the teaching profession as it affects other professions - Medicine, Engineering, Nursing, Architecture, Accountancy and others.[36]

Gyamifi pointed out that the "brain-drain" had a double effect for, "the brain-drain deprives society of both the original investment and the future contribution."[37]

Dwame Nyanteh had a statement published as a paid announcement in which he asked his countrymen some pointed questions. The following are excerpts of his half-page statement:

> That a disastrous brain drain has hit the nation, especially during the past two years is commonplace. Everyday, in the papers, several vacancies are advertised. The position is particularly worse in our Universities. And to think of it, we wonder where the over one thousand graduates we turn out in our Universities every year, let alone those we sponsor in foreign countries, go to. Of course, the answer is also commonplace because everybody knows that most of them are in neighbouring countries, especially Nigeria. . . .

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[36] Daily Graphic, 19 March, 1980.

[37] Ibid.

> Our investigations also revealed that not all lecturers who have left the service of the Universities have gone to Nigeria and abroad: a host of them are in the country working at the Corporations and other private Institutions. . . . . .The lecturer who is on study leave (as this training is called) can take his wife and children along with him, all at the expense of the university. When some of these lecturers return home they only render one year's service and then resign to join a corporation, obviously for more pay. The question one may ask is whether the Ghana Tourist Board or the National Savings Bank or the Social Security and National Insurance Trust need people with doctorate degrees? And if they do why don't they train their own men? Can't the universities sue the these (sic) ungrateful people or ask the corporations concerned to refund the amount spent in training these people (with interest, of course) so that others who are prepared to train and return to render useful service to the universities can have the training?. . . .
>
> And worse still there are others who go on study leave at the expense of the universities and never return home when they finish their courses. Most of these people either choose to remain in the countries where they did their course to work and earn more than they would earn at home, or return to certain African Universities to work.
>
> What surprises us is that students in our universities are aware of these unpatriotic acts and yet they keep quiet. Why shouldn't students demonstrate against such people? When they cry "more blood" on industrialists and businessmen whose activities they presume have contributed to the poor state of our economy don't they at the same time realise that such unpatriotic acts by some of their own friends also have helped in no small measure to ruin the economy?[38]

The Graphic was not silent on the issue of the "brain drain" as it published no less than four editorials in the space of five months. The first editorial, entitled "Universities in Economic Development,"

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[38]Daily Graphic, 19 April, 1980.

presented the university as a crucial element in national development:

> The laudable aims of university training has never been questioned the whole world over. In fact in developed economies the universities are the inevitable wheels of research on which technological advancement moves.
>
> However, over the years developing countries have faced a situation in which a great chasm has been created between the objectives and realities in the University institutions . . . .
>
> Viewed against this background, we believe that the proposal to set up an Agricultural University should be expedited because we realise that if after years of dismal food production and a fast failing cocoa industry, only meaningful research by dedicated agricultural scientists with the full backing of the government may finally do the trick.
>
> Some questions may be asked: How does the nation achieve this when graduates trained locally with the taxpayers money, leave the country in droves in search of greener pastures? . . . .
>
> Professor Bekoe may have hit the nail right on the head when he observed that conditions of service in the universities in the country are not competitive enough to attract and keep the staff they need to have.
>
> Of course, it could also be argued that an economy which is totering on the brink of collapse can hardly step up the already high expenditure on the Universities by improving facilities and conditions for a section of the population often accused of living in an "ivory tower." Therein lies our national dilemma.
>
> It is the opinion of the "Graphic" that the direction in which the vital national assets in the Universities can be fruitfully channelled depends on how much premium the government of the day puts on them.[39]

The second editorial, "The Prime of Miss Ghana," was published on independence day, and the editor mentioned the problem of the brain drain:

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[39] Daily Graphic, 3 December, 1979.

> The quality of life in Ghana at independence was the envy of all our neighbours and it was no wonder that this country was the Mecca to most African nations, nor was it surprising that non-Africans looked up to Ghana as a yardstick in judging all things African . . . .
>
> Now, of course, things are different, the greatest resource that the nation has, manpower, appears to have lost confidence in their very heritage. Ghanaians, skilled and unskilled, professionals of all kinds leave Ghana every day in droves and are willing to live under humiliating circumstances in countries which hitherto they did not consider even worthy of a visit.[40]

The final two editorials were published as two parts, both entitled, "The Other Side of the Brain Drain Issue." The first editorial remarked on the expense of the scholarship program and castigated students who were taking advantage of the system:

> However, the "Graphic" would like to review this issue of brain drain which is by no means peculiar to Ghana, from a slightly different perspective - the huge cost to the nation of foreign exchnage involved in training students outside the country and the relatively little benefits the economy derives from that supreme sacrifice.
>
> We would like to submit that the whole farcical arrangement begins and ends at the Scholarships Secretariat where applications of all students to be trained with government funds or under foreign government assistance abroad are channelled.
>
> Of course, some students who know the whole gamut of obsolete regulations and the loop-holes in the system never fail to exploit them while the officials look on helplessly. . . .
>
> Take the case of those we can conveniently refer to as "Professional" Students. Those in this group have been attending colleges for as long as 10 years in some cases and are, quite

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[40] Daily Graphic, 6 March, 1980.

> frankly in no hurry to complete their courses. After wasting government funds for many years some decide to pay their own fees, with some of them sponsored by their parents. Of course, with their documents backed by impressive signatures and official stamps from their "schools" the Secretariat endorses quarterly remittances of foreign exchange and this money only goes to increase their purchasing power, not for knowledge, but for frivolous life-styles.
>
> It is when these "professional" students manage to pass their exams at last and, together with other students, write to Scholarships Secretariat stating their intentions to come home that the joke really begins.
>
> They are not only allocated plane tickets but also a huge shipping tonnage to bring their belongings home. On arrival at the Kotoka International Airport, some Ghanaians born and bred here then make such ridiculous demands as accomodation in a hotel. The temporary accomodation sometimes runs into months and thousands of cedis all at tax payer's expense. . . .
>
> One interesting aspect of the foreign exchange component of education in this country is that it is not given the proper assessment in the total estimate in the annual budget. Opinion has been expressed in certain quarters that if this is done, it would be realized that Education takes quite really a hefty chunk out of the total annual expenditure in the budget.[41]

The second editorial criticized the Scholarships Secretariat for allowing the students to abuse the bursary system:

> It has for a long time become a standing joke among students and past beneficiaries of government scholarships that due to poor monitoring facilities and abysmal lack of statistics the Scholarships Secretariat has no inkling as to the number of students past and present who benefited from government funds and had executed their bonds. . . .
>
> Admittedly, the signing of a bond per se, does not mean much since they are broken with impunity all the time. But we maintain that had the Scholarships Secretariat insisted

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[41] Daily Graphic, 15 April, 1980.

> on the signing of the bonds, and followed them up by monitoring students under bonds and prosecuting those who break them without proper explanations, the unsavoury repercussions the country is now confronted with would have somehow been abated. . . .
>
> To make bonds more enforceable, it is our opinion that those who are trained overseas and therefore involve the government in foreign exchange, must be made to pay the cost of their education in FOREIGN EXCHANGE or at least the penalty on the bond in hard currency.
>
> This, coupled with stricter measures to ensure that students do not break their bonds with impunity simply because the Scholarships Secretariat is a toothless bulldog would go a long way to reverse the present trend.[42]

Summary

The year of the third republic, 1979, reflected some major differences in the Graphic from the earlier period of 1957. The fact that it had become completely government owned and operated is a possible explanation for these changes. The nature of educational news reporting changed as letters to the editor were rare or were not published at all. The few that were published tended to support government policies. Private citizens had to buy advertising space in the form of paid announcements to present their views.

The data analysis results and the themes both reflected the severe effects a poor economy had on the education system. The system had to adjust to new

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[42] Daily Graphic, 18 April, 1980.

realities in the life of the nation. This sharply contrasts with the expansionary era at the time of independence. As 1957 was a year of national beginning and hope, 1979 was a year of hardship and uncertainty.

A final comparison of the themes in both eras reveals that the teaching profession was the only theme common to both years. In each of the earlier and latter periods, the teaching profession was still trying to clarify its own relationships either to society or within the overall system of education.

CHAPTER VI

OIL WEALTH AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES IN NIGERIA

The Setting

During the two decades after independence, Nigeria endured a tumultuous period of political and economic change. As in the case of Ghana, Nigeria's first republic was also brought to an end by the military. In January of 1966, a military coup, under the leadership of General Ironsi, toppled the civilian regime. Ironsi abolished the federal system of government much to the dismay of many Nigerians. Within six months another military coup ousted Ironsi. In a rapidly deteriorating situation, General Gowon assumed control and restored the federal system. While the Northern Region accepted his leadership, the Eastern Region did not.

The Gowon regime weathered a turbulent period in the late 1960's as the country suffered through a civil war over the secession of the Eastern Region. After the war, Gowon was instrumental in initiating restoration and reconstruction efforts in an attempt to reintegrate the Ibos into national life. His attempts were laudable as Diamond states:

> The postwar policy of reconciliation and reconstruction pursued by Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon went a long way toward healing the wounds of the conflict and reintegrating the Igbo people into the social and economic life of Nigeria.[1]

Gowon's tenure as national leader came to an end in 1975 as the military under General Muhammed, took over to install fresh political reforms:

> A third military government came into being in a bloodless coup on July 29, 1975. It announced a four-year programme that would terminate with the return to democratically elected government and the shifting of the Federal capital from Lagos to Abuja in the central part of the country in response to popular demands. It also created seven new states to make Nigeria a federation of 19 states.[2]

Unfortunately, Muhammed was killed in an unsuccessful coup in 1976. His successor, ". . .Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, formerly Chief of Staff, continued the programmes, but not the pace, of General Murtala Muhammed."[3] The military government allowed Nigerians to elect members to a constituent assembly for the purpose of drafting a new constitution. The new constitution represented a considerable break from the experiences of the past civilian government. The first civilian government had followed a British-oriented parliamentary system while

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[1]Larry Diamond, "Shagari's First Two Years," Africa Report 27 (January-February 1982), p. 4.

[2]"Nigeria -- The First Year in Office of President Shehu Shagari," West Africa, 29 September 1980, p. 1895.

[3]Africa South of the Sahara 1981-1982, 11th ed., s.v. "Nigeria."

the constitution of the 2nd Republic adopted a presidential system somewhat based on the American model.

> The document bears striking resemblance to the U.S. Constitution, providing for a popularly elected executive president and bicameral legislature, an independent judiciary, and stringent separation of powers, state governors and legislators are to be elected separately.[4]

The presidential election was held in 1979, and a former minister of finance during the first republic was elected. ". . .Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in on October 1st, 1979, as Nigeria's first executive President. The new constitution came into force and military rule was ended."[5]

In the economic realm, Nigeria had changed dramatically since the early days of independence. It was a result of the exploitation of large oil reserves off Nigeria's coast. Oil became an important source for revitalizing the post-war economy of the 1970's and provided the new civilian government with a viable economic base.[6]

Oil opened new economic vistas as it rapidly changed Nigeria's economy. According to Arnold:

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[4]Richard Deutsch, "The Nigerian Example," Africa Report 24 (July-August 1979), p. 47.

[5]Africa South of the Sahara.

[6]Ibid.

> Between 1972 and 1974 oil transformed the economy and changed a position of chronic deficits into one of almost unmanageable surpluses so that by the latter year the surplus on balance of payments had risen to the all time high of 3.1 billion.[7]

The rapid influx of capital led to large public spending and this was not without its problems. One problem has been clearly outlined by Kilby:

> Clearly every country has a limit to the rate at which it can effectively digest new investment or expand public services. In racing far beyond that limit two things can occur.
>
> First, the infrastructure. . . is overloaded. . .; and there is skimping on pre-project planning. . . .
>
> Second, spending bids up prices sharply, spreading inflationary distortions across the entire economy.[8]

The Nigerian government, realizing the problem of the over-loaded infrastructure, depended on expatriates to manage several of the functions, particularly in the transportation sector. Expatriate management firms operated the airlines, railroads, inland waterways and harbors. Many of the construction and agribusiness projects were operated by foreign contractors. This has led to a large turnover in cash for much of it left the country as fast as it came in, but little affected the productive sectors of the economy. Kilby notes

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[7]Arnold, Modern Nigeria, p. 57.

[8]Peter Kilby, "What Oil Wealth Did to Nigeria," Wall Street Journal, 25 November, 1981.

that, "Non-oil exports have declined in real terms by some 60% since 1964."[9] The decline in agricultural production, partly due to urban drift, was substantial.

> Nigeria fed itself until 1975 and exported significant quantities of palm oil and ground nuts. But, in the last three years, Nigeria has been forced to import increasing amounts of food, $1,5 billion worth in 1978 alone.[10]

Oil has had an enormous effect on the national outlook towards development. Perhaps Arnold sums up the effect best when he states:

> Oil wealth has brought to Nigeria vast possibilities of breaking out of our old poverty and bringing development to all its people, but it has also brought with it many problems: maldistribution of incomes and rewards with their accompanying political and social complications; rising living costs; widespread corruption; violent crime: and a spirit of indicipline (sic) that may easily arise when a country thinks it can solve all its problems with money -- in this case from oil.[11]

In the context of an expanding economy, education likewise expanded in response to increased private and social demands.

> In the post-war era, development has been made possible by the 'oil boom' and, as has been shown, great hope and a very large proportion of natural resources are devoted to education. The most outstanding project

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[9]Kilby, "What Oil Wealth."

[10]Deutsch, "Nigeria's Example," p. 50.

[11]Arnold, Modern Nigeria, p. 63.

> is the UPE scheme, which is supplemented by massive expansion at other levels.[12]

UPE, or Universal Primary Education, had been an ongoing experiment in the southern sections of the country since the 1950's. Based on these experiences, the country decided to implement a national program.

> The launching of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme in 1976 marked a new era in the history of education in Nigeria. In an attempt to provide free primary education for all school age children irrespective of the economic or social conditions of their birth, education was formally recognized as the right rather than the priviledge of six-year-olds.[13]

The UPE scheme was an attempt to redress the educational imbalance between the Muslim north and the non-Muslim south. Bray and Cooper explain:

> One basic aim of UPE is the elimination of the political and social problems that have arisen from the unbalanced educational development in the country. Historically, the southern and urban areas of the country have received much more education than the others.[14]

The disparities between the regions were enormous in the past. Csapo notes that, "Prior to the UPE scheme, in some regions enrolments of primary school age

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[12]T. M. Bray and G. R. Cooper, "Education and Nation Building in Nigeria since the Civil War," Comparative Education 15 (March 1979), p. 39.

[13]Marg Csapo, "Religious, Social and Economic Factors Hindering the Education of Girls in Northern Nigeria," Comparative Education 17 (September 1981), p. 311.

[14]Bray and Cooper, "Education and Nation Building," p. 34.

children approximated 100% while in the northern province it was as little as 5%.[15]

The primary level of education was not the only beneficiary of a liberal education policy. Post-primary levels were given increased financial assistance as public pressure demanded more from government coffers:

> These new measures included. . . a drastic reduction in secondary grammar schools tuition, boarding and lodging fees. Education was made free at universities, teacher-training colleges, colleges of education, and colleges of technology. With further pressures from the public, students, and politicians, tuition fees were abolished in the secondary grammar schools effective April 1, 1979. . . .[16]

The expansion of the universities was another venture financed by the oil boom. Between 1960 and 1976, twelve new universities were established. However, rapid expansion brought about problems in quality control. There were shortages of adequately trained teaching staff, particularly with the addition of five new universities in 1976 alone.[17] Equal access to universities has also been a problem in Nigerian education. The

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[15]Csapo, "Religious, Social and Economic Factors," p. 311.

[16]E.D. Anusionwu and V.P. Diejomaoh, "Education & Income Distribution in Nigeria," in The Political Economy of Income Distribution in Nigeria, eds. Henry Brenen and V.P. Diejomaoh (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1981), p. 375.

[17]"Blueprint for Education--III: Funds needed for University Expansion," West Africa, 3 December 1979, p. 2235.

use of quotas for determining undergraduate admissions became a major policy issue in the 1970's. Bray and Cooper explain:

> In recent years, there has been particularly heated discussion over the merits and demerits of a quota wywtem in the universities. Many northerners have been anxious that the new univerisities established in the North should not be filled with southerners, and so argue for a quota. Opponents point out that quotas limit competition, which lowers the quality of output and permits inferior students to be admitted instead of the more talented ones.[18]

A problem in implementing the quota system surfaced as states were given equal enrollment allotments regardless of the state's population. A densely populated state received the same as a state with less population. A possible solution could have been to base the quota on a proportionate scale, depending upon the states relative size to each other in population. This involved a deeper problem because, "The problem encountered by a proportionate quota would be that only very approximate population data exist. At present, all planning is based on th 1963 census which was of doubtful accuracy, and states with lower population figures are likely to contest its use. . . ."[19] The census issue has been extremely sensitive one for the last two decades. Therefore, a proportional quota system was not politically expedient.

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[18]Bray and COoper, "Education and Nation Building," pp. 38-39.

[19]Ibid., p. 39.

Admissions were a cause for acute anxiety and controversy. The government body set up to oversee admissions, the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board, JAMB, was not effective in carrying out its duties at the national level. "In 1980, the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board was abolished and autonomy restored to individual universities in the matter of student admissions."[20]

Finally, universities were subject to attack on the grounds they perpetuated the welfare of the elite at the expense of the uneducated poor. The expansion of universities during the decade of the seventies was a partial response to the question of elitism. Elitism was a major policy issue through the decade:

> . . . there is growing uneasiness even among academics themselves about the ivory tower nature of Nigerian universities. These universities have been well described as islands of privilege surrounded by a sea of poverty. How to reshape the universities to reach out to the masses is the major issue of the 1970's.[21]

In summary, the setting found in 1979 was a situation dominated by dynamic change that had been occurring in Nigerian society. Politically, the nation returned to a civilian government somewhat patterned after the

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[20] Africa South of the Sahara.

[21] A. Babs Fafunwa and John W. Hanson, "The Post-Independence Nigerian Universities," in University Reform, ed. Philip G. Altbach (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1974), p. 114.

United States model. Economically, the government was spending large amounts of oil revenue on public development projects. Educationally, the new found oil prosperity increased popular demand for more schooling.

Data Analysis

The newshole portion of the space scan sample constituted 46.2% for the Daily Times, a decrease of only one percent from 1960. The advertising section was 53.8% or a one percent increase over 1960. The topic categories were quite similar to 1960 (see TABLE 15).

The government category increased from 6.3% in 1960 to 15.0% in 1979. This may be a result from the government owning a partial share of the Daily Times. The other change came about in the economic development category as it decreased from 19.3% in 1960 to 14.4% in 1979. This is an interesting decrease since oil had transformed the economy in the decade of the seventies.

Education registered 7.4% of the newshole. This is an increase over the 6.0% of 1960. The mean number of pages per issue was 29.3 with a 32 page issue being the standard size throughout the year. In advertisements, non-classified decreased from 83.2% in 1960 to 70.2% in 1979. Classifieds decreased from 12.6% in 1960 to 3.0% in 1979. The big change came in an increase of paid announcements in 1979. The first year had 4.2% in paid announcements while 1979 had 26.8% in paid announcements

TABLE 15

SPACE SCAN SAMPLE OF THE
DAILY TIMES, 1979-1980

Form	Mean No. Of Items	Mean Col. Inches	% Of Col. Inches
Newshole:			
Regular	22.7	336.0	33.0%
Domestic-Foreign	17.2	201.8	19.9
Government	9.7	152.0	15.0
Social	11.5	180.3	17.7
Economic Development	9.0	146.2	14.4
Total	70.1	1016.3	100%
Advertisements:			
Non-Classified	37.8	829.2	70.2%
Classified	5.3	36.5	3.0
Paid Announcements	14.5	316.0	26.8
Total	57.6	1181.7	100%

given over to education.

The general content sample coded and analyzed 297 dailies out of a possible 314 issues. The effective coverage for the year was 94.6%. There were 1355 total education items coded in the Daily Times in 1979. This represents a

13.8% increase over 1960 in the number of items coded as educational. The item total was broken down into 63.0% being event-oriented and 37.0% being issue-oriented. This represents a 15.6% increase in issue-oriented items over 1960. The issue-oriented items were broken down into 60.8% calling for change (compared to 48% in 1960), 18.7% being positive (compared to 31.6%), and 20.5% being negative (compared to 20.4%). A noticeable difference in the two years is in the increase of items calling for change in 1979 and the decrease in the positive category in 1979. The change category was further broken down into 63% wanting institutional change (compared 54.2% in 1960), 19.3% wanting change in personnel (compared to 15.8%). A major decrease is noted in the instructional category of change as 1979 dropped off one-third from 1960. The majority of change issues centered around the concerns caused by expansion in the education sector. Concern was raised over such issues as lack of scholarships, government policies, and allocation of funds. In comparison to the Ghanaian educational situation, Nigeria's educational situation, as reflected in the Times in 1979, was quite different. Instead of dealing with a flatering economy that could barely deliver basic educational supplies or finance schools, Nigeria's oil prosperity caused increased demand for educational services. The difference seems to be that the readers of the Graphic in Ghana wanted change for survival while the readers of the Times wanted change for expansion. Both these concerns

for educational change tend to demonstrate the deep interrelationship that exists between the educational and economic sectors in the societies of Ghana and Nigeria.

The educational news form results are reported in TABLE 16 along with data from the first year. The major difference in 1979 appears to be in the decrease in feature articles and an increase in editorials.

TABLE 16

EDUCATIONAL NEWS BY FORM

Form	1960-1961		1979-1980	
	No. Of Items	%	No. Of Items	%
News	915	78.3%	1072	79.2%
Letters	100	8.6	132	9.7
Features	48	4.1	35	2.6
Editorials	9	.8	36	2.7
Other	96	8.2	79	5.8
Total	1168	100%	1354	100%

The total reporting of educational news by educational category is recorded in TABLE 17. The table compares written and photographic coverage of 1960 with 1979. There appears to be little improvement over the disproportionate reporting of the higher and secondary

categories of 1960. The two categories of teacher training and vocational both declined in written coverage but increased in photographic coverage. The increases in the primary category can be attributed to the interest in the UPE scheme.

Overall, the data in TABLE 17 reflect that educational news reporting still is biased towards the higher and secondary categories. This reveals that the Times still reported an elitist orientation in their educational news coverage in 1979.

TABLE 17

COMPARATIVE GCS DATA

Educational Category	1960-1961		1979-1980	
	% of Written Items	% of Photo Items	% of Written Items	% of Photo Items
Higher	52.6%	72.2%	47.7%	48.8%
Secondary	26.0	17.5	32.2	30.0
Teacher-Training	5.5	1.6	5.2	6.2
Vocational	7.2	3.2	5.4	5.0
Primary	8.7	5.5	9.5	10.0

The frequency of educational news reporting is shown in Figure 7. The data includes all written items for the year but excludes photogrphaic items. The sharp rise from November to December reflects the end of the

school term as graduates and speeches dominated December. The sharp decrease from February to March reflects a database problem rather than a decline in educational reporting. Half of the issues for the month of March were unavailable either in microfilm or in newsprint. Thirteen of the total seventeen issues unavailable for the entire year were in March.

Fig. 7 Frequency of educational news reporting by month, 1979-1980.

Thematic Analysis

The reporting of educational issues in 1979 was similar to the reporting of 1960 except that in 1979 there was much more reporting. The issues evoked just as strong a response in 1979 as they did in 1960.

There were many minor themes that had significance on a national level. Such issues included unemployed school-leavers, student discipline and the teaching profession. Other concerns included the need for political education and technical education. At one point, Nigerian students in the United States were not receiving their bursaries from the Nigerian government. Another concern revolved around University expansion.

The Roman Catholic Church wanted the return of some of their schools that had been taken over by the government during the civil war. This created no small opposition. But all these areas of education were overshadowed by five extensively reported issues. These comprise our thematic analysis.

Theme 1 - Public Versus Private Primary Schools

The elections of 1979 included state elections and Alhaji Lateef Jakande was elected governor of Lagos State. A campaign promise of Jakande was to turn all unregistered private primary schools over to government control. He claimed they were bilking parents of money in return for

inferior education. The issue surfaced after Jakande's administration sent a letter to all private school headmasters explaining that it would be illegal to charge school fees for next school year. This was met with increasing opposition from manifold interest groups. The Times published articles of opposing parties that included the Lagos Parents Association of Private Primary Schools, Lagos branch of Nigerian Union of Teachers, the heads of international schools, and religious groups. The controversy was fueled by Jakande's statements about the quality of private education:

> In another college he did not visit, Alhaji Jakande said the man in charge was the proprietor, headmaster, registrar and bursar, collecting ₦95 each per term from 3,230 pupils yearning for education. "Not satisfied with that, he charged them ₦10 each for water before they could take their terminal examination," the Governor asserted.[22]

> But the Governor said he knows others that are anything but primary schools. "I've been to one where the headmaster has never been a teacher."
> At Orile Agege, there's a school he said, that has eight to 10 classrooms with about 80 pupils in each class and only six teachers. The owner used to be a clerk in WAEC.
> "That's the closest he ever got to teaching and the school is as good as a poultry shed. . ."[23]

> Governor Jakande had told the newsmen then that his government was abolishing

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[22] Daily Times, 17 December, 1979.

[23] Daily Times, 3 January, 1980.

> private schools in order to bring equality to the primary schools educational system in the state.
>
> He said, "In the past, Ministry of Education officials gave priority attention to anywhere they had their children and many who ought to inspect and make provisions for the numerous needs of the public schools had felt less concerned because their own children were not there."[24]

In support of Jakande, a feature article was published that placed part of the blame upon government policy makers:

> One of the immediate advantages of taking over private schools is the fact that the "big men" including the permanent secretaries, the university dons and the politicians will have no choice but to send their children to the state schools. With proper arrangements, the children of these 'big men' will go to the same schools with the children of the masses and so the 'big men' will be forced to take keen interest in the progress of all the schools. In this way, the children of all classes of the society will mix.[25]

There were others who supported the Lagos government's move to control the schools:

> 'The idea is good after all, children of both the poor and the rich would be able to learn how to read and write together.'. . . . Government should take over all of them, they are just making money. Some of them are good no doubt but a great majority of them are set up purely to make money.[26]

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[24] Daily Times, 7 April, 1980.

[25] Oyeniyi Popoola, "The Case Against Private Schools," Daily Times, 30 April, 1980.

[26] Daily Times, 7 April, 1980.

In opposition to Jakande, some felt that the move to control private schools was a violation of a basic constitutional right:

> 'Why should anybody stop me from spending my money the way I want? Why should I send my children to a public school where the right kind of attention would not be given?'[27]

> The question boils down to one of the choice and how much of our right to choose. Is the Lagos State government willing to curtail to achieve its objectives. True enough the UPN government of Jakande had a massive and decisive mandate from all of us in the state. That mandate was to enable him to improve the circumstances of our citizens. It was not a mandate to set up a totalitarian regime which decides where I must live, who my friends would be and how I must spend my hard earned income. Our mandate to Jakande was to enable him to put everyone in a position where he would have a choice in life.[28]

> . . . One of the major tenets of a democratic society is the provision of equal opportunities to all members of its citizenry. In this sense, the free educational policy, which gives equal educational opportunities to thousands of school-age children, is a laudable democratic act. But by the same token, Nigerian citizens should not be denied their freedom of choice - an equally important democratic provision. It is for this reason that we support the establishment of private schools for those who may wish to exercise this freedom, for whatever reasons.[29]

The issue had a further problem as it also dealt with a federal-state relationship. In a feature article,

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[27] Daily Times, 7 April, 1980.

[28] Daily Times, 3 June, 1980.

[29] Daily Times, 5 December, 1979.

Dr. Gandonu explained that such a move by the state government might not be appropriate:

> About 94% of properly run private primary schools in Lagos State are in the Federal enclave and variously constituted as international, diplomatic, community, army, university and, federal school but all providing essential service to the community they serve. Their total abolition by a state government of fixed tenure is neither necessary nor feasible.[30]

President Shagari issued a statement that criticized the Governor and praised the rights of the private schools.

Finally, the case was settled in court after the Roman Catholic Church sued the State. The court ruled that Jakande's administration had acted unconstitutionally and declared the private school takeover to be illegal.

Theme 2 - University Admissions and Inequality

The major issue concerning higher education in 1979, as reported in the press, dealt with the federal government's policy on admissions. The Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board, JAMB, came under hearing attack, especially from letters addressed to the editor. A letter written by S. Salami of Ibadan stated:

> I will like to comment on the performances of JAMB since its birth.
> I think it is time someone told JAMB it is creating a lot of problems for the candidates of this great country.
> It is not an overstatement to say that JAMB

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[30] A. Gandonu, "Way Out of the Impasse," Daily Times, 5 May, 1980.

> has outlived its usefulness. It has failed woefully in its performances for the past two years.
>
> Formerly I thought it was established to reduce the problem of candidates.
>
> It will be noticed that on the JAMB form students are told their first and second courses and also their first, second and third choices of universities. But JAMB does not consider candidates for the second or third.
>
> Rather they consider you for what you did not fill on the form. The civilian regime should see to the end of JAMB.[31]

Cyril O. Uramu of the University of Ife questioned the correctness of admitting less-qualified students over more qualified:

> The only quarrel, I think, we should have with JAMB is this case of 'educationally disadvantaged' areas. What we are yet to know is how much of the 'cutting of throat' of the innocent candidates from the so-called educationally advantaged areas has taken place in sacrifice to students from educationally backward states.
>
> It is, indeed, unfortunate that students from educationally better off states should be made to give their ears for an offense for which only history and civilisation could be blamed.
>
> The civilian regime will do well to review this 'rotten,' parochial policy. We should not expect to harmonise education, development or civilisation in all the states.[32]

Adebayo Giwa of Zaria expressed his disfavor with the admissions system:

> Justice and fairplay even demand that any student who is born and live continuously for over 10 years in any State of the federation should automatically claim and be

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[31] Daily Times, 19 October, 1979.

[32] Daily Times, 12 October, 1979.

> entitled to, all the educational privileges of the states, in which the parents have always discharged their civic responsibilities.
>
> Unless this is done, some Nigerians will continue to be treated like bats and our hope to build one nation bound in freedom, faith and unity, will be a sham. The earlier this injustice is corrected the better it will be for everybody.[33]

Chris Funmilola Akinlosotu of the University of Lagos claimed the admissions policy violated the principles of meritocracy:

> Our policy makers have ostracised the age-long and world acknowledged principle of meritocracy. Do we have to abandon meritocracy at this crucial stage of our development? This is a big question we all have to address to ourselves.
>
> The new policy which states that 20 per cent be based on merit, 50 per cent on equal state basis and 30 per cent on local interest is a complete sham and is uncalled for. We cannot afford to sacrifice meritocracy for local interest. This will surely mar our country's reputation for academic prowess. . . .
>
> Quota system is not the solution to educational imbalance. What can be more responsible for a fallen standard of education than the 'unholy' quota system?
>
> It is not shameful to do away with a candidate with as high as 80 per cent and select one with 50 per cent?[34]

In support of the quota system operated by JAMB, Eugene Onwumere of Yabo wrote the only letter to the editor in favor of quotas. His position reflected the fact that his state did not have a university:

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[33] Daily Times, 15 April, 1980.

[34] Daily Times, 18 August, 1980.

> It's alright for the State government to appeal to the federal government not to scrap JAMB because it surely placed Imo State which has no university of her own on a dangerous disadvantage but all the same, we must certainly accept that this is a nation without conscience. For this reason any appeal from Imo State Government will as usual go on deaf ears.[35]

The Daily Times was not silent on the issue and in an editorial stated, after some political analysis, that JAMB had not worked out and should be replaced:

> As it turned out, JAMB was unable even to certify candidates efficiently enough, nor was it empowered to impose its decisions on any dissenting university. The outcome was that the northern states denounced it for insensitivity to their educational needs, while the southern states charged it with operating an admission policy that was prejudicial to their interests.
>
> The one thing everyone seems agreed upon is that JAMB should be scrapped.[36]

A news article in June related that the National Assembly had a bill before it to terminate JAMB's existence:

> The Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board, (JAMB), is reaching the end of its existence as a bill to terminate its life was tabled at the National Assembly yesterday.
>
> Its functions are to be taken over by the various universities, if the bill sails through.[37]

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[35] Daily Times, 19 April, 1980.

[36] Daily Times, 14 December, 1979.

[37] Daily Times, 11 June, 1980.

Theme 3 - Problems in the Examination System

The West African Examination Council came into existence in 1952 to provide examination services for Nigeria, Gold Coast, the Gambia, and Sierra Leone. Each country had national office which conducted WAEC affairs. During the decade of the seventies, some suggested that Nigeria was well ahead of the other three countries concerning exam malpractice and leakages. In January of 1980, the Nigerian House of Representatives appointed a commission for the purpose of investigating examination malpractices. The commission, known as the Sogbetun Tribunal, released its findings in a report to Congress on July 1st. The Daily Times reported in a news article some of the reasons for the leakages by the Tribunal:

> On some of the reasons for the leakages, the committee said some workers who handled live questions committed them to memory and wrote them down when they got home.
>
> Another named source of leakage were the banks. The committee said junior bank officials got hold of live questions in the 'strong room' and sold them to candidates. . . .
>
> The committee said the threat of demotion of headmasters whose schools performed badly in WASC examination should stop.
>
> This was because headmasters 'threatened in that way may prefer to leak examination questions to their pupils rather than face the indignity of demotion.'[38]

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[38] Daily Times, 2 July, 1980.

Inefficiency was another problem within the examination system. Adefefioye Oyesakin, of the University of Lagos, wrote a letter to the editor describing what he apparently believed to be a common problem:

> When eventually the result is published, all sorts of anomalies usually surface candidates who did not sit for certain papers may be credited with distinctions on such papers, some brilliant students fail while many poor ones pass. The general belief now is that the scripts are never marked and the grade a candidate attains depends on his or her connections.[39]

Inefficiency led to delays and this was not popular with the public either. Akinkunmi Akinade Ashiru of Yabo wrote a letter to the editor deploring the WAEC's laxity in returning exam results:

> If I heard correctly over the air, the summary of the latest WAEC results is as follows: 156,000 candidates sat for the WASC examination, 114,000 candidates had their results released 27,000 candidates results withheld for exam malpractices. Therefore, 15,000 candidates results are yet to be released (if my mathematics is okay).
>
> The most important thing to note here and from the above analysis is the results of the 15,000 candidates yet to be released. What on earth can one adduce for the delay? Why should these candidates suffer from the delay in returning marked scripts, if at all they have been marked? Why did the council not forsee this pitfall before October when admissions into most institutions of higher learning are over?[40]

The Sogebetun Tribunal recommended a change in examination methods. It recommended a method of "continuous

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[39] Daily Times, 29 May, 1980.

[40] Daily Times, 26 February, 1980.

assessment" that would include an assessment of the student's final three years of school besides a final exam at the end of the last year. In a Times editorial, an explanation was presented as to how a continuous system would work:

> By this system, the cumulative performances of students in their last three years in school will constitute 25 per cent of the total aggregate in the West African School Certificate examination. And the final year examination result will form 75 per cent of the overall grading.[41]

The editor, in the same editorial, did not refrain from giving his viewpoint as to the proposed system's chances of success:

> The problem as it appears to be essentially a human factor. The solution must therefore be found in the attitudes which the students, the teachers and the staff of examinating bodies bring to examinations.
>
> The findings and recommendations of Mr. Justice Sogbetun on examination leakages suffice to plug tight the loop-holes which allow for lapses in the WAEC's handling of examinations.
>
> To apply the continuous assessment system will only increase the mounting problems of the West African Examinations Council.
>
> The problem of examination malpractices cannot be solved by this system.[42]

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[41] Daily Times, 4 July, 1980.

[42] Ibid.

Theme 4 - Secondary Boarding School Controversy

The UPN governors in Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Oyo, and Bendel states decided to phase out the boarding house system in their secondary schools. A news article reported that the governor of Oyo state, Bola Ige, favored a progressive phase out of the system. He was visited by a delegation of the Parent-Teachers Association to ask the governor to reconsider:

> The association explained that boarding houses would minimise the effects of frequent transfer of parents and promote the security and safety of the children.
>
> Replying, Governor Ige said that his government did not intend to go back on its decision to phase out the boarding system because according to him, 'it is an educational phenomenon that is unfair to contemporary Nigerian society.'
>
> He said his government would rather provide boarding facilities for all children instead of encouraging the continued existence of the system to the advantage of just a few.[43]

The issue had strong political overtones as the five governors all belonged to the same party and were the only governors to abolish boarding. In reaction, a leading member of a different party, the NPN, spoke out on two occasions in favor of keeping the boarding system:

> Chief Gabriel Akin-Deko, who is also the pro-chancellor of the University of Benin,

---

[43] Daily Times, 24 May, 1980.

> said the decision by the UPN-controlled governments was 'a step in the wrong direction.' . . .
>
> Chief Akin-Deko, however, agreed that many boarding institutions in the post-independent Nigeria were 'profit-oriented.' He said they were badly organised and lacked discipline and qualified house-masters and house-mistresses. . . .
>
> Yet he said, boarding institutions had become 'an established part of our education outfit. It is one of the proud legacy we carry forward from the colonial era and it has enabled us to achieve certain things concrete.'[44]

> He told the Daily Times in Ibadan that the boarding house formed the bedrock of secondary school education. . . .
>
> According to him, the post-independent boarding houses were too profit-oriented. They lack discipline and organisation, while their staffing is inadequate.
>
> With these inadequacies, Chief Deko maintained that the system, rather than being scrapped, should be improved.[45]

In a letter to the editor, Suleman S. Akhadelor of Benin City advanced two reasons in opposing the abolition of boarding schools:

> It will not only contribute to the already low standard of education in the country, it will also tell much on the pockets of the parents who would suffer untold hardship as a result of maintaining two homes. . . .
>
> Experience has shown that many of the students who are under confinement within the four corners of the school premises and kept under the strict supervision of the principals and housemasters still violate the school regulations and play truancy.

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[44] Daily Times, 25 February, 1980.

[45] Daily Times, 26 January, 1980.

> What would become of these students when they are made to attend school from their various homes?[46]

The Daily Times published another letter to the editor that did not favor doing away with boarding. G.O. Movor of Lagos warned of possible consequences if boarding was discontinued:

> This action will have far-reaching negative effects on the students as well as parents.
>
> It is a clear experience that children are very susceptible to bad influence especially when they are left alone. The phasing out of boarding system will lead to renting of private houses by pupils whose parents live outside the state.
>
> The out-come of this new development of freedom from house masters, teachers or principals, supervisors as in the case of boarding house will be gross immorality and other social ills like drunkenness, smoking at a very early stage or even stealing because of bad company these students will keep in the towns outside their schools.[47]

Theme 5 - Elitism in Secondary Schools

The issue of elitism in secondary boarding schools was not a new one. However, when it was made known that the children of elected government officials received preferential treatment, the Daily Times did publish articles that in all cases condemned nepotism and favoritism. There were two states, Bendel and Oyo, that were consistently reported on throughout the year.

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[46] Daily Times, 27 October, 1979.

[47] Daily Times, 17 October, 1979.

In Bendel State, students issued a statement that indicated their protest:

> The National Union of Isoko Students has criticised the decision of the Bendel State House of Assembly over Edo and Idia colleges in Benin.
>
> The union observed that the decision of the House on the two schools showed that they were being reserved for children of Assembly members only. . . .
>
> 'This decision or legislation is nothing short of apartheid and it is a product of colonial and bourgeois mentality' the union added. . . .
>
> The students observed that it was no use for the State Assembly members to go about parading themselves as leaders 'whereas in actual fact, they are looking for ways of contravening the values of the land for their own selfish and avaricious aggrandisement.'[48]

Joe Aigbe Orhewere of Ile-Ife expressed his displeasure in a letter to the editor.

> It will be very unfortunate if those who are supposed to represent the majority of people who are peasants should now try to detach themselves from the problems of their people by finding privileged places for themselves.
>
> I am personally concerned that the fear expressed by some people over the possibility of free education might be substantiated by this discriminatory attitude of setting aside some colleges for a class of people.[49]

Furthermore, a legislator even spoke out against favoritism:

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[48] Daily Times, 18 December, 1979.

[49] Daily Times, 19 December, 1979.

> A legislator in Bendel State, Dr. Emmanuel Urhobo, has alleged that the executive and the legislators have influenced the admission of their children into the best secondary grammar schools in the state.
>
> Dr. Urhobo named the Edo College, Hussey, Idia and a host of other colleges where the top notchers had influenced the admission of their children.
>
> Speaking to the people of his constituency at Warri over the week-end Dr. Urhobo described the leaders' action as betrayal of trust and sheer hypocrisy of the highest order. . . .
>
> He added, 'we are still perpetuating the educational elitist system,' which we inherited by the time we gained independence.[50]

The situation in Oyo State revealed some interesting contradictions between what in words legilators condemned and what in practice they condoned. They legislators first condemned the privileged status of two government schools in a news article published in December;

> Facilities being enjoyed by the pupils of Government colleges and the fringe benefits for the teachers were described by some legislators as discriminatory.
>
> The 'privileged pupils in the affected institutions are worse than what we are condemning in South Africa,' the Oyo State House of Assembly heard.
>
> In a motion calling on the House to approve a bill for the handing over of all the financing and staffing of the affected schools in the state to the Central School Board, Mr. Oluwole Siyanbola, from Obokun IV Constituency, said it was high time discrimination among schools and pupils was stopped.[51]

Three days later another news article indicated that the legislature had enacted a bill to abolish special

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[50] Daily Times, 25 July, 1980.

[51] Daily Times, 3 December, 1979.

privileges:

> The privileges being enjoyed by the Government College and Queen's School in Ibadan, Oyo State, have now been abolished.
>
> A bill abolishing the privileges was passed by the State House of Assembly in Ibadan on Monday.
>
> The two schools will no longer enjoy special treatment from the government.
>
> These include:
>
> *Approval of special funds by the government;
>
> *Posting of best teachers to the schools by the Ministry of Education:. . .[52]

However, a few months later another published news article revealed the two colleges still received an inordinate share of allocated funds:

> The variation in the allocations for secondary schools in the estimate of the Oyo State budget has been criticised at the State House of Assembly.
>
> While both GOvernment College and Queen's School in Ibadan were to have ₦523,040 for their services, other 283 old secondary schools and 400 new ones to be established in the state would share ₦3 million in the current year.
>
> A member, Mr. Ladipo Fasade, Ilesha IV Constituency, criticised this difference, saying it amounted to discrimination among the schools concerned.
>
> He wondered why the two schools had private inspectors of education and special clinics, while students from other schools had to make do with general hospitals.[53]

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[52] Daily Times, 6 December, 1979.

[53] Daily Times, 19 May, 1980.

Summary

The reporting of educational news in 1979 did not deviate much from the style, substance and form reported in 1960. Perhaps this is explanable in that the Daily Times was still, by and large, an independent newspaper. Although the government did own part interest in the newspaper, the reporting did not seem to reflect as strong a government bias as was the case with the Daily Graphic in Ghana.

If anything, the reporting seemed much more serious than in 1960. Perhaps the euphoria of the independence era had settled down to the hard reality of pressing educational issues that were extant in 1979. At the same time, a common thread united the two eras - expansion. The expansion that developed during the 1950's and 1960's in Nigeria was continued on a more massive scale in the 1970's due in part to large oil revenues.

A comparison of the themes in both eras indicates that the press issues in 1979 of private schools, boarding schools and elitism paralleled the issue of private schools in 1960. The basic dichotomy of rich versus poor, private versus public was still an issue to be resolved. For the time being it appears that Nigeria will still have a dual system of elitist schools and public schools, something common to most capitalistic societies.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has attempted to discuss the nature of educational news reporting in two daily national newspapers in independent Ghana and Nigeria. The study does have its limitations and these should be recognized. One limitation is that newspaper coverage of educational news is only one influence on educational policy making. There are other influences such as historical tradition, politics, and socioeconomic conditions which play an integral part in policy formulation. A second limitation is the target audience of the press in these two Anglophone West African nations. The press is geared towards the urban market that has educated subscribers. Therefore the tendency of newspaper publishers has been to publish papers that are oriented to consumer tastes. The fact that newspapers are essentially elitist in reporting educational news is perhaps a reflection of the consumer's values towards education. Consequently, the educational news coverage probably does not reflect the educational values and concerns of the poor peasant farmer who lives in the rural hinterland. A third limitation is the

governmental influence that may not allow the press to be free in reporting all the relevant sides to an issue. Sometimes what is not reported speaks louder than what is reported. A final limitation involves the study itself as it dealt with only a sample of post-independence educational news reporting in each country.

International education involves comparing whole educational systems of one country with another. The functional approach, or the analysis of education from an "educational-societal" perspective, involves integrating the linkages that exist between education and other societal functions. This report has emphasized the political and economic linkages to education.

In the realm of politics, the countries have some interesting similarities. Each country gained its independence from the same colonial power -- Great Britain. They began with civilian governments that were both overthrown by military coups in 1966. The countries then went through a succession of military dictatorships until they both returned to civilian rule in 1979. Interestingly, both elected heads of state were northern Muslims (Limann - Ghana, Shagari - Nigeria). Throughout both decades after independence, both countries had deep internal cleavages based on ethnic and religious loyalties.

There were historical and political differences as well. Nigeria opted for federalism at independence while Ghana developed into a one-party state under

Nkrumah. At the time of Nigeria's civil war, Ghana was experimenting with a brief return to civilian rule under Dr. Busia's leadership.

At the time of independence, the economies of Ghana and Nigeria were dominated by agriculture and agricultural exports. Through the decades of the sixties and seventies their agricultural base weakened and agricultural output, in real terms, dropped. By 1979, both countries were importing food. A basic difference in the economic development of both countries is that Nigeria's economic base was transformed by oil. Consequently, Nigeria has had a better balance of payments record in the seventies than Ghana whose balance of payments has been a real problem.

The education sectors in Ghana and Nigeria have been marked by rapid expansion during the decades between 1950 and 1980. The Report of the Ashby Commission in 1960 became a blueprint for badly needed expansion in higher education in Nigeria. Between 1960 and 1980, over twelve new universities were established throughout different regions of the country. Ghana has also experienced expansion since independence. Although both countries accelerated expansion after independence, by 1979 the education systems in both countries were being deeply affected by their economies. In Ghana, the education system was struggling to survive because of the difficulties caused by severe

shortages and loss of teaching personnel. Nigeria was also affected by the interrelationship between the economy and education as oil wealth produced new pressures for educational expansion.

Elitism, or favoritism shown to those in power or those who are wealthy, has also been a characteristic of both educational systems. While badly needed educational expansion did take place in Ghana and Nigeria, a basic question arises as to how much this expansion has led to equality in education. Perhaps a summary of the data mentioned in the previous chapters of this report will shed partial light on the question, at least from the perspective of educational news reporting in the national press.

It appears evident that those categories that have the least proportion of school enrollments receive a majority of the educational news coverage. The higher and secondary categories in both countries consistently received approximately 70 to 90 per cent of all written and photographic educational news coverage throughout all four time periods (see TABLE 18).

The data in TABLE 18 reveals two trends. First, written news items in the secondary/higher category actually increased in both countries over the first year. At the same time, photographic coverage decreased in both countries after the first year. As written

TABLE 18.--Comparative GCS data of educational news coverage in secondary and higher education,.

General Content Sample	GHANA		NIGERIA	
	1957-1958	1979-1980	1960-1961	1979-1980
Written	68.8%	75.2%	78.6%	79.9%
Photographic	89.1	76.3	89.7	78.8

items account for the majority of total items, it seems as though reporting that focused on elite groups increased rather than decreased.

A summary of the thematic analysis also reflects that elitism was a concern in both Ghana and Nigeria. Educational elitism was the only concern that was consistently reported in the press across all four time periods. Parallel concern #1 in TABLE 19 demonstrates that elitist-oriented themes occurred each year in the school systems.

The teaching profession (concern #2) was reflected as a concern in three out of the four years. Language planning (concern #3) was a concern in the early years and boarding school (concern #4) concerns were existent in the later years of each country. Educational planning (concern #5) was a concern in Ghana in the latter years as the people came to question Ghana's educational strategy. In contrast, the Nigerian Ashby Report of

TABLE 19.--Comparison of educational press themes in Ghana and Nigeria.

PARALLEL CONCERN#	GHANA		NIGERIA	
	1957-1958	1979-1980	1960-1961	1979-1980
1.	Urban-rural	Private Schools	Private Schools	Private Schools Govt. Schools
2.	Teaching Profession Teacher Training	Teaching Profession	Teaching Profession	
3.	Language Planning		Language Planning	
4.		Boarding Fees		Boarding Abolition
5.		Educational Planning	Ed. Plann. (Ashby)	
6.	Women	Brain Drain	Russian S.S.	Univ. Admission Exam. Malpractice

1960 was a blueprint for expansion rather than a criticism of existing strategy.

There were five themes that were not as directly related to each other (concern #6). Women and higher

education, the brain drain, Russian scholarships, university admissions, and examination malpractices were all year-specific. If the five non-related themes are recognized as having no direct parallel, there remain 15 themes (concerns 1-5) that have either cross-temporal or cross-national similarities.

In conclusion, the press seemed to mirror specific values towards education. These values, or traits society believes are important, could have been a particular reflection of the public, special interest groups, the government or the press. For example, the issue over private schools in Nigeria (theme 1-1979), when Governor Jakande attempted to eliminate private schools, became an issue because of different educational values held by several groups. The Times mirrored the opinions and values of the Lagos state government, religious bodies, teachers' organizations, parent organizations, the federal government, the courts, private citizens, and the Times itself. Some of the factors at work in this example include the federal-state relationship, political rivalry, elitism versus democracy, constitutional rights, church-state relations, educational quality and corruption.

The press also mirrored interrelationships that existed between various sectors, especially between education and the economy. The political and

socio-economic conditions of both countries appeared to have played an important role in the formulation and execution of educational policy. An illustration of this can be found in Ghana during 1979. Educational news reporting, even in a government-controlled press, was dominated by the bad economic conditions. Shortages of everything from pencils and textbooks to boarding school food supplies were a constant concern. Perhaps a more important concern was the "brain-drain" problem that had occurred as a direct result of the economic situation.

Finally, the degree of press freedom also seemed to affect the manner in which educational news was reported and the extent to which it was reported. Ghana in 1979 serves as another example. The government-controlled Graphic published almost no letters to the editor that were critical of the Ministry of Education or the Ghana Education Service. Private citizens had to buy advertising space in order to present their views and opinions. This represented a substantial change from the freedom reflected in the Graphic's educational coverage of 1957 when it was an independent paper.

In retrospect, some observations should be noted and explained. First, the concept of the press being a mirror of society should be discussed. A vital question that concerns all researchers involved in

content analysis deals with selectivity in reporting. Even in free societies, the press is quite selective in what it reports. The idea of a "laundered press" in a restricted society is no small concern to the honest researcher. However, once one ventures into the arena of attitudes and motivations behind the news gathering screening process, the very difficult task of qualitative content analysis begins. Perhaps what is not reported becomes more significant than what is reported. Outside of a few observations in this study, such as the dearth of reporting on curriculum reform and Africanization or criticism of governmental education agencies, the scope of this study did not include an indepth dealing with qualitative analysis. The scope of this study was to initially explore some relationships, particularly between politics, economics and education, that existed in the area of national development policy making. The functioning of the press in these two societies, as far as governmental influence and censorship are concerned, would entail a much more detailed study than what has been done here.

The selectivity of the press no doubt shapes attitudes and opinions concerning education. The difficult question to answer is whether educational news reporting reflects existing values towards education or creates values. For example, one relationship cited in this chapter revealed that there was a direct connection

between the amount of criticism a form of education received and the level of status it held. High status university education received little criticism while low status teacher training programs received a good deal of criticism.

The question arises, does the amount of reporting, and amount of criticism in that reporting, reflect the values of the society or the bias of the publishers of the press? Perhaps this is the bottom line concerning motivations. It is a difficult question to answer. More research is needed related to this major question.

Inspite of the drawbacks of the mirroring concept of the press, a study that uses the press as its primary database has some advantages. By using the press, the researcher gains an additional insight into society. The press provides a dynamic look into the problems of national development. This is in contrast to much scholarly research that depends on static reports of graphs, tables, and cold information.

News reporting brings a human dimension to the cold facts of reality as the press unveils the conflict of society's competing values.

Secondly, by using the press as a database, the press serves as an historical record which allows the researcher to make comparisons across time. By comparing a database across time, one can watch how a society changes. For example, in 1960 Nigerians viewed popular

education as a panacea to solving personal and national problems. The Daily Times in 1960 continually used education in advertising. Education was used to sell insurance to vitamins. Education and health care went hand in hand. But by 1979 the euphoria of education was gone. Nigerians had realized that education in and of itself was not enough. Education had to be appropriate -- it had to meet the needs of society. By 1979, Nigerians were well aware of the frustrations of the unemployed, underemployed or malemployed school leaver. The linkage between education and the marketplace was becoming understood. Consequently, the euphoria characteristic of the reporting in 1960 was replaced by the seriousness of the reporting in 1979. Gone also were the advertisements. Nigerians were more concerned about jobs and additional education than about vitamins and insurance.

Another example of how societies change over time is the case of Ghana. The researcher was shocked how the country had changed from 1957 to 1979. The optimism of independence in 1957 was replaced by the pessimism of political and economic realities of 1979. The excitement of national development was gone as Ghanaians struggled for national survival. Euphoria had been replaced with malaise.

There are limitations to using the African press as a database, especially because there has been such

a turnover in newspapers and magazines through the years. The lack of stability in the African print media industry makes it difficult to sample many publications over time. As mentioned, government censorship is another problem. However, the public print media of newspapers and magazines remains an open source of data for the Western researcher. Often government documents and files are closed to expatriates and foreign researchers. The press offers many opportunities to study African development and African society in general. Hopefully more studies will be coming in this new area of investigation -- the African press.

APPENDIX

NAME _____

INSTRUCTIONS FOR RELIABILITY TEST

This is a test for inter-coder reliability or in other words a measurement of the level of agreement between the researcher and other independent evaluators. It is for a doctoral dissertation that is analyzing educational news reporting in the press in Nigeria and Ghana. The items listed in the quiz are actual excerpts of educational news taken from the Lagos Daily Times (Nigeria) between October 1 and December 31, 1960. The items may have come from different types of articles such as letters to the editor, news articles, or editorials. The items should be coded according to the following classification scheme.

Criteria For Evaluating

P = Positive -- Opinions reflecting full support of the current system of education including statements praising or defending the system.

N = Negative -- Opinions reflecting disapproval of the education system without offering solutions to problems nor alternative approaches.

Change -- Opinions calling for change or reform of the educational system either by correcting a problem or adding new improvements. The change could be in any of the three areas:

C - 1 = Institutional (organizing and managing)

government (policies, planning, evaluation)
administrative structure
time schedule
facilities
costs (budgets, salaries, fees, scholarships)

C - 2 = Instructional (aims, content, techniques)

philosophy
curriculum
standards (exams, grades, admissions)

C - 3 = Personnel (human resources)

students
teachers
headmasters
staff

SAMPLE QUIZ ITEMS

To illustrate the coding procedure, the following five items will be coded according to the five possible responses listed under the criteria for evaluation. The five response choices are P, N, C1, C2, C3. The key is to first determine if the item is calling for change or not. If it is not calling for change, then decide if it is a positive or negative statement. If it is calling for change, then decide which of the three areas of change it falls under.

1. "May I however, suggest to the committee charged with reviewing the education policy the advisability of recommending the teaching of the main languages of Nigeria in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools in the Region."

   Evaluation = C-2

   The speaker is asking for an addition to the system so it falls under change. The area of change is in the curriculum, thus falling under C-2 Instructional.

2. "My own candid opinion is that...as things stand at present, teachers are enjoying an overgenerous salary structure for the eight months work they do in a year."

   Evaluation = N

   Here the speaker is not calling for change. His opinion is critical of the teaching profession and is therefore coded as negative.

3. "Chief S.L. Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria has said that his government is absolutely determined to develop the education service of the Region so that it can provide the trained man-power needed to implement the Region's development plans."

   Evaluation = C-1

   The chief is stating that he is going to develop the system and this indicates change. Since it is the government that is initiating it, the area of change is Institutional.

4. "He urged parents and guardians to cooperate with the school authorities to ensure that their children attended school regularly."

   Evaluation = C-3

   The speaker is not passing judgement nor praising so it is not negative or positive. The item is calling for the solution of a problem (ie. school attendance) so it falls under the change category. Since the primary subjects that are part of the school system are administrators and students, the area of change is Personnel or C-3.

5. "Commenting on his general impressions of the Zaria School of Architechure, Mr. Okumuyima said that he was favorably impressed by the high standard of work among the students as a whole."

   Evaluation = P

   No change is called for here but the person is simply praising the school.

NOTE: Remember to make two distinctions. First, is it change or not? If it is change, what is the key issue to determine whether it is C1, C2, or C3?

RELIABILITY TEST

Evaluation

1. "To attract graduates to the teaching profession, the salaries should be at par with those in other spheres where graduates are in demand."

2. "But at the same time much that is called education in present day Nigeria simply unfits men successfully to fight the battle of life. Thousands are today studying things that will ultimately be of exceedingly little importance both to themselves and to the nation at large. Much valuable time is wasted in studying languages that long ago were dead and histories in which there is no truth."

3. "At the end of this year, about 300,000 children will leave primary schools in Western Nigeria as against 70,000 or so last year. This is a great achievement; and I have no doubt that this large number of primary school leavers will go down in history as the first powerful unit of the army of universal enlightenment in a free Nigeria."

4. "The school's efforts to make these children useful to themselves and the nation is laudable, but can't the hours of continuation classes be changed to 5-7pm instead of 7-9pm so that they can return home in time, have their food in time, and after a little rest go to their books?"

5. "I am alarmed at the high incidence of gambling among schoolchildren and other categories of juniors . . . . It is time the minister of education sent out inspectors to the various schools to check these evil practices."

6. "In addition, the curriculum for higher elementary teachers should be modified to include elementary science."

7. "It is time the council of the R.S.A. realized the urgent necessity of increasing the number of examination centres in the country. At the moment, the centres for R.S.A. examinations are far too few and even so, they are not evenly distributed. I cannot see how the whole of Ondo province should not have a single centre allocated to it."

8. "To be specific, teachers combine the jobs of technicians and clerks, farmers and tradesmen, administrators and missionaries, et cetera and et cetera into one. Their official hours in schools are not their only hours of work."

9. "May I, therefore, appeal to the West African Examination Council to consider the inclusion of commercial subjects in the curriculum of subjects for the G.C.E. examination in Nigeria."

10. "It is an undisputed fact that the teaching profession is noble and this fact gives teachers the pride of their place. Yet they do <u>have the</u> right to call on the government to better their conditions because teachers are in so many ways being relegated to the background."

11. "Addressing students of the Baptist Women's College and the Abeokuta Divisional Teacher Training College, at Abeokuta recently, the Minister said the education system in the Western Region was the best in the whole of the federation."

12. "I wonder if the authorities of the Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education are aware that teachers in voluntary agency schools in Benue Province do not receive their salaries in time?"

13. "Pupils of commercial schools got as least as good a general education as pupils in secondary grammar schools, the minister emphasized."

14. "Mr. Ogbalu held that the conference would also consider a proposal intended to be submitted to the West African Examination Council for the replacement of the syllabuses (sic) in Igbo for the General Certificate of Education. He described the syllabus as 'static' and 'decadent.'"

15. "These supervisors appear to be in secret agreement with owners of primary schools to cover the weaknesses of their schools. Some of these supervisors have thereby weakened the Inspectorate Division by their acts of favoritism and nepotism."

16. "Malam Nehu urged the Federal Ministry of Education to speed up the taking of degrees in the Zaria branch of the college."

17. "The parents viewed gravely the choice of the students marrying and settling in the United Kingdom after completing their courses, instead of returning home. They wanted to know what the government would do 'to discourage such a bad practice.'"

18. "He urged the teaching of Hausa language in all Northern schools with a view to becoming the lingua franca of West Africa."

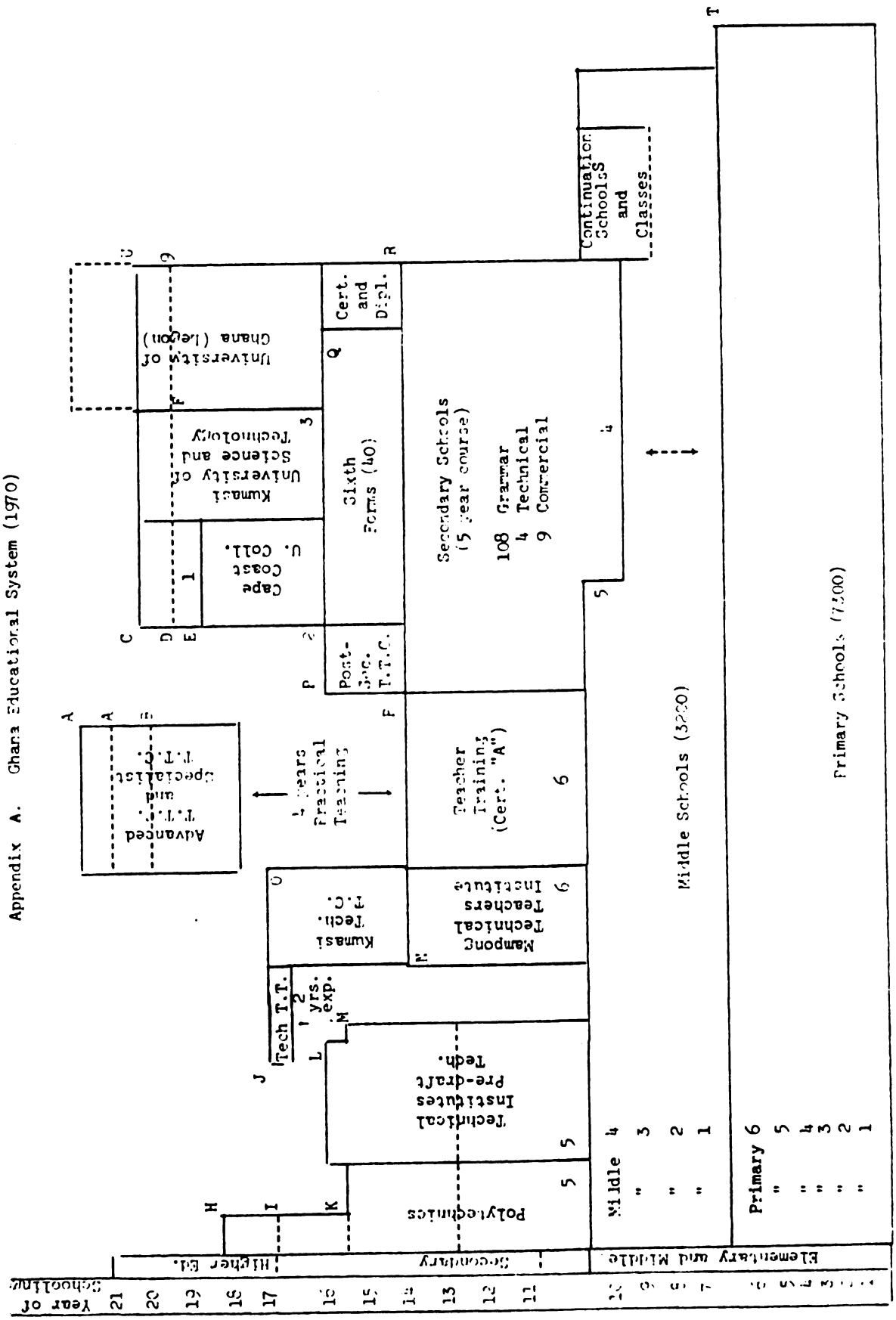
19. "Already the commission has visited a number of institutions but all these are in the urban areas. In the light of all this, may I suggest that the commission revise their itinerary to cover schools in the rural areas."

20. "Speaking candidly, Mr. Ekpenyong has missed the mark completely, because the poor standard in our schools has no bearing at all with the teaching of vernaculars. In my own opinion, the pupils are in the main responsibility for the declining standards of education in our primary schools."

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME.

Philip M. McDonald

Appendix A. Ghana Educational System (1970)



APPENDIX A. (Continued)

TEACHING, ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

a. Specialist Diploma (S.T.T.C.) Specialist Diploma in Physical Education (S.T.T.C.) (4 years)
b. Associateship and Diplomates (A.T.T.C.) Licentiate of the Royal School of Music (S.T.T.C.) (2 years)
c. M.Ed.
d. Diploma of Advanced Study in Education; Post-Graduate Certificate of Education
e. B.Sc. with Education and B.A. with Education
f. B.A. and B.Sc.
g. B.Sc.
h. Higher Technical Diploma
i. City and Guilds Ordinary Technical Diploma
j. Technical Teachers Certificate
k. G.C.E. O Level and R.S.A. Certificates
l. City and Guilds Intermediate Craft Certificates
m. City and Guilds Intermediate Craft Certificate
n. Certificate A Handicraft Teachers Certificate
o. Advanced Handicraft Teachers Certificate
p. Certificate A Teachers Certificate
q. G.C.E. Advanced Level
r. G.C.E. O Level of the West African Examinations Council
s. Middle School Leaving Certificate
t. Primary School Leaving Certificate
u. Post-Graduate Diploma in Art Education

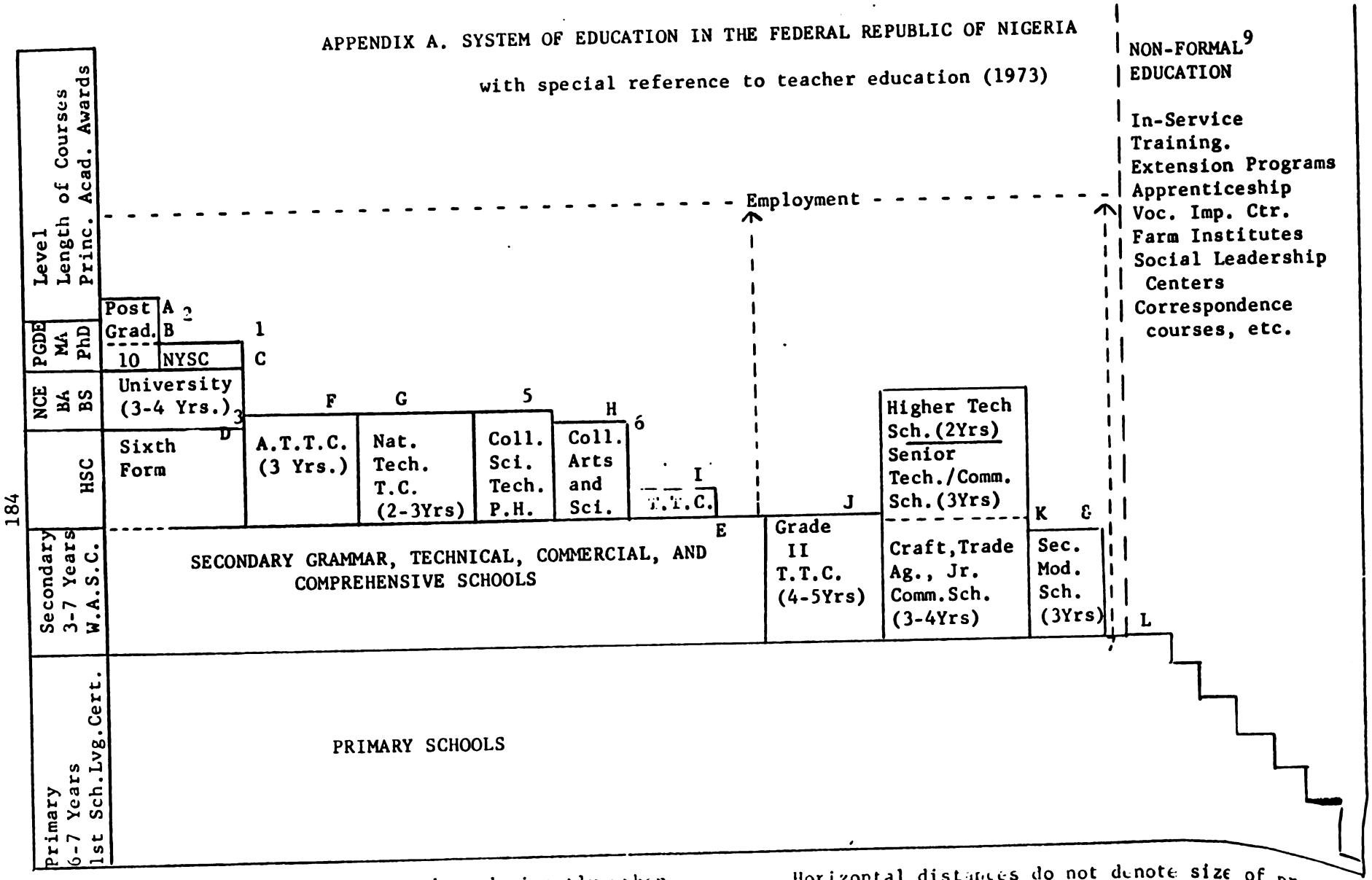
OTHER NOTES

1. The Post-Graduate Certificate in Education is offered for degree holders of other institutions lacking teaching qualifications. One year of teaching is regularly expected prior to taking the course.
2. Cape Cost University College also admits students with G.C.E. O Level qualifications to a preliminary year course preparatory to entrance on the degree program.
3. Kumasi University of Science and Technology offers a comparable preliminary year's course.
4. Entrance to secondary schools is by a secondary school common entrance examination, taken any time from after primary 6 to after middle 4.
5. Entrance to technical schools is by a technical school common entrance examination, ordinarily taken after several years of middle school.
6. Entrance to post-middle school teacher training is by a common entrance examination for teacher training colleges.

Source: John W. Hanson, Gen. ed. Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-Speaking Africa. 16 Vols. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, 1971. Country Study No. 12, Ghana, by John W. Hanson.

APPENDIX A. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

with special reference to teacher education (1973)



Pre-school classes are private and predominantly urban. Horizontal distances do not denote size of programs. Format adapted from Sasnett and Sepmeyer, Educational Systems of Africa. Programs vary somewhat in length from state to state. See names of certificates, diplomas, or degrees granted and explanatory notes on following page.

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

TEACHING, ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

- M.A. and Ph.D.
- Post-Graduate Certificate in Education; Master of Education.
- B.A., B.Sc., B.Education.---Various Certificates; Nigeria Certificate in Education.
- Higher School Certificate; General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level.
- West African School Certificate.
- Nigeria Certificate in Education.
- Nigeria Certificate in Education (Commercial); Nigeria Certificate in Education (Technical).
- Higher School Certificate; General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level.
- Teachers' Certificate, Grade II. (Pivotal Teacher)
- Teachers' Certificate, Grade II.
- Secondary Modern School Certificate.
- First School Leaving Certificate.

OTHER NOTES

- One year of service in the National Youth Service Corps is required of all students graduating from Nigerian universities.
- Masters and Doctoral Degrees are now granted in a number of fields in Nigeria. The Post Graduate Diploma in Education is awarded after one year of post-graduate study.
- Entrance to the universities varies. All admit students after the Higher School Leaving Certificate for a three year course; most admit students after the West African School Certificate for a four year course. Admission with advanced standing is available in some universities for those holding the Nigeria Certificate in Education. Students completing the College of Arts and Science in Maiduguri and the College of Science and Technology in Port Harcourt proceed to one or more universities to complete their degrees.
- The National Technical Teachers College offers a Technical Teachers' Certificate after a one-year program for professional craftsman, technicians, and engineers. It also offers a three year course leading to the Nigeria Certificate in Education (Technical or Commercial).
- The College of Science and Technology, Port Harcourt, offers a Technician course (two years) and the first three years of a degree course which is then completed at a university. A diploma course in business is now offered as well, and this will also presumably lead to a degree from a university. Eventually the College is expected to become a degree granting university.
- The College of Arts and Science in Maiduguri began its program by offering post-school certificate preparatory courses for the university.
- The large majority of those completing primary school do not continue in formal education.
- Secondary Modern Schools, which existed primarily in Western States and Lagos State, are declining in number and enrollment.
- In-service training, extension programs, apprenticeship programs, vocational improvement centers, farm institutes, correspondence courses, and other types of programs outside the formal education system touch some, but far from all of those leaving school.
- Programs vary in length from state to state. For example, primary school programs are now regularly six or seven years in length, some northern states offering the longer programs.

9. In-service training, extension programs, apprenticeship programs, vocational improvement centers, farm institutes, correspondence courses, and other types of programs outside the formal education system touch some, but far from all of those leaving school.
10. Programs vary in length from state to state. For example, primary school programs are now regularly six or seven years in length, some northern states offering the longer programs.

Source: John W. Hanson, Gen. ed. Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-Speaking Africa. 16 Vols. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, 1973. Country Study No. 15, Nigeria. Edited by John W. Hanson.

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION IN NIGERIA AND GHANA

NIGERIA

EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENTS, 1960-1980

	Primary	Secondary Grammar	Sec. Tech. & Voc.	Teacher Training	Universities
1960	2 912 618	135 364	5 037	27 908	1 395
1964	2 849 488	205 002	7 702	31 054	6 719
1971	3 894 559	343 313	15 590	38 095	14 371
1973	4 746 808	448 904	22 588	46 951	23 173
*1980	11 521 500	1 555 180	177 686	234 680	53 000

*Projected

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria, Third National Development Plan 1975-80, Vol. I, Tables 16·1-16·5.

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION IN NIGERIA AND GHANA

GHANA

EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENTS, 1975-1980

	Primary	Middle	Sec. Grammar	Voc.	Teacher Trng.	Univer.
1957	468 000	127 500	12 200	3 100	3 873	890
1960	503 100	161 200	16 100	4 500	4 552	1 390
1964	1 085 100	258 500	40 000	9 700	9 753	3 414
1971	947 500	442 300	52 900	14 300	19 500	5 063
1974	1 051 012	439 655	74 839	10 740	n. a.	6 003
1980	1 468 265*	531 729*	111 971*	25 050*	n. a.	10 705*

*Projected

n. a. = Not available

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