

THE POLITICS OF ACCESS: UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND NATION-BUILDING IN NIGERIA, 1948-2000

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Notes

Introduction

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- 3 H.A. Oluwasanmi, "The Preservation of Intellectual Freedom and Cultural Integrity" (paper presented at a symposium on *The Role of the University in a Post-Colonial World*, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 11–13 April 1975), 5.
- 4 Great Britain, Committee on Higher Education, *Higher Education: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins, 1961–63* (London: HMSO, 1963), para. 31. See also H.R. Bowen, *Investing in Learning: The Individual and Social Value of American Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).
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 - 13 Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, trans. Sherwood D. Fox (New York: Free Press, 1956), 65.
 - 14 Ibid., 70.
 - 15 Ibid.
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- 29 J.F. Ajayi and T.N. Tamuno, eds., *The University of Ibadan, 1948-1973* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1973), 293-97.
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- 34 The conference urged African countries to uphold the university's traditional role of "giving a broad liberal education" in addition to reflecting "the needs of the African world by providing African society with men and women equipped with skills that will enable them to participate fully and usefully in the economic and social development of their continent." Ibid., 12.
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- 37 J.F. Ade Ajayi, "The American Factor in the Development of Higher Education in Africa" (*James Smoot Coleman Memorial Papers Series*, African Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles, 1988), 3.
- 38 Chinweizu, *The West and the Rest of Us* (New York: Random House, 1974), 322.
- 39 "Message from the Hon. Aja Nwachuku, Minister of Education, Federal Government of Nigeria," *West African Journal of Education* 1, no. 1 (February 1959): 1.
- 40 Sudan, a British colony, regained independence in 1956 and refused to join the British Commonwealth of Nations. Britain did not want Nigeria to take similar action.
- 41 Carnegie Corporation of New York, I.D., 1, "Carnegie Corporation and the World Scene," Policy and Program, 1947-1955, n.d. The Carnegie Corporation's files used in this book are located in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library in Columbia University. They are hereinafter cited as CCNY.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Under the BDC program, established in the 1920s, Carnegie earmarked \$10 million to provide educational assistance to British colonies around the world. Pifer joined Carnegie in 1953 with greater knowledge of Africa having worked in the Fulbright Program for four years. He had already forged a close relationship with top colonial officials in London, and through his trips to Africa, he had not only made friends with colonial officials but also garnered greater understanding of both colonial politics and nationalist aspirations. For more information, see *Ogechi Anyanwu, "Pointing the Way Forward: Alan Pifer and Higher Education in Colonial Nigeria"* (paper presented at the Southern Interdisciplinary Roundtable on African Studies (SIRAS) held at Kentucky State University, Frankfort, April 3-5, 2009).
- 44 CCNY, I.D., 5.4, Alan Pifer, "Some Notes on Carnegie Corporation Grants in Africa," 1954, 4.

- 45 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education* (Lagos, Nigeria: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960).
- 46 J.F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K.H. Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996); Eric Ashby, *African Universities*; Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*; Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: British and University Education for Africans, 1860–1960* (London: Frank Cass, 1996).
- 47 For detailed information, see Damtew Teferra and Philip. G. Altbach, eds., *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- 48 Task Force on Higher Education and Society, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2000).
- 49 Nigerian figures represent the total number of students in all tertiary institutions in the country. There were more than 200 institutions in Nigeria in 1998. The country's 63 colleges of education had a total enrolment of 105,817 students. There were 216,782 students in the country's 45 polytechnics, 411,347 students in 36 universities, and 120,000 students enrolled in 87 monotechnics and 100 schools of nursing and midwifery, and other professional training institutions. This book, however, focuses on university education. See Damtew Teferra and Philip. G. Altbach, *African Higher Education*, 4; and Jibril Munzali, "Nigeria," in *ibid.*, 492–99.
- 50 World Bank, *Accelerating Catch-up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2009), 46.
- 51 Jibril Munzali in Teferra and Altbach, *African Higher Education*, 493.
- 52 Teferra and Altbach, *African Higher Education*, 4–5.
- 53 "Address by His Excellency Major-General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government and Visitor of the University, during the 21st Anniversary of the University of Ibadan," *Ibadan* no. 28 (July 1970): 17. Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, 1957–67, posed similar challenge to the University of Ghana. According to him, "A very heavy responsibility is being entrusted to you. The whole future of Ghana depends to a very considerable extent on the success of our programme for higher education and research." See Wilton S. Dillon, "Universities and Nation Building in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 1, no. 1 (1963): 75.
- 54 See Eghosa Osaghae, *The Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
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- 56 Editorial, *Punch*, 28 June 2006, 2.

1: The Politics of Colonial Education

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- 3 UNESCO, Report of *International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, Learning: The Treasure Within* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), 86.
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- 6 Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* (London: Frank Cass, 1840), 282.
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- 9 Cited in H. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing, 1967), 145.
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- 11 L.J. Lewis, ed., *Phelps-Stocks Report on Education in Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 9.
- 12 J.F.A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965). See also Magnus O. Bassey, *Western Education and Political Domination: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999).
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- 21 Apollos Nwauwa, "After Tragedies: New Hopes for Nigeria," *Providence Journal*, 8 October 1999, 3.
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- 23 This system requires women to cover their body, stay in seclusion, keep silent when men are talking, etc. These requirements were expected to make women appear pure and modest.

- 24 See Dike, "Development of Modern Education in Nigeria," 237.
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- 32 *Daily Service* (Lagos), 17 October 1944, 2.
- 33 Minutes of the first inaugural conference of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, June 1948, cited in Coleman, *Nigeria*, 346.
- 34 *West African Pilot*, 6 July 1949.
- 35 *Legislative Council Debates*, Nigeria, 4 March 1948, 227, cited in Coleman, *Nigeria*, 361.
- 36 Editorial, *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*, 18 February 1950, cited in *Report on the Kano Disturbances of May 1953* (Kaduna: Northern Regional Government, 1953), 43.
- 37 See Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: British and University Education for Africans, 1860–1960* (London: Frank Cass, 1996); J.F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K.H. Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996); Eric Asbby, *African Universities and Western Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).
- 38 Fourah Bay College was also established to provide its pupils, the liberated Africans and their children, with opportunities to obtain training in the basic skills needed to survive in their new environment. It was also designed to train those pupils who displayed the requisite aptitude as teachers and priests. In 1876, the CMS succeeded in getting the college affiliated with Durham University, which meant that the students could sit for Durham's matriculation examinations and take Durham University degree examinations, although Durham had no control over the appointment of lecturers and lecturing. The affiliation led to a revision of the courses to include Latin and Greek. Fourah Bay College eventually moved towards university status in January 1965 and offered courses such as Hebrew, Arabic, history, natural science, French, and German.
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- 40 Kenneth Mellanby, "Establishing a New University in Africa," *Minerva* 1 (Winter 1963): 151.
- 41 Lord Hailey, *An African Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), 1288.
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- 43 *African Mail*, 13 December 1912, as cited in Coleman, *Nigeria*, 145.
- 44 Ibid., 146.

- 45 Coleman, *Nigeria*, 150.
- 46 Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 81.
- 47 PRO, CO, 847/5/7, Report of the Currie's sub-committee, October 1935, as reproduced in Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 81.
- 48 See C.O. Taiwo, *The Nigerian Education System: Past, Present and Future* (Lagos: Nelson Pitman, 1980), 82.
- 49 Colonial Office, *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*, Cmd 6655 (London: HM Stationery Office [HMS], 1945), 10, hereinafter cited as Elliot Commission report.
- 50 See Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 109–14.
- 51 CO 847/18/9 Report of the ACEC sub-committee on the Recommendation of West African Governor's Conference, December 1940, cited in Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 114.
- 52 Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 105.
- 53 Hansard, House of Commons, 31 January 1945, vol. 407, col. 2107, cited in Martin Kolinsky, "The Growth of Nigerian Universities 1948–80: The British Share," *Minerva* 23, no. 1: 29–61 (1985): 30.
- 54 Parliamentary Debates (House of Commons), vol. 361, col. 42, 21 May 1840, cited in Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 110.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 A university college was defined as meaning "an institution of higher learning at university level which is not empowered to grant degrees." See Colonial Office, *Report on Higher Education in the Colonies*, Cmd 6647 (London: HMSO, 1945), 1, hereinafter cited as Asquith Commission report.
- 57 Asquith Commission report, 10–11. In essence, this meant that higher education was only available to a few.
- 58 See Chidiebere Nwaubani, "The 1947 'Cohen' Constitutional Proposal and 'Planned Decolonization,'" in *The Dark Webs: Perspectives on Colonialism in Nigeria*, ed. Toyin Falola, 55–73 (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005).
- 59 Elliot Commission report, 17.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 The commission also recommended the establishment of two additional university colleges in the Gold Coast, now Ghana, and Sierra Leone. Both the Elliot and Asquith Commissions, which exchanged information, agreed that the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies (later Overseas) was to advise the new university colleges on how best to attain the objectives for which they were established.
- 62 "Nigeria's Leap into Light," *West African*, no. 224, 22 October 1960.
- 63 Okechukuwu Ikejiani, ed., *Nigerian Education* (Ikeja, Nigeria: Longmans, 1964), 140.
- 64 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education* (Lagos, Nigeria: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960), 5.
- 65 See Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition*, 45.
- 66 Ibid., 46.
- 67 Ibid., 32.
- 68 Tai Solarin, "The Nigerian University as a Trustee of Society," in *25 Years of Centralized University Education in Nigeria*, ed. A.U. Kadir (Lagos: National Universities Commission, 1988), 56.

- 69 Candidates for direct entry were required to pass five General Certificate of Education (GCE) subjects, two of which had to be at the Advanced Level, or four subjects, three of which had to be at the Advanced Level. These examinations were taken after completing sixth form, an advanced two-year program for secondary school graduates offered by selected secondary schools in Nigeria. Only a few secondary schools in Nigeria had facilities to offer sixth form courses, and this limited the number of potential candidates for university education. On the other hand, candidates for concessional admission were required to have passed the GCE (Ordinary Level) in five subjects including English and mathematics as well as take a university-administered entrance examination.
- 70 See Ashby, *African Universities*, 31.
- 71 See "The Action Group Paper on Higher Education in Nigeria," *Daily Service*, Lagos, 5–6 September 1958.
- 72 P.L. van den Berghe and C.M. Nuttney, "Some Social Characteristics of University of Ibadan," *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies* 11, no. 3 (November 1969): 360.
- 73 K.O. Dike, "The Ashby Commission and Its Report," in *Twenty Years of University Education in Nigeria*, ed. Amaka Chizea Chinelo (Lagos: National Universities Commission, 1983), 2. Along the same lines, Ashby had argued that UCI emphasized "in standard and curriculum, the thin stream of excellence and narrow specialism," and that in "social function they regard themselves as restricted to an elite." See Ashby, *African Universities*, 12.
- 74 See *Daily Service*, 22 May 1952.
- 75 See *West African Pilot*, Lagos, 22 January and 26 October 1953.
- 76 *The University of Nigeria, 1963–1964 Calendar*, vol. 1, nos. 3, 5.
- 77 *Daily Times* (Lagos), 24 August 1954.
- 78 *Daily Times* (Lagos), 9 January 1951.
- 79 *Daily Times* (Lagos), 21 May 1954.
- 80 *Daily Times* (Lagos), 26 March 1956. Nigerianization was a policy designed to facilitate the training of high-level Nigerian personnel to fill the positions occupied by European expatriates in the civil service.

2: Towards Educational Reform: The Cold War, Decolonization, and the Carnegie Corporation, 1952–60

- 1 These assemblies were only to consider bills affecting their own regions and make recommendations to the central legislature in Lagos.
- 2 *Proceedings of the General Conference on Review of the Constitution, January 1950* (Lagos: Government Printer, 1950), 46–47.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., 52.
- 5 Ibid., 22.
- 6 Ibid., 218.
- 7 The central legislative council was known as the House of Representatives. It consisted of a president, six ex-officio members, 136 representative members elected from the regional houses, and six special members appointed by the governor to represent interests not otherwise adequately represented in the House.

- 8 K.O. Dike, "Development of Modern Education in Nigeria," in *The One and the Many: Individual in the Modern World*, ed. J.N. Brookes (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 234.
- 9 NAI, *Annual Report of the Development of Education, 1/4/51–31/3/52* (Lagos: Government Printer, 1952), 30. The policy further noted that "the present policy while recognizing the desirability of universal primary education wisely refrains from attempting any estimate as to when it can be achieved, but wisely proceeds on the assumption that the first step towards its consummation is to increase, within the resources available, provision for secondary education and teacher training so as to increase the flow of teachers."
- 10 Dike, "Development of Modern Education in Nigeria," 234.
- 11 Gray Cowan, James O'Connell, David Scanlon Cowan, eds., *Education and Nation Building in Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), v.
- 12 S.O. Awokoya, *Sessional Paper on an Education Policy Presented to the Western House of Assembly*, July 1952, 5.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 The program required the local governments in the region to pay 45 per cent of the cost of providing free education. The policy also proposed an increase in teachers from 1,300 to 2,500 annually as well as the establishment of secondary schools in all the divisions.
- 15 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Nigeria* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), 573.
- 16 Ibid., 3.
- 17 Ibid., 69.
- 18 With time, however, some of the emirs and chiefs did send their children to school to obtain training for administrative roles.
- 19 Inter-University Commission, *Report of Visitation to University College Ibadan* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1952), 4.
- 20 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Nigeria*, 72.
- 21 Ibid., 72–3.
- 22 Colonial Office, *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*, Cmd 6655 (London: HM Stationary Office, 1945), 23. Hereinafter cited as Elliot Commission report.
- 23 Legislative lists are the designated subjects on which the constitution empowers each level of government to enact laws.
- 24 The Western Region led the way when it enacted Education Law No. 6 of 1954, which officially endorsed free education at the primary and secondary levels. Likewise, the Eastern Region promulgated Education Law No. 28 of 1956 and the federal government enacted the Education (Lagos) Act, 1957. The Northern Region enacted Education Law No. 17 of 1956, which emphasized teacher training as the first step toward the introduction of free education. See C.O. Taiwo, *The Nigerian Education System: Past, Present and Future* (Lagos: Nelson Pitman, 1980), 194.
- 25 *Eastern House of Assembly Debates* (Enugu: Government Printer, 18 May 1955), 150–55.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Nnamdi Azikiwe, "Hope to a Frustrated People" (paper presented at the Inaugural Meeting of the Provincial Council of the University of Nigeria, Enugu, 3 March 1960). Azikiwe added the following: "Its sources of income will in addition to the regular practice in the United Kingdom include earnings from its agricultural and commercial estates. Its curriculum will be prepared not only

- to measure up to the highest standards of the older universities of Europe and America, but efforts will be made to emphasize the problems created in the environments of Nigeria and Africa, e.g., Nigerian History, Nigerian Geography, Nigerian Literature, Economic History of Nigeria, African Ethnography, etc.”
- 28 See Apollos Nwauwa, “The British Establishment of Universities in Tropical Africa, 1920–1948: A Reaction against the Spread of American ‘Radical’ Influence,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines* 33, no. 130 (1993): 247–74.
 - 29 *The Proposed University of Nigeria* (Enugu: Eastern Information Service, 1954).
 - 30 Coleman, *Nigeria*, 243. However, the advocacy of the American-trained Nigerians bore fruit during the 1969 curriculum conference: the recommendations of this conference for educational reforms reflected American influence.
 - 31 NAE, *Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly, Debates*, 18 May 1955, 150–55.
 - 32 Okechukwu Ikejiani, ed., *Nigerian Education* (New York: Praeger, 1965), 157.
 - 33 See Fred Marte, *Political Cycles in International Relations: The Cold War and Africa, 1945–1990* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994).
 - 34 Roger Fieldhouse, “Cold War and Colonial Conflicts in British West African Adult Education, 1947–1953,” *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 1984): 359–60.
 - 35 See Singh Narasingha, “Nigerian Intellectuals and Socialism: Retrospect and Prospect,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 3 (September 1993): 361–85; and Tajudeen Abdulraheem and Adebayo Olukoshi, “The Left in Nigerian Politics and the Struggle for Socialism: 1945–1985,” *Review of African Political Economy* 13, no. 37 (1986): 64–80.
 - 36 Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani, *Britain, Leftist Nationalists and the Transfer of Power in Nigeria, 1945–1965* (London: Routledge, 2005).
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- 74 Ibid., 3–4.
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- 89 CCNY, 111 A, 746, "Memo from Alan Pifer to V.H.K. Littlehood," 5 January 1959, Nigeria, Federal Government Post-Secondary Requirements. See also CCNY, 111 A, 746, "Memorandum of Meeting Held April 4 at Birkbeck College, London, on the Nigerian Higher Educational Survey," 9 April 1959, Nigeria, Federal Government Post-Secondary Requirement.
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- 97 PRO, CO 554/2029, James Wilson Robertson, Federation of Nigeria Dispatch no. 423, 10 March 1959.
- 98 Ibid. By 'these sources,' Robertson was referring to Nigerians trained at University College, Ibadan, and institutions in the United Kingdom and United States of America.
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- 101 Professor F. Harbison of the Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, prepared a report on high-level manpower for Nigeria's future; V.L. Griffiths of the Department of Education, Oxford University, prepared a paper on teacher training; and M.W. Pritchard, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, prepared a report on secondary schools. Professor R.B. Sergeant and Professor J.N.D. Anderson, both of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, submitted reports on Islamic education and Islamic legal studies respectively.
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- 121 Sir Ronald Gould undertook the tour at the request of the British Council; the tour was organized by British Council officials in London, aided by the E.E. Eaus, the general secretary of the Nigerian Union of Teachers. See *Daily Times*, 30 April 1960, 5.
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- 123 Frank Bowls, *Access to Higher Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1963).
- 124 Olalekan Are, "Suggestions for UCI," *Daily Times*, 23 May 1960, 5. Similar ideas featured in the *Daily Times* appear on the following dates: 6 March, 28 March, 19 April, and 9 September 1960.
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3: The Ashby Commission, Regionalism, and University Education in the 1960s

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Ibid.
9
Ibid., 7.
10
In addition to 30,000 Nigerians with university degrees, the Ashby Commission report estimated 50,000 people with intermediate qualification (which meant people with two or three years of full-time study in technical institutes or agricultural colleges after School Certificate).
11
Ashby Commission Report, 7.
12
Ibid., 50.
13
Ibid., 26–29.
14
Ibid., 25.
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Ibid., 26.
16
Ibid., 28.
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Ibid.
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Ibid., 48.
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Ibid., 10.
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Ibid., 41.
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Ibid., 12.
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Ibid., 22.
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Ibid.
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Ibid.
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Ibid.
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Kenneth Dike, "Address at the 12th Anniversary of UCI," *Daily Times*, 19 November 1960, 16.
27
Ashby Commission Report, 46.
28
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29
Ibid.
30
Ibid., 3
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Ibid., 41.
32
The University of Nigeria, Nsukka, offered a wide range of courses such as accountancy, agricultural economics, agricultural engineering, agricultural mechanization, animal science, anthropology, architecture, botany, business administration, chemistry, economics, education, and engineering (civil, electrical, and mechanical), among others.
33
George M. Johnson, "Aims of the University of Nigeria," *Daily Times*, 30 November 1960, 5. Some of those critical of UNN were a few highly educated Nigerians who were brainwashed to believe that the British system is the best and were therefore blind to other systems.
34
The Western Region's idea of a university was in agreement with the reasons why the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, was established, which

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- included, among others, curriculum diversity and liberalization of access.
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 - 37 Federation of Nigeria, *Educational Development, 1961–1970, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961* (Lagos: Federal Government Press, 1961), 4.
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 - 45 See B.A. Fafunwa, *A History of Nigerian Higher Education* (Lagos: Macmillan, 1971), 227.
 - 46 *Educational Development, 1961–1970*, 9.
 - 47 *Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Report of National Manpower Board, 1 December 1962–31 March 1964* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1965), 21.
 - 48 Address by the Hon. Minister of Economic Development to the Third Meeting of the National Manpower Board, 4 July 1963, in *Annual Report of National Manpower Board*, 24.
 - 49 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *University Development in Nigeria: Report of the National Universities Commission* (Apapa, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1963), i.
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 - 56 Jubril Aminu, *Quality and Stress in Nigerian Education* (Maiduguri: Northern Nigerian Publishing, 1986), 36–38.
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 - 58 Ibid., 21.
 - 59 Ibid., 13.
 - 60 Ibid., 19.
 - 61 Ibid.
 - 62 Federation of Nigeria, *Decision of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the Report of the National Universities Commission Educational Development, Seasonal Paper No. 4 of 1964* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1964), 7.

- 63 Ibid.
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- 66 S.O. Biobaku, "The Purpose of University Education" (paper presented at the National Curriculum Conference, Lagos, 8–12 September 1969). See also A. Adaralegbe, ed., *A Philosophy for Nigerian Education: Proceedings of the Nigeria National Curriculum Conference* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1972), 69.
- 67 *Daily Times*, 18 November 1960, 14.
- 68 Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, "Inaugural Address," 15.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 "Memo by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities to the Public Service Review Commission," 1973.
- 71 Adaralegbe, *Philosophy for Nigerian Education*, 82.
- 72 K.O. Dike, "Address by the Vice-Chancellor to Congregation on Foundation Day, 19 November 1964," 7. See University of Ibadan, Nigeria, *Annual Report, 1963–1964*. The reasons why the federal government gave little attention to science education at the primary and secondary school levels deserve more study than this book could undertake.
- 73 World University Service, *Economic Factors Affecting Access to the University: Studies on the University Scene in 35 Countries* (Geneva, Switzerland: World University Service, 1961).
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- 82 Ibid.
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- 84 *Annual Review of Nigerian Universities Year, 1964–65*, 7.
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- 86 *An Address by the Principal, Dr. K.O. Dike, to Congregation in Trenchard Hall on Foundation Day, 17 November* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1962), 9. Similar problems existed in other universities. For instance, the *Daily Times* of 10 January 1969 reported that more than 261 students of the University of Ife failed to register for classes due to non-payment of fees.
- 87 See Eghosa Osaghae, *The Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
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- 90 See Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*.
- 91 *Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1994*.

- 92 W. Ehwareme, "The Military, Oil and Development: The Political Economy of Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria," in *Fiscal Federalism and Nigeria's Economic Development*, ed. E. Aigbokhan (Ibadan: Nigerian Economic Society, 1999), 57.
- 93 Indeed, after independence the demand for state creation especially from the minority groups, which began in 1939, continued and was intensified following the overthrow of Aguiyi-Ironsi in July 1966. See N. Azikiwe, "Essentials for Nigerian Survival," *Foreign Affairs* 43 (1964/65): 445--61; O. Awolowo, *Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1966). Gowon set up an ad hoc committee to examine the possibility of state creation. The committee submitted its recommendation on 30 September. It considered that the Federal Constitution had certain defects. Among the most important of these were the disparity in sizes of the constituent regions of the federation and the small number of the federating units. See Nigeria, Federal Republic, *Memoranda Submitted by the Delegation to the Ad-Hoc Conference on Constitutional Proposals for Nigeria* (Lagos: National Nigerian Press, 1966), 61.
- 94 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Decree No. 14 of 1967*.
- 95 See Eghosa E. Osaghae, Ebere Onwudiwe, and Rotimi T. Suberu, *The Nigerian Civil War and its Aftermath* (Ibadan, Nigeria: John Archers, 2002); A. Adejoh, *The Nigerian Civil War: Forty Years After, What Lessons* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Aboki Publishers, 2008).
- 96 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Blue Print for Post-War Reconstruction* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1967), 5.
- 97 Ibid., 5--6.
- 98 *Daily Times*, 10 January 1969, 5. The ethnic group Tahir was referring to were the Yorubas, not the Igbos who were still cut off from the rest of the country due to the civil war.
- 99 *Daily Times*, 16 January 1969, front page.
- 100 *Daily Times*, 15 January 1969, 3.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 *Daily Times*, 16 January 1969, front page.
- 103 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Higher Education in the 90s and Beyond: Report of the Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria* (Lagos: Government Printing Office, 1991), 34.
- 104 See Vincent Ike, *University Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1976), 122.
- 105 See Folayan Ojo, *Nigerian Universities and High Level Manpower Development* (Lagos: Lagos University Press, 1983), 42--43.
- 106 Adaralegbe, *Philosophy for Nigerian Education*, xiii.
- 107 Federal Government of Nigeria, *Dina Committee Report* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information Printing Division, 1969), 29. All revenues accruing from offshore operations should be shared along the following lines: Federal Government, 60%; States Joint Account (SJA), 30%; and a Special Grants Account (SGA), 10%. Royalties from onshore operations was to be assigned on the following basis: Federal Government, 15%; State of derivation, 10%; States Joint Account, 70% and SGA, 5%. Revenue from Excise Duty was to be allocated on the following basis: Federal Government, 60%; SJA, 30%; and SGA, 10% while that from Import Duty was to be shared on the following basis: Federal Government, 50% and SJA, 50%. Finally, revenue from Export Duty was to be shared as follows: Federal Government, 15%; State of Derivation, 10%; SJA, 70%; and SGA, 5%. See Dina Committee Report, 1969, 103--107 and Chibuike

- U. Uche and Ogbonnaya C. Uche, "Oil and the Politics of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria," ASC Working Paper 54/2004, African Studies Centre, The Netherlands.
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- 109 See O. Oyediran and O. Olagunju, "The Military and the Politics of Revenue Allocation," in *Nigerian Government and Politics Under Military Rule*, ed. O. Oyediran (London: Macmillan, 1979), 200.
- 110 NERC was an organization under the federal ministry of education devoted to the development of specialized aspects of education and actively involved in curricular review and renewal.
- 111 The federal government voted special funds for the conference. In addition, USAID paid for the expenses of non-governmental Nigerian participants who wished to take part in the conference, while the Ford Foundation, UNESCO, and CREDO provided financial assistance to service the conference.
- 112 Adaralegbe, *Philosophy for Nigerian Education*, ix.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Ibid., xix.
- 117 Ibid., xviii.
- 118 Ibid., xxviii.
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- 120 Adaralegbe, *Philosophy for Nigerian Education*, 69 and 78.
- 121 Ibid., 75.
- 122 Ibid., 76.
- 123 E.O. Fagbamiye, "Curricular Implications of a Science and Technology Oriented Education," in *Mobilizing Nigeria's Education Towards Technological Self-Reliance: Proceedings of the 11th Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors, Federal University of Technology, Akure, 10-11 March, 1988*, eds. T.I. Francis, A. Akinyotu, and L.B. Kolawole (Akure: Hope Printers, 1988), 46.

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- 1 Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, trans. Sherwood D. Fox (New York: Free Press, 1956), 70.
- 2 See Stanley Diamond, *Nigeria: Model of a Colonial Failure* (New York: American Committee on Africa 1967), 44-46; Aluko Sam, "How Many Nigerians?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 3 (October 1965): 371-92; Thomas M. Franck, "Clan and Superclan: Loyalty, Identity and Community in Law and Practice," *American Journal of International Law* 90 (July 1996): 359-83.
- 3 Yakubu Gowon, "The Dawn of National Reconciliation" (victory speech to the nation, broadcast from Lagos, 15 January 1970), <http://dawodu.com/gowon3.htm> (accessed 19 May 2006), 3.
- 4 Address by his Excellency, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government and Visitor of the University during the 21st

- Anniversary of the University of Ibadan, Ibadan no. 28 (July 1970): 16.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 See Total Enrollment in Nigerian Universities 1968/69, National Universities Commission, Lagos, July 1969, 2.
- 8 UNIBEN, *First Congregation, November 23, 1974*, (Benin: Uniben Press, 1974), 5.
- 9 See Federal Ministry of Education, *Statistics of Education in Nigeria*, various years, 1975.
- 10 See Folayan Ojo, *Nigerian Universities and High Level Manpower Development* (Lagos: Lagos University Press, 1983), 42–43.
- 11 J.F. Ade Ajayi, “Matriculation Address,” *Mimeo*, University of Lagos, 1973, 1.
- 12 J.F. Ade Ajayi, “Matriculation Address” *Mimeo*, University of Lagos, 1974, 2.
- 13 Federal Republic of Nigeria: *Second National Development Plan 1970–1974: Programme of Post-War Reconstruction and Development* (Lagos: Ministry of Information, 1970), 12.
- 14 Ibid., 235.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 *University of Nigeria Nsukka at 40: 40th Anniversary Celebrations* (Enugu: University of Nigeria Press, 2001), 4.
- 17 *West Africa*, 16 October 1978, 2027.
- 18 Address by his Excellency, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, 15–16.
- 19 “State Universities and National Disunity,” *Ibadan*, 28 July 1970, 1.
- 20 Inter-University Council, “Report of a Visit to Nigerian Universities,” 1970, 1.
- 21 J. Eliagwu, *Gowon* (Ibadan: West Book Publishers, 1986), 177.
- 22 See David Abernethy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case Study* (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1969), 129–39; A. Callaway and A. Musone, *Financial Education in Nigeria* (Paris: UNESCO; International Institute for Educational Planning, 1968), 93.
- 23 Ehtisham Ahmad and Raju Singh, “Political Economy of Oil-Revenue Sharing in a Developing Country: Illustrations from Nigeria,” IMF Working Paper, No. 03/16 (Washington, D.C.: IMF, 2003), 10.
- 24 C. Ashwe, *Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria* (Canberra: Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, 1986), 34.
- 25 See Anene Nwuzor, “The Military and Education in Nigeria: An Experiment in Centralization in a Federal Context,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 15, no. 1 (1983): 50–55.
- 26 *Daily Times*, 21 August 1972, 17.
- 27 Ibid. Supreme Military Council was the highest law-making body comprised of all the military service chiefs and the state governors.
- 28 See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Seminar on a National Policy on Education*, held in Lagos, 4–8 June 1973, 38.
- 29 *Second National Development Plan, 1970–1974*.
- 30 See *Report of the Seminar on a National Policy on Education*, 5.
- 31 The SNPE was held between 4 and 8 June 1973 at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Victoria Island, Lagos. Participants at the SNPE included representatives of the federal and state ministries of education, educational institutions, representatives of various interest groups, and organizations including UNESCO. Observers included representatives of the British Council, Ford Foundation, USAID, and

- UNICEF – a truly international group. The SNPE worked with the twenty-one memoranda sent by the public in addition to four important documents. The documents that guided the SNPE's deliberations include: "A National Policy on Education" – working paper produced by the federal and the state ministries of education; "A Philosophy for Nigerian Education" – a report of the Nigerian Curriculum Conference, 8–12 September 1969; "Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow," UNESCO, 1972; and the opening address "Charting Nigeria's National Aspirations," by the Federal Commissioner for Education, Chief A.Y. Eke
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid, 18.
- 34 The chairman of the seminar acknowledged the report of UNESCO's Commission on the Development of Education, which advocated 'Learning to be' and 'Learning to live' as fundamental components of a good educational system. See S.O. Adebo, "Seminar Chairman's Address," 42.
- 35 Report of the Seminar on a National Policy on Education, 14–19. The report also reiterated the 1969 recommendations of the curriculum conference on the need to abolish sixth form and its replacement with 6-3-3-4 system of education, as obtainable in the United States (which means six years of primary school, three years of junior secondary school, three years of senior secondary school, and four years of university education). It replaced the 6-5-2-3 system (six years of primary school, five years at the secondary, two years of Higher School [sixth form], and three years of university education).
- 36 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Third National Development Plan 1975–1980* (Lagos: Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Central Planning Office, 1975), foreword. The government white paper was ready to be published when a military coup led by Murtala Mohammed toppled Gowon's administration in 1975. Although this disruption deferred the publication of the document, it was eventually released in 1977. See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Policy on Education* (Lagos: Government Press 1977), 2.
- 37 The war was fought between Israel, on one side, and Egypt and Syria, on the other, backed by Iraq and Jordan, and supported economically by Saudi Arabia. The war led to oil shock when Arab members of the OPEC stopped shipping petroleum to nations that supported Israel in its conflict with Egypt – that is, the United States and its allies in Western Europe. The demand for Nigerian oil rose. Oil prices quadrupled. Revenue from Nigerian crude oil exports increased from ₦1.4 billion in 1971 to ₦5.6 billion in 1973. Nigeria's GDP also rose from ₦9.442 billion in 1970/71 to ₦14.410 billion in 1973. G.O. Nwankwo, *Nigeria and OPEC: To Be or Not to Be* (Ibadan: African University Press, 1983), 11. See also the *Third National Development Plan, 1975–80*, 11.
- 38 *Third National Development Plan 1975–1980*, 237.
- 39 Ibid., 245.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., Foreword.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 See Jubril Aminu, "The Factor of Centralization in Two Decades of Nigerian University Development," in *Twenty Years of University Education in Nigeria*, ed. Chinelo Amaka Chizea (Lagos: National Universities Commission, 1983), 37.

- 45 Federal Military Government, *Decree No. 1*, 15 January 1974. Universities, hitherto accustomed to having direct contact with the federal government, now had to pass through the NUC. This change generated bitter controversy that has endured until the present. A further study is needed to account for how the power tussles between the NUC officials and universities authorities affected the smooth expansion of universities.
- 46 National Universities Commission, *Report of the Academic Planning Group* (Lagos: NUC, 1976), 200. See also *Higher Education in the 90s and Beyond*, 34.
- 47 Alex Gboyega and Yinka Atoyebi, "The Role of Universities in the Transformation of Societies: The Nigerian Case Study," www.open.ac.uk/cheri/TRnigeriafinal.pdf (accessed 10 October 2005).
- 48 J.F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K.H. Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996), 140.
- 49 These states include North Central State, North Eastern State, North Western State, Kano State, Kwara State, and Benue-Plateau State.
- 50 See Jubril Aminu, "Educational Imbalance: Its Extent, History, Dangers and Correction in Nigeria," *Isokan Yoruba Magazine* 3 no. 3 (Summer 1997): 26; <http://www.yoruba.org/Magazine/Summer97/File5.htm> (accessed 21 May 2005). The ICSA was designed to oversee assets held in common by northern states at the time they were created from the former Northern Region in 1967. Many southerners perceived ICSA as a sign of perpetuation of the former allegedly monolithic "North."
- 51 Address by his Excellency General Yakubu Gowon, on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria on Saturday, 2 December 1972, 6.
- 52 Ibid., 8.
- 53 Ibid., 9.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid., 10.
- 57 See address delivered at the Congregation for the conferment of degrees by the vice-chancellor, Professor T.M. Yesufu, 26 February 1977, 6.
- 58 Adeyemo Aderinto, "Multiple Admissions in Nigerian Universities," *Research Bulletin No. 79/02*, Human Resources Research, University of Lagos, 1979, 392.
- 59 J.F. Ade Ajayi, Vice Chancellor's Matriculation Address, Mimeo, University of Lagos, 13 November 1976.
- 60 National Universities Commission, *Report of the Academic Planning Group* (Lagos: NUC, 1976), 205.
- 61 Aderinto, "Multiple Admissions in Nigerian Universities," 395.
- 62 Ibid. The report of the Public Service Review Commission (the Udoji Report), set up to review the need for senior administrative staff at the Nigerian civil service, confirmed the southern educational lead. It drew government's attention to the regional imbalance in the high-level administrative positions in the federal service, positions that university graduates occupied. The report also revealed that the Northern region, with a population of a little more than half the entire country, had only 54 senior administrators or 4.3 per cent of the national total. The Western region had 39.5 per cent (499); the Midwest 12.8 per cent (162), the Eastern region, 37 per cent (468); and the federal district 6.3 per cent (79). These figures corresponded closely to university enrolments over the previous decade.

- Cited in P. Beckett and J. O'Connell, *Education and Power in Nigeria* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), 47.
- 63 Report by Mr. L.R. Kay and Mr. W.H. Pettipiere on Central Admissions Procedure in Nigerian Universities, P&D.C. Paper NO. 74/74, Com./FO/van, 31/5/75.
- 64 Prof. B.A. Salim, "Problems of Assessment and Selection into Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria" (paper presented by the Registrar/Chief Executive Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB), Nigeria, at the 21st Annual Conference of AEAA held at Cape Town, South Africa from 25–29 August 2003). AEAA stands for the Association for Educational Assessment in Africa.
- 65 *Third National Development Plan 1975–1980*, 245.
- 66 Speech delivered at the Inauguration of the National Universities Commission, 10 July 1975.
- 67 Murtala Mohammed, televised broadcast in the evening of 30 July 1975. He noted that with the intervention of his regime Nigeria would have another opportunity of rebuilding the nation.
- 68 The nineteen states were Benue, Kaduna, Borno, Sokoto, Plateau, Kano, Kwara, Oyo, Lagos, Bendel, Cross River, Rivers, Anambra, Imo, Gongola, Niger, Bauchi, Ondo, and Ogun.
- 69 Inter-University Council, "Visit to New Nigerian Universities by D.P. Saville," report no. 13 of 1977, December 1977, para. 1.4.
- 70 National Universities Commission, Annual Report, July 1975–June 1977 (Lagos: NUC, 1977).
- 71 T.M. Yesufu, "Nigerian Education in the 1990s: Some Fundamental Issues," in *Nigerian Universities and the Challenges of the Decade: 1990–1999*, Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, University of Ilorin, 12–13 March 1990, ed. H.O. Danmole (Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 1990), 22.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 M.S. Angulu was the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Minna.
- 74 *Report of the National Committee on University Entrance* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, February 1977), ii–iii.
- 75 Jubril Aminu, "Educational Imbalance," 3. Aminu was referring to the four states out of the twelve created by Gowon in 1967. Murtala Mohammed created more in 1975 and the former East Central State became Anambra and Imo; former Western State became Oyo, Ondo, and Ogun; former Mid-West became Bendel, and Lagos State was retained. These seven new states are located in the South. Out of the remaining twelve states described as disadvantaged, ten (Benue, Kaduna, Borno, Sokoto, Plateau, Kano, Kwara, Gongola, Niger, and Bauchi) are located in the North and two (Cross-River, Rivers) are located in the South.
- 76 Ibid., 3.
- 77 Ibid., 9. Aminu's argument was similar to the one made by President Lyndon Johnson to justify the introduction of affirmative action in the United States. Speaking of the historically disadvantaged blacks in the United States, Johnson stated: "You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'you're free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair." See President Lyndon B. Johnson's Commencement Address at Howard: To Fulfil These Rights, 4 June 1965, <http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/>

- speeches.hom/650604.asp (accessed 12 May 2007).
- 78 Ibid., 12.
- 79 Ibid., 25.
- 80 Ibid., 10.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 *Report of the National Committee on University Entrance*, 57–59.
- 83 In attendance at the meeting were Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi, chairman of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors, and Vice-Chancellors of all universities in Nigeria.
- 84 Minutes of Special Meeting of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors with the Head of State at Dodan Barracks on Saturday, 18 September 1976, 1.
- 85 Ibid., 3.
- 86 Ibid., Annexure 'A' 2.
- 87 Ibid., Annexure 'B' 2.
- 88 Aminu, "Educational Imbalance," 20.
- 89 *Report of the National Committee on University Entrance*, 5.
- 90 Olusegun Obasanjo, "Our Educational Legacy" (speech delivered on the convocation ceremony of the University of Ibadan, 17 November 1976), 13.
- 91 Report of the National Committee on University Entrance, 68.
- 92 See M.S. Angulu, "The Early Years," unpublished manuscript, 1987, and M.S. Angulu, "The New Examination Board," 4 October 1999, as reproduced in Prof. B.A. Salim "Problems of Assessment and Selection into Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria" (a paper presented by the Registrar/Chief Executive Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board [JAMB], Nigeria, at the 21st Annual Conference of AEAA held at Cape Town, South Africa, from 25 to 29 August, 2003). AEAA stands for the Association for Educational Assessment in Africa.
- 93 *Daily Times*, Monday 23 January 1978, 17.
- 94 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Decree No. 2*, 13 February 1978, A28. A quota system was not mentioned because of its volatile nature. It was merely deferred.
- 95 B.A. Salim, "Problems of Assessment and Selection into Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria" (paper presented by the Registrar/Chief Executive Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board [JAMB], Nigeria, at the 21st Annual Conference of AEAA, Cape Town, South Africa, 25–29 August 2003).
- 96 *Nigerian Tribune*, 4 May 1978, 1.
- 97 See Mike Angulu, "Jamb – Were the Critics Right," in *25 Years of Centralized University Education in Nigeria*, ed. A.U. Kadiri (Lagos: National Universities Commission, 1988), 113.
- 98 See *New Nigerian*, 7–8 February, 14 December 1978; 15 January, 16 March 1979.
- 99 Aderinto, "Multiple Admissions in Nigerian Universities," 20.
- 100 M.S. Angulu, *Press Release*, Joint Admission and Matriculation Board: Admission into Universities 1978/79 Session, March 1979, 5.
- 101 Joint Admission and Matriculation Board, Lagos, 1978/79 and 1979/80, as reproduced in *Higher Education and Development in the Context of the Nigerian Constitution*, The Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellor of Nigerian Universities, University of Benin, Benin City, 26–27 February 1982, ed. Adamu Baikie (Benin: Office of the Vice-Chancellor, 1982), 68.
- 102 M.S. Angulu, *Press Release*, 5.
- 103 "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Certain Matters in the University of Jos," *Sunday Tribune*, 30 April 1978, 8.

- 104 See Chukuwemeka Ike, "Nigerian Universities and National Integration," in *Higher Education and Development in the Context of the Nigerian Constitution*, Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellor of Nigerian Universities, University of Benin, Benin City, 26–27 February 1982, ed. Adamu Baikie (Benin: Office of the Vice-Chancellor, 1982), 152.
- 105 *West Africa*, 9 April 1979, 626.
- 106 Oil Boom Era (1971–77), <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/economics/?blurb=490> (accessed 20 May 2006).
- 107 *The Punch*, Monday, 3 April 1978, 13.
- 108 See Jeffrey Herbst and Charles C. Soludo, "Nigeria," in *Aid and Reform in Africa: Lessons from Ten Case Studies* ed. Shantayanan Devarajan, David R. Dollar, Torgny Holmgren, 661–65 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2001).
- 109 National Universities Commission, *Annual Report, July 1977–June 1978* (Lagos: NUC, 1978), 21.
- 110 "Going Beyond Palliatives," *Daily Times*, 11 April 1978, 3.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 See Eniola Adeyeye, *Sunday Times*, 16 April 1978, 5. See also *Daily Times*, 15 March 1978, 3.
- 113 National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission* 1, no. 3 (Lagos: NUC, July–September, 1977), 51.
- 114 See National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission*, no. 7 (Lagos: NUC, July–September, 1978), 21.
- 115 National Universities Commission, *Report on University Finances*, 1978, 2. National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission*, no. 8 (Lagos: NUC, October–December, 1978), 2.
- 116 *Report on University Finances*.
- 117 Dennis Austin observed that the turbulent inter-state rivalries that produced the expansion of university education and affected by the financial difficulties of 1977 led to the future fall in academic standards. After his visit to Nigeria, he noted with shock that he "could not find much that suggested 'the gold standard' or any recognition of high excellence once ascribed to Ibadan and its successors." See Dennis Austin, "Universities and the Academic Gold Standard in Nigeria," *Minerva* 18, no. 2 (June 1980): 242.
- 118 National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission*, no. 8 (Lagos: NUC, October–December 1978), 3, 18.
- 119 National Universities Commission, *Annual Report, July 1977–June 1978*, 27.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 See A. Kirk-Green and D. Rimmer, *Nigeria Since 1970: A Political and Economic Outline* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981), 53.
- 123 *Annual Report, July 1977–June 1978*, 28–29.
- 124 See Attahiru Jega, "Nigerian Universities and Academic Staff under Military Rule," in *A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities*, ed. Silvia Federici et al. (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2000), 176. For more information on the relationship between the intellectuals and government in Africa, see Thandika Mkandawire, *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development* (London: Zed Books, 2006) and *Intellectuals and African Development: Pretension and Resistance in*

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- 125 "History and Struggles of ASUU," <http://www.asuunigeria.org/index.php/about-us> (accessed 26 July 2009), 1.
- 126 R. Clignet and P. Foster, *Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1966); R. Clignet, *Liberty and Equality in the Educational Process: A Comparative Sociology of Education* (New York: Wiley, 1974); R. Clignet, *The Africanization of the Labor Market: Educational and Occupational Segmentations in the Camerouns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). See also Philip J. Foster, "Ethnicity and the Schools in Ghana," *Comparative Education Review* 6 (October 1962): 127–34.
- 127 See James S. Coleman, *Education and Political Development* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965) and N. Konyeaso Onuoha, "The Role of Education in Nation-Building: A Case Study of Nigeria," *West African Journal of Education* 6 (1976): 435–50.
- 128 Thomas J. Davis and Azubike Kalu-Nwiwu, "Education, Ethnicity and National Integration in the History of Nigeria: Continuing Problems of Africa's Colonial Legacy," *Journal of Negro History* 86, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 1–11.
- 129 See Nwuzor, "The Military and Education in Nigeria," 54.
- 130 *West Africa*, no. 3171, 1 May 1978, 883.
- 131 Nwuzor, "The Military and Education in Nigeria," 54.
- 132 Academic Planning Division, "Twenty Years of Academic Development in the Nigerian Federal University System," in *Twenty Years of University Education*, ed. Chinelo Amaka Chizea, 86.

5: The Second Republic and the Burden of Expansion, 1979–83: Free Education, Science and Technology, and Quota System

- 1 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Lagos: Department of Information, 1979), 103.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid., 7.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 They included the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), representing chiefly the North; the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), strong among the Ibos; and the United Party of Nigeria (UPN), a Yoruba-led socialist-oriented party. Other parties were the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP) and the People's Redemption Party (PRP).
- 7 See Segun Adesina, *The Development of Modern Education in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria), 1988), 235–36.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 *Text of the First Nation-Wide Broadcast by the President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 1 October 1979* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1979), 11.
- 10 Ibid., 12–13.
- 11 G.J.A. Ojo, "Laying the Foundations of the Open University of Nigeria" (lecture delivered during an International Conference on West African University Outreach at the University of Ibadan, 3–7 October 1982), and reproduced in Ojo, *Planning for Distance Education at Tertiary Level in Nigeria* (Lagos: Government Printer, 1982), 15.
- 12 Ibid., 13.
- 13 Ibid.

- 14 Ibid., 15.
- 15 Ibid., 17.
- 16 *Daily Times*, 13 December 1982, 3.
- 17 National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission* 11, no. 2 (Lagos: NUC, July–September 1980), 29.
- 18 National Universities Commission, *Seminar on the Establishment of New University of Technology 8–11 December 1980 Preliminary Report* (Lagos: National Universities Commission, 1981), iv–v.
- 19 Yahaya Aliyu, “University Expansion during Recession: Demand versus Available Resources,” in *Nigeria: The Universities, the Nation and the Economic Recession*, Proceedings of the 1983 Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, the University of Maiduguri, 24–26 February 1983, ed. Akinjide Osuntokun (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1987), 1–2.
- 20 *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission*, 29.
- 21 The newly appointed vice-chancellors were Professors A.O. Adekola (FUT, Bauchi), G. Igboechi (FUT, Makurdi), and U.D. Gomwalk (FUT, Owerri).
- 22 *Seminar on the Establishment of New University of Technology*, vi.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid., 1.
- 26 Ibid., 6.
- 27 G.O. Olusanya, “If Wishes Were Horses...” (lecture delivered at University of Ilorin, Nigeria, 6 November 1980), 8.
- 28 Address by President Shehu Shagari on Budget Proposals to a Joint session of the National Assembly on Monday, 24 November 1980. See also *Nigeria Year Book 1981: A Record of Events and Developments* (Lagos: Times Press, 1981), 110.
- 29 *West Africa*, “Nigeria’s Fourth National Development Plan,” March 1981.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 *Nigeria Year Book 1981*.
- 32 For more information, see Federal Republic of Nigeria, *First National Rolling Plan 1990–92*, vol. 1 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Budget and Planning, 1990), 3.
- 33 FME/S/518/Vol.1/99 of 2 September 1981, as reproduced in M.S. Abdulrahman, “Admission Policy and Procedures” (paper presented at the University of Lagos during the Seminar on the Challenges of Higher Education in the 1990s, 30 November 1989), 5.
- 34 The criteria for selecting these states, especially the inclusion of three southern states (Rivers, Cross River, Lagos), were not mentioned in the guidelines, but they were perhaps related to low enrolments of these states at the secondary-school level and the concomitant low demand for university education.
- 35 For instance, the catchment states for the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, were the neighbouring states like Imo, Cross River, Rivers, Bendel, Benue, and Anambra. The catchment states for the University of Sokoto were Sokoto, Niger, and Kano. Similar patterns existed for the remaining universities.
- 36 Many university administrators abused the Discretion admission criterion by extending favours to their friends in top government positions as well as their relations. Oftentimes, offers of admission under this criterion were commercialized.
- 37 “Youth takes JAMB to Court,” *National Concord*, 20 March 1984, back page.
- 38 Ibid.

- 39 J.M. Kosemani, "Democratic Values and University Admissions in Nigeria," *Nigerian Journal of Professional Studies in Education* 3 (1995): 78–83.
- 40 T. Megaforce, "Federal Government, Teachers, Students," *Nigerian Tribune*, 6 September 1999.
- 41 *Newswatch*, 18 January 1988, 15.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 For detailed information on state allocation to education, see Federal Ministry of Education: *Statistics of Education in Nigeria, 1980–1984* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1984), 25.
- 44 T.M. Yesufu, "Nigerian Education in the 1990s: Some Fundamental Issues," in *Nigerian Universities and the Challenges of the Decade: 1990–1999*, Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, University of Ilorin, 12–13 March 1990, ed. H.O. Danmole (Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 1990), 24.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 *New Nigerian*, 2 November 1979, 3.
- 49 See Joint Admission and Matriculation Board, Lagos, as reproduced in *Higher Education and Development in the Context of the Nigerian Constitution*, Proceedings of the 5th Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, the University of Benin, 26–27 February 1982, ed. Adamu Baike (Benin City: Office of the Vice-Chancellor, 1982), 68.
- 50 *Daily Times*, 28 January 1978, 11.
- 51 *Daily Times*, 18 January 1980.
- 52 *Daily Times*, 30 September 1979.
- 53 Ladipo Adamolekun, "Education at the Crossroads," *West Africa*, 20 September 1982, 2433.
- 54 Federal Ministry of Education, *Report of the Panel on Alternative Sources of Funding Education* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1981), chap. 5, 102–18. A similar commission, Eke Commission, which focused on primary education and submitted its report on 6 December 1983, came out with the conclusion that "modern education cannot be free." See Federal Ministry of Education, *Report of the Presidential Commission on Funding Primary Education* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1983), 52.
- 55 Jubril Aminu, "University Funding," *The University Demonstrator* 1, no. 2 (April 1986): 6.
- 56 Adamolekun, "Education at the Crossroads," 2433.
- 57 See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Higher Education in the 90s and Beyond: Report of the Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria* (Lagos: Government Printing Office, 1991), 34.
- 58 Federal Government of Nigeria, *Statistics of Education in Nigeria* (Lagos: Ministry of Education, 1992).
- 59 Ajuji Ahmed, "The Asquith Tradition, the Ashby Reform, and the Development of Higher Education in Nigeria," *Minerva* 27, no. 1 (1989): 1–20.
- 60 Address by Professor M.J.C. Echeruo, Vice-Chancellor, Imo State University, on the Third Matriculation Ceremony of Imo State University, Etiti, 11 February 1984, 4.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 See *Daily Times*, 29 March 1984, 7.
- 63 P.C. Asiodu, "Nigerian and Oil Technology," in *Nigeria: The Universities, the Nation and the Economic Recession*, Proceedings of the 1983 Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-

- Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, the University of Maiduguri, 24–26 February 1983, ed. Akinjide Osuntokun (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1987), 49.
- 64 The 1982 figures fell further to an estimated level of ₦8.000 million; and in 1983, the estimated total federal government revenue was only ₦5,561 billion. When matched against an estimated total expenditure of ₦12.095 billion, made up of ₦3.435 billion recurrent expenditure, ₦1.44 billion consolidated revenue fund charges, and ₦7.22 billion for capital expenditure, it became clear that the picture was gloomy. See Alex Ekwueme, “Universities, The Nation and Economic Recession,” in *Nigeria: The Universities, the Nation and the Economic Recession*, Proceedings of the 1983 Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, the University of Maiduguri, 24–26 February 1983, ed. Akinjide Osuntokun (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1987), 197. See also *First National Rolling Plan 1990–92*, vol. 1, 3–4.
- 65 Ekwueme, “Universities,” 200.
- 66 See *National Champion*, 11 March 1983, 13; 14 July 1983, 3; 13 March 1984; and 14 February 1983, 3.
- 67 Ekwueme, “Universities,” 197.
- 68 Ibid. Other oil exporting countries equally suffered during the same period. For instance, Mexico, the fourth world oil exporter, was burdened with a debt of \$83 billion; Argentina, \$39 billion; Brazil, \$89 billion; and Chile, \$17 billion.
- 69 They include the following: Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo (attached to Ife); Advanced Teachers College, Kano (attached to Zaria); Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri (attached to Nsukka); College of Education Port-Harcourt (attached to Ibadan), and Advanced Teachers College, Zaria (Zaria).
- 70 Dan Agbese, “The Albatross,” *Newswatch*, 6 October 1986, 45.
- 71 Ray Ekpu, “Gone to the Dogs,” *Newswatch*, 3 May 2004, 10.
- 72 Adamu Baike and Osaren S.B. Omoregie, “University Education: Perspectives of an Educationist and Planners,” in *Nigeria since Independence: The First 25 Years*, ed. Tekena N. Tamuno and J.A. Atanda, vol. 11 (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1989), 285.
- 73 See Ray Ekpu, “The End Justifies the Means,” *Newswatch*, 6 October 1986, 25.
- 74 For more information on corruption associated with contracts awarded during the Second Republic, see Ogechi Anyanwu, “Indigenous Contractors and Nigeria’s Economic Development (1970–1992): A Case Study of Chief T.I. Ozoemenam’s Construction Company” (BA thesis, Abia State University, Uturu, Nigeria, 1994).
- 75 Achike Okafo, “Are the university people listening,” *Daily Times*, 24 November 1982, 7.
- 76 See *Newswatch*, 6 October 1986, 49.
- 77 Tekena N. Tamuno, “Introduction: A New Nation and the Learning Process,” in *Nigeria since Independence: The First 25 Years*, vol. 11, ed. Tekena N. Tamuno and J.A. Atanda (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1989), 4.
- 78 Jubril Aminu, “Better Career in the Nigerian University System,” Memorandum Submitted to the Presidential Commission on Salaries and Conditions of Service of University, Maiduguri, 21 February 1981.
- 79 Ibid., 29.
- 80 See E.U. Emevon, “An Address by the Chairman of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities,” in *Nigeria: The Universities, the Nation*

and the Economic Recession, Proceedings of the 1983 Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, the University of Maiduguri, 24–26 February 1983, ed. Akinjide Osuntokun (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1987), 191.

81 Ibid.

82 See T.A. Akinyele, *Budgeting under Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Bolayele Commercial Press Limited, 1988), 1–2.

83 *New Nigerian*, 30 December 1984, 3.

6: Rationalization Policy: The IMF/World Bank and Structural Adjustment Program, 1984–90

1 *Financial Times* (London), 16 August 1983, 14.

2 “The 1983 Military Coup – 31 December 1983,” <http://dawodu.com/abacha2.htm> (accessed 20 May 2006).

3 *Financial Times* (London), 25 and 26 February 1985 and *International Herald Tribune*, 12 March 1985.

4 *Daily Times*, 24 January 1984, 7.

5 More research is needed to determine how the recklessness of university administrators negatively affected the expansion of facilities during the Second Republic and beyond.

6 See *Daily Times*, 7, 9, 23, 20 February 1984, and *Democrat Weekly*, 1 April 1984, Letters page.

7 *Daily Times*, 11 May 1984, 12. In addition, Buhari announced that the staff of the Open University would be suitably re-deployed and that the existing universities with schemes for part-time students should be encouraged to expand their programs and take in more students.

8 *Release by the Cabinet Office, Lagos*, May 1984. See National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission* (Lagos: NUC, September 1984), 4.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., 6.

11 The Federal University of Technology (FUT) Abeokuta became University of Lagos Abeokuta Campus. FUT Bauchi became Tafawa Belewa campus; FUT Makurdi, University of Jos campus, and FUT Yola, Madibbo Adamu campus. See *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission*.

12 See *Daily Times*, 30 August 1984, 3. In 2005, the California State University system was comprised of 23 campuses with a population of 405,000 students. See <http://www.calstate.edu/> (accessed 21 May 2006).

13 See National Universities Commission, *The Commission's Recommendations to the Federal Government on the Report of the Committee on Demerging of Federal Universities of Technology and the Creation of Universities of Agriculture* (Lagos: National Universities Commission: July 1987), 3.

14 *Daily Times*, 15 March 1984, 3.

15 “Editorial: Realistic Policy on Education,” *Daily Times*, 7 March 1984, 3.

16 Akin Adesola, “The Nigerian University System: Meeting the Challenges of Growth in a Depressed Economy,” *Higher Education* 21 (1991): 126.

17 Nigeria, *Report of the Study Group on Funding Education* (Lagos: Federal Government Press, 1984), 114–30. Professor A.B. Fafunwa chaired the Study Group. Other members included Prof. S.D. Onabamiro, Alhaji A. Koko, Dr. J.A.O. Sofolahan, Mrs. Theresa Bowyer, Alhaji Yahaya Hamza, Chief

- J.U. Etukokwu, and Prof. Segun Adesina with Mr. N. Malo as Secretary.
- 18 See Segun Adesina, *The Development of Modern Education in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1988), 264.
 - 19 *Report of the Study Group on Funding Education*. See also See National Universities Commission, *Bulletin of the National Universities Commission* (Lagos: NUC, December 1985), 12.
 - 20 See Adesina, *Development of Modern Education in Nigeria*, 266.
 - 21 Ibid.
 - 22 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *The Report on the Study of Higher Education Curricula and Development in Nigeria* (Lagos: NERC Press, 1984), 1. The finding of the committee revealed that as many as 55,000–60,000 graduates could be unemployed in Nigeria in 1984.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 Ibid., 18.
 - 25 Ibid., 24.
 - 26 Ibid., 40.
 - 27 Ibid., 81.
 - 28 Ibid., 39.
 - 29 Academic Staff Union of Universities, National Secretariat, “Press Release,” *Sunday Tribune*, 16 February 1986, 14.
 - 30 Ibid.
 - 31 Ibid.
 - 32 Committee of Vice-Chancellors, *Rationalization of Courses and Programs of the Universities* (n.d.).
 - 33 For more information, see Jeffrey Herbst and Charles C. Soludo, “Nigeria,” In *Aid and Reform in Africa: Lessons from Ten Case Studies*, eds. Shantayanan Devarajan, David R. Dollar, and Torgny Holmgren (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2001), 662.
 - 34 Ibid.
 - 35 *Daily Times*, 6 December 1984, front page.
 - 36 Ibid., 23 January 1985. The extent to which these economic ventures solved the funding problems of Nigerian universities deserves more study than I can provide in the present study. That university financial difficulty continued afterwards perhaps revealed how either inadequate or poorly managed the revenue from such economic ventures were.
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 - 38 Olatunde Ojo and Peter Koehn, “Nigeria’s Foreign Exchange Controls: An Alternative to IMF Conditions and Dependency?” *Africa Today* 33, no. 4 (1986): 7–32.
 - 39 “Major-General Babaginda Address to the Nation – August 27, 1985,” <http://dawodu.com/ibb4.htm> (accessed 12 July 2005).
 - 40 Ibid.
 - 41 See M.I. Obadan, “Withered Structural Adjustment in Nigeria,” *NCEMA Monograph Series No. 3* (Ibadan: The National Centre for Economic Management and Administration [NCEMA], 1993).
 - 42 Herbst and Soludo, “Nigeria,” 663.
 - 43 See Ufot B. Inamete, “Nigeria’s IMF Loan Arrangement Decision-Making (Shagari to Babangida Administrations) and Decision-Making Theories,” *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 36, no. 1 (June 2008): 39 – 50.
 - 44 Ibrahim Babangida, “Excerpts from broadcast of President Babangida’s speech in Lagos on 31 December 1985,” as cited in Herbst and Soludo “Nigeria.”
 - 45 Address delivered by the President, Ibrahim Babangida, to selected members of the academic community

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- 46 Ibrahim Babangida, "Nigerian President's 27th June Address: Economic and Social Issues," British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts, 1 July 1986.
 - 47 Ibid.
 - 48 See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *First National Rolling Plan 1990–92* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Budget and Planning, 1990), 4.
 - 49 Ibid.
 - 50 A.O. Ikem, "The Paris Club and Nigeria's Debt Rescheduling: The Way Forward," *Central Bank of Nigeria Debt Trends* 2, no. 1 (1996):1-3. See also Gary Moser, Scott Rogers, and Reinhold van Til, *Nigeria: Experience with Structural Adjustment* (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 1997); Nigeria, *The Evolution and Management of Nigeria's External Debt: The Way Forward* (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Finance: 1997). The following countries are permanent Paris Club of creditor countries: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Russian Federation, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and United States of America.
 - 51 National Centre for Economic Management and Administration (NCEMA), "Understanding Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria," a draft report presented at the Workshop on Understanding Reform, New Delhi, India: 25–26 January 2004, 14.
 - 52 Federal Republic of Nigeria: *Fifth National Development Plan 1986–1991* (Lagos, Ministry of Information, 1991), 2.
 - 53 See M. Mamdani, "University Crisis and Reform: A Reflection on the African Experience," *Review of African Political Economy* 58 (1993): 7–19.
 - 54 An Address by the President on the Occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebration and Twenty-first Convocation of the University of Nigeria, at Nsukka on Saturday, 6 December 1986 (Enugu: University of Nigeria Press, 1987), 11.
 - 55 Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, Office of the Secretary, *Letter to All Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities*, 20 February 1986.
 - 56 Minutes of the various meetings held by the Executive Secretary, NUC, and the Chairman of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of the Nigerian Universities on the occasion of their Study-Visit to Britain from 30 March to 4 April 1987, 2.
 - 57 See Idris A. Abdulkadir, Seminar Opening Remarks delivered at NUC/CVC/BC Seminar at Kongo Conference Hotel, ABU, Zaria, 9–10 November 1987.
 - 58 The UGC was a body, similar to the NUC, which coordinated university development in Britain.
 - 59 Minutes of the various meetings held by the Executive Secretary, NUC, 3.
 - 60 Ibid., 3–4. Mr Hardyman talked about the criteria for financial allocation to British universities: number of students for each subject for each university; units of resources for each subject taking consideration for teaching and research elements; grants for Research Councils.
 - 61 Ibid., 6.
 - 62 Ibid., 11.
 - 63 This sub-sector study was prepared by Nicholas Bennett, education planner and

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 - 65 *Ibid.*, vi.
 - 66 *Ibid.*, viii–x.
 - 67 Jibril Aminu, “Resources for Higher Education, Number, Cost, and Common Sense” (address at the Opening Ceremony of the NUC/CVC/British Council Seminar on the Management of University Resources, held at the Congo Conference Hotel, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 9 November 1987).
 - 68 Communiqué of the NUC/CVC/British Council Seminar, 12 November 1987.
 - 69 *Ibid.*
 - 70 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *View and Comments of the Federal Military Government on the Report of the Study Group of Higher Education Curricula and Development in Nigeria* (Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1987), 3.
 - 71 Universities in Ibadan, Nsukka, Ife, ABU, Lagos and Benin were regarded as first generation universities. Universities in Jos, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Kano, Illorin, Calabar and Port Harcourt were regarded as second-generation universities.
 - 72 *View and Comments of the Federal Military Government on the Report of the Study*, 3.
 - 73 *Ibid.*, 13.
 - 74 Theodore Idibiye Francis, Adetunji Akinyotu, and L.B. Kolawole, eds., *Mobilizing Nigeria's Education towards Technological Self-Reliance*, Proceedings of the 11th Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors, the Federal University of Technology, Akure, 10–11 March 1988 (Akure: Hope Printers, 1988), 11.
 - 75 *Ibid.*, 11–12.
 - 76 JAMB Raw Data, “Satisfaction of Global Demand for University Places in Each Discipline, 1978/79–1984/85,” as *University Education: Its Standard and Relevance to the Nigerian Community*, Proceedings of a Joint Seminar organized by the CVC and NUC held at the Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 17–19 March 1986, ed. Mahdi Adamu (Zaria: M.I.S. Press, 1989), 75.
 - 77 *Ibid.*
 - 78 Festus Iyayi, “The Dimensions of Programme Rationalization in Nigerian Universities,” in *University Education: Its Standard and Relevance to the Nigerian Community*, Proceedings of a Joint Seminar organized by the CVC and NUC held at the Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 17–19 March 1986, ed. Mahdi Adamu (Zaria: M.I.S. Press, 1989), 62.
 - 79 B.I.C. Ijeomah, “Manpower Development for Science and Technology: The Crisis of Bureaucracy and technocratic Consciousness,” in *Mobilizing Nigeria's Education Towards Technological Self-Reliance*, Proceedings of the 11th Annual Seminar of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors, the Federal University of Technology, Akure, 10–11 March 1988, ed. Theodore Idibiye Francis, Adetunji Akinyotu, and L.B. Kolawole (Akure: Hope Printers, 1988), 69.
 - 80 *Ibid.*
 - 81 *Ibid.*, 67.
 - 82 *The Commission's Recommendations to the Federal Government on the Report of the Committee on Demerging of Federal Universities of Technology and the Creation of Universities of Agriculture*, 6–7.

- 83 Ibid., 3.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 The two states Babangida created were Akwa Ibom and Katsina states, bringing the total number of states to 21. Other states were Anambra, Bauchi, Bendel, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Gongola, Imo, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Abuja, the Federal Territory. Shortly afterwards, Akwa Ibom began to demand a university, which materialized in 1991.
- 87 Stephen D. Akangbou, "Funding of Higher Education" (paper presented at the seminar on Challenges of Higher Education in the 1990s held at the University of Lagos from 28 November to 1 December 1989).
- 88 An Address presented by Professor Adamu Nayaya Mohammed, Chairman, Committee of Vice-Chancellors, to the President General Ibrahim B. Babangida, during a Courtesy Call on the President by the Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities, 4 July 1988.
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- 90 Policy-Based Loan, sometimes called 'Sector Adjustment Loans,' provides flexible support for institutional and policy changes on the sector or sub-sector level, through fast-disbursing funds.
- 91 During this period, emphasis was on federal universities. State universities suffered more. More research is needed to determine the level of underfunding of state universities.
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- 93 The fund was not granted until 1990.
- 94 Prior to this project, the bank had a limited role in Nigeria's educational development. Three education projects amounting to US\$91.3 million were approved in 1965, 1972, and 1973. Shortly thereafter, persistent differences between the government and the bank over the country's macro-economic policies led to a cessation of lending. See *World Bank, Implementation Completion Report, Nigeria: Federal Universities Development Sector Adjustment Credit*, no. 16639 (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1997), 2.
- 95 See World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper* (Washington, D.C., 1974); World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper* (Washington, D.C., 1980); Memorandum of the President of the World Bank on "Proposed Bank/IDA Policies in the field of education," October 1963, quoted in World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper* (Washington, D.C., 1971); William S. Saint, *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1992). World Bank, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, Strategies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1988).
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- 98 The Communiqué for the 12th Committee of Vice-Chancellors' Annual Seminar held at the Federal University of Technology Minna, on 2–3 March 1989.
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- 104 "Brain Drain in Nigerian Universities," 49. The quality of university education obtained under this circumstance was clearly questionable.
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7: Crisis of Nationhood: Funding Issues, Socio-Political Instability, and Private University Education, 1990–2000

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 - 5 Sowaribi Tolofar, *Exploitation and Instability in Nigeria: The Orkar Coup in Perspective* (Lagos: Press Alliance Network, 2004).
 - 6 "April 1990 Coup d'état Speech," <http://www.dawodu.com/orkar.htm> (accessed 1 August 2007).
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 - 16 *Quality*, 7 March 1991, 33.
 - 17 *Higher Education in the 90s and Beyond*, 153.
 - 18 Ibid., 189.
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 - 20 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Views and Comments of the Federal Government on the Report of the Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria* (Lagos: Federal Director of Printing, 1992), 44.
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- 92 Ibid.
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- 94 World Bank, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2002), 76.
- 95 See Emmanuel Edukugho, “ASUU Strike, Crisis without End,” *Vanguard*, 4 May 2006; <http://www.vanguardngr.com/section/education.html> (4 May 2006).
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- 98 The head of the Government Negotiating Team was Prof. Ayo Banjo, pro-chancellor of the University of Port Harcourt with fourteen others, the majority of whom were pro-chancellors and vice-chancellors of universities. There were ten advisers to the government team. Dr. Oladipo Fashina, ASUU’s national president, led ASUU’s negotiating team with twenty-three others drawn from the various universities across the country.
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Conclusion

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Through analysis of exceptionally rich data obtained from the Carnegie Corporation in New York, and from Nigeria's national archives, author Ogechi Anyanwu demonstrates how the pursuit of mass university education not only decolonized the elitist British education system but also ultimately reshaped modern Nigeria. More importantly, he argues that the impact of these policies cannot be fully understood without looking closely at the intersection of domestic and external politics dictating the direction of higher education development as a vehicle for nation-building in Nigeria's pluralistic society.

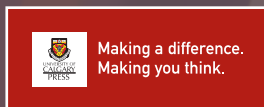
Although numerous studies have been made of Nigeria's higher education development in particular, and that of Africa in general, no work has placed the pursuit of mass university education (massification) at the centre of that country's postcolonial higher education reform or discussed it as a policy-driven and need-driven phenomenon. In *The Politics of Access: University Education and Nation-Building in Nigeria, 1948–2000*, Anyanwu undertakes a historical analysis of the diachronic impact of Nigeria's domestic socioeconomic, political, and ethno-religious forces, as well as external interests, on the country's policy initiatives, shifts, and outcomes of mass higher education policies.

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“... a genuinely original piece of scholarship ... [and] ... a window into both the promise and problems of Nigeria itself. It is a premium addition to the understanding of educational policy in Africa and most especially in Nigeria.”

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