# Education for National Inetgration in Nigeria: A Historical Analysis.

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper is a historical analysis of education and national integration in Nigeria .The paper looked at the concept and role of education at achieving national ideals with the functionalist paradigm. It further looked at the Nigerian social formation with the different ethnic groups that make up the Nigerian nation before the amalgamation of the 1914 by the British Colonial government. After Independence in 1960, national integration has been a daunting challenge to Nigeria given its multi-ethnic nature. Having survived a thirty months bloody civil war occasioned by ethnic and political wrangling. To encourage national unity and integration education was seen as a veritable tool to achieve this ideal by the Nigerian government.

This imperative gave rise to the various educational policies and programmes in Nigeria especially after the civil war in 1970. However, it is unfortunate to note that despite all the effort Nigeria is more divided now than ever and faces disintegration if nothing serious is done by the leadership to arrest the ethnic chauvinism which is a giant cankerworm to national unity and integration.

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# I. THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

Education as a concept has many and varied definition as there are educational philosophers or scholars. Despite the varied definition there is the consensus that education can be seen as a process, as a product or as a discipline. Ukeje (1986) maintains that as a process, education is concerned with developing the individual physically, mentally, spiritually, morally and socially for his own welfare and for the welfare the society. This means that the essence of educational endeavour is for the development of the total man for the general benefit of man and that of the society in general . Aluwalia (2010) affirms that the focal point of every educational effort is the development of human personality and the perfection of man. Ogeh (2018) further considers education as transferring culture from one generation to another for the benefit, survival and continuity of any given society. In this regard any education one receives must of necessity be of immense benefit to the individual and the society at large. The society could be a literate or non literate society. industrialized or agrarian. In this regard an individual is helped to lead the fullest life he or she is capable of living despite the type of education one receives . Udoh (2010) sees education as the vehicle through which the desired skills are transferred to the citizens for the achievement of social cohesion, continuity, stability and the maintenance of the status quo and necessary changes in the society. In this regard the idea of a vehicle presupposes a journey that begins at a point and terminates at a point and in the process the desired skills that are transferred to the citizens are expected to produce manifest result which include:- cohesion amongst the citizens, stability in the society, maintenance of a preferred status quo and to bring about the desired and necessary changes in the society as occasion may demand .

These desired skills and values are informed by the world view, philosophy and the aspirations of the particular society concerned. The world view and philosophy are translated into the societal or national education philosophy /policy and objectives which forms the school curriculum. From the above definitions we can infer that education is a veritable tool used by any society be it informal or formal to transfer the desired skills and values to the citizens in order to actualize the aims, goals and objectives which the society considers necessary for its progress and survival.

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### **Emile Durkheim Functionalist Theory (1893)**

Functionalism has its origin from Emile Durkheim, however other renowned functionalist theorist includes Herbert Spencer, Talcot Person and Robert Merton. Structural Functionalism is a Theoretical framework or rather a paradigm that views the society as a complex whole with different parts functioning

together to promote stability and solidarity. From the biological analogy view the structural functionalist looks at the society as an organism with different parts performing different functions for the survival of the entity. For example, the Education institution as a part of the whole performs the role of socialization, placement and learning function in the society. The structural functionalist in order to highlight the function of education in the society posed two related questions:

- (i) What are the functions of education for society as a whole?
- (ii) What are the functional relationships between education and other parts of the social system?

The first question is concerned with an assessment and contribution made by education to the maintenance of value consensus and social solidarity.

While the second question is concerned with the examination of the relationship between education and the political and the economic systems and a consideration of how this relationship helps to integrate society as a whole. The implication of this theory to this paper is to discuss the positive contributions education makes to the maintenance of the social system using the functionalist analytical method and view of education. The theory is examined with respect to education and social solidarity and education and social rules

Education and social solidarity: Durkheim in Haralambus and Holborn (2008) maintains that the major function of education is the transmission of society's norm and values. He posits that: society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity. Durkheim further maintains that education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities which collective life demands (Durkheim, 1956). He further maintained that without these 'essential similarities, cooperation, social solidarity, and therefore social life itself would be impossible.(Haralambus, 2008). Education provides the link between the individual and society. Thus education makes one develop a sense of commitment to the social group.

Education and social rules: Discussing education and social rules, Durkheim further argues that in complex industrial societies, the school serves a function which cannot be provided either by the family or by the peer group. Membership of the family he maintains is based on kinship relationships, while that of peer group on personal choice. Membership of the society as a whole is based on neither of these principles. Individuals must learn to cooperate with those who are neither their kin nor their friends. The school provides a context where these skills can be learned. As such, the school is society in miniature, a micro unit in the macro system and a model of the social system. In school, the child must interact with other members of the school community in terms of a fixed set of rules. This experience prepares the child for interacting with members of society as a whole in terms of society's rules. Functionalists posits that it is by respecting the school rules ,the child learns to respect rules in general. It is a first initiation into the austerity of duty.

Talcott Person (1961) in furtherance of the above argument of Durkheim posits that the school takes over as the focal socialization agency, after the primary socialization within the family. In this regard, the School acts as a bridge between the family and society as a whole preparing children for their adult role.

The above argument is plausible in relation to this paper: Education for national integration in Nigeria. Given the pluralistic nature of the Nigerian society; a society which is a conglomerate of different ethnic nationality with different culture and world view amalgamated to become one nation-state which is the Nigerian nation. Despite the political unity and the geographic expression, primordial and ethnic cleavages prevail in the Nigerian polity which invariably posses serious challenge to National unity and integration.

Given the need for national unity and integration, education becomes a veritable tool to instill the desired norms, values, ethos rules, requisite skills and attitudes that will enable citizens accommodate and tolerate one another despite their ethnic group thereby fostering national unity and integration in Nigeria.

# NIGERIAN SOCIAL FORMATION.

Nigeria is a country in the West African sub- region and is approximately located between latitude 4degree North and 14degree North and longitude 13 degree East and 15 degree East

It is at the extreme inner corner of the Gulf of Guinea with a total land mass of 23,800 sq km (373, 00 square miles) which is equivalent to 14 percent of the land area of West Africa. Extending from the gulf of Guinea on the South to the Sahara Desert on the North. Nigeria is bounded on the West and North by Dahomey (Benin) and Niger territories of French West Africa and on the East by Lake Chad and the Cameroun.

The most prominent physical feature of Nigeria is the Niger River from which the country derives its name. It rises in the mountains North East of Sierra Leone, traverses the whole of the French Sudan, enters Nigeria in the North West and joins the Benue River at Lokoja, near the centre of Nigeria and then flows south into the Gulf of Guinea.

Nigeria is the creation of the British colonial government, under Sir Fredric Lugard, in 1914. Before the amalgamation of the 1914 there existed the colony of Lagos, the protectorate of southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In 1906, the colony of Lagos and the protectorate of southern Nigeria were merged to become the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria.)

# Ethnic Groups In Nigeria

According to Coleman (1986) for descriptive purposes ethnic distinctions have been drawn on the basis of language aided to some extent by evidences of similarity in customs or other criteria. From Ethnographic and Anthropological report Nigeria is claimed to be peopled by about 250 tribes and more than 150 dialects, with three officially recognized major ethnic groups. These are the Hausa-Fulani in the North, the Yoruba in the South-West and the Ibo's in the South-Eastern zones. But as Udoh (2010) notes, the figure of 250 tribes must have been picked from a hat by a clever British anthropologist. Udoh (2010) further maintains that the current political map of Nigeria shows only 15 tribes in the country, 10 major languages, and about 110 dialects.

# The Northern People

Before the British colonial occupation of the country, the present Northern Nigeria, with the exception of Bornu and the remotest areas of the Jos Plateau was broadly speaking, conterminous with the Fulani Empire. According to Coleman, (1986) the northern region includes more than 75 percent of the total land area of Nigeria and claims nearly 60 percent of its people, including 5 of the 10 largest linguistic groups. (Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Tiv and Nupe). The people of the area can politically be put in three main groups:

(1) In the North East are the Kanuri speaking peoples of Bornu and Lake Chad area.

(2) In the North West are the Fulani and Hausa speaking peoples who are organized into a number of semi-independent emirates, governed by a Fulani aristocracy, which recognized the religious leadership of the Sultan of Sokoto (Sarkin Musulmi)

(3) In the middle belt of the Jos Plateau and interspersed elsewhere throughout the lower half of the northern region, are the Tiv, the Birom, the Gwaris, and other small linguistic groups of the cow-Fulani.

It is pertinent to note that the political cohesion tenable in this region as at the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was informed by the activities of a religious-political leader, - Uthman Dan-fodio, a Jihadist of 1804; that galvanized the people of this area into a stable political and administrative region.

# The Yoruba Ethnic Group

The Yoruba people might rightly claim to be the largest cultural aggregation in West Africa with a history of political unity and a common historical tradition. There are two myths about the origin of the Yoruba people. One has it that the Yoruba tribe migrated from Mecca and Upper Egypt to Ile Ife in the second millennium BC. The second tradition traces their origin to Oduduwa who was believed to have descended from heaven through a chain to settle at Ile-Ife when the earth was still covered with water.

According to Onwubiko (1985) at Ile-Ife Oduduwa begat children of whom the most senior son was Akambi who equally had seven sons through which the Yoruba people multiplied including the king of the Benin people, the Edos. Except for the Ijebu Sub tribe, the Yoruba tribe during the eighteenth century were united into one kingdom ruled from Oyo- under the old Oyo Empire (Colman 1986). By 1780 however, they split into four states (Oyo, Egba, Ketu and Jebu) and by 1850, given the Fulani conquest of Ilorin, four new states emerged (Ibadan, Ilesha, Ife and Ekiti Parapo). By the turn of the century, when British authority was asserted in Yoruba land additional fragmentation had occurred occasioned by slavery, Fratricidal Wars, chieftaincy tussle and land disputes. Despite the above wrangling, a comparatively strong Yoruba consciousness has persisted. This was made possible by the following factors: The belief in a common origin, wide spread inter marriage within the tribe and the possession of Pan-Yoruba Orisha's (tribal deities) and the effect of the Oyo Kingdom still epitomized in the person of Alafin of Oyo.

# The People of the Eastern Region

The Ibo ethnic nationality is the second largest group in Nigeria divided into thirty sub-tribes, 69 Clans and some 500 family autonomous villages or village groups. (Coleman 1986). The highest political unit in Ibo land has normally been the village group with a democratically decentralized political structure. This was informed by the individualistic temperament of the Ibos and the emphasis upon individual achievement. However, the basic social group among the Ibo has been a single family or kindred composed of several families. There is a tradition of hereditary kingship although much class of the Ibo people are not necessarily localized. Some sub-tribe of the Ibo people includes the Ngwa, the Aros, the Abiriba while the northernmost part of the area is occupied by the Wawa of the Enugu and the Onitsha axis.

Apart from these three major ethnic groups there are many other ethnic groups tribes and semiautonomous cultural groups in the southern most part and northern part of Nigeria also inter-wined with some of the major ethnic groups yet with unique and distinct cultural traits and characteristics. Other ethnic groups

In the North Central we have the Nupe, the Idoma, the Mumuyi, the Tiv, the Igbira, the Kanuri, the Banta, Shuwa ,the Birom, Jukun, Baruba, the Gwari, the Kemberi etcetera. In the South we have the Edo, the Essan, Urhobo, Itshekiri, Isoko, Izon, Ikwerre, Ogoni, Ibibio the Efik, Annang, Ekoi Yakur and many others.

These ethnic groups existed independently before colonialism and the eventual amalgamation of the 1914 by Lord Lugard. What we have today as the Nigerian nation is the artificial nation created by the British colonial imperialist. The need to unit and integrate these multi ethnic- nationals into one indivisible entity is a major challenge to the Nigerian nation-State which education is believed to be a veritable factor to accomplish this ideal.

## Nigeria under Colonial Rule

It will be noteworthy to recall that before the coming of the British to politically govern Nigeria, the squabbling ethnic nationals, empires, kingdoms and subgroups had existed separately and independently with their characteristic political and administrative institutions given their historical specificities. It was indeed a heterogeneous society. As stated earlier, there was the feudalistic Fulani emirate in the North made possible by the 1804 Uthman-dan Fodio Jihad. In the South west and South East were the Yorubas and the Ibos respectively. The south-east was the most democratic of the ethnic groups, because political leadership sprang from the people from the grass root. According to Ademoyega. (1981), the area was more of a Republican set up than of a kingdom or empire as tenable in other parts of the country.

The above Situation was the nature of the Nigerian ethnic groups before the formal take-over the place by the British. According to Adigwe (1981), the formal take-over of the Nigerian territory took place in 1861 when the British annexed Lagos after the king of Lagos, king Akitoye was forced to sign a treaty with the British government representatives for the abolition of slave trade, the encouragement of legitimate trade and the protection of missionaries. Prior to this time, there existed British administrative units known as protectorates. There was the oil river Niger coast/Delta protectorate covering the Niger Delta and some part of the South-eastern Nigeria. There was the colony of Lagos and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria under the control of the Royal Niger company, till 1900 when sir Frederick Lugard was appointed the high commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Thus by 1900, there were three distinct entities in the area known as Nigeria today. These were the colony and protectorate of Lagos, the protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Adigwe (1981) posits that each of these protectorates was independently administered by an administrator who was directly responsible to the United Kingdom.

### The Amalgamation

For administrative convenience the three distinct protectorates were merged to become one. The first step was the merging of the protectorate of Lagos with the protectorate of southern Nigeria in 1906 to be known as the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria under one British administrator. By January, 1914, Lord Lugard amalgamated the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria with the protectorate of Sorthern Nigeria to what was henceforth called the colony and protectorate of Nigeria. Lord Lugard himself became the first governor of the protectorate. This briefly was how the Nigerian Nation was born.

### From Colonial Rule to Independence

It is pertinent to note that the main objective of the British colonization was economic. Barkindo, (1994) observed that the British Nationals came to Africa to trade. They came to exploit to the maximum African resources and markets at the minimum cost. In fashioning out a colonial administrative pattern Britain tried as much as possible to avoid spending money made through trade in Africa on the administration of African colonies.

Consequently, there were very few, British citizens permanently resident at Nigeria and in other British colonies in Africa apart from the settlers colonies. This invariably affected the pattern of British administration and development of her African colonies and Nigeria in particular. Besides, it also affected the economy, infrastructural development, social and health services provided and the educational provisions and spending in Nigeria .The indirect rule which was very cheap for the British government was adopted in Nigeria, having been tried and successfully implemented in Buganda Uganda (Barkindo 1994). The indirect rule system of government was a system of administration whereby the British administered her African colonies through the traditional rulers.

This system of government was successful in the Northern Nigeria due to the already existing feudal Fulani-Oligarchic emirate system, it succeeded partially in the Western Nigeria due to the Yoruba democratic set up of the Oba and his chiefs, but failed woefully in the east due to the imposition of the warrant chiefs on the people, which was not familiar to the eastern people prior to this time. Ademoyega (1981), argues that the amalgamation of the three protectorates by the British nevertheless maintained a tripartite arrangement of governance in Nigeria because it was more to their purpose of keeping Nigeria perpetually within their sphere of influence. This was the policy of divide and rule. There was no deliberate effort by the British government to unite and integrate the country as one. This was manifested in her dual mandate policy. Educationally, western

education mainly in the hands of the missionary was seen as a threat to the northern Islamic faith through conversion of the Muslims. The Islamized Northerners preferred the Koranic school based on the teachings of Prophet Mohammed. This led to a sharp divide educationally between the Northern and southern Nigeria. The consequence of this situation has been the disparity in educational development between the Northern and Southern Nigeria till today. According to Ake (1979) an economy is said to be disarticulated when it lacks coherence, that is when there is no complementary reciprocity between the regions and no exchange between them. Since the aim of the colonial economy was exploitation, there was no need too for an educational system that was to foster and encourage an articulated economy for national development, national unity and integration. Emphasis was laid on cash crop production.

Commenting on the underdevelopment of the Nigerian economy, Falona and Ihonvbere, (1985 :183-4), maintains:

'Over five decades of British colonial rule exploitation left Nigeria in 1960 a spatially distorted underdeveloped and peripheral capitalist country in the International division of labour. It is difficult to identify a sector of the economy which experienced positive development as a result of deliberate colonial policy.''

Though the British government after the Phelps-Stokes report made some effort to adapting colonial education to African situations; that effort, according to Fafunwa (2004), was somewhat superficial and insincere. The above situation was the Nigeria condition during the colonial rule; it also made the Nigerian unity a mere geographical expression. (Awolowo 1997) These and other socio-Historical variables stimulated the demand for self-government by the Nigerian nationalists and eventual granting of Independence by the British government to Nigeria in 1960.

To be able to sustain the Nigerian unity and truly integrated after independence, education was seen as the vehicle through which this ideal could be accomplished. This was the principle that informed the various educational policies in Nigeria from 1970- till date which is the discuss of this paper.

#### The Concept of National Integration.

National Integration is the incorporation of two or more culturally different people or ethnic groups within a geographical area into a single system of sovereign authority which gradually consolidates into a state or nation-state with defined international boundaries. It can also be seen as the extent to which a society or a people are able to create unity and solidarity among its members and to bring about a sense of national identity over and above that generated by the family, tribe, village or region. Ahluwalia and Bais (2010) maintain that national integration is a psychological and educational process involving the development of a feeling of unity, solidarity and cohesion in the hearts of the people, a sense of common citizenship and feeling of lovalty to a nation. In this sense an individual realizes that he is basically a citizen of a country with the feeling of oneness and common belonging irrespective of tribe, culture, language or religion manifest in a change of attitudes that depicts this felling. Similarly, Deutsch in Ayoob (1998) sees integration and national unity as an aspect of nation-building that has to do with the Amalgamation of divers groups of persons into a single unit of political entity and produce in the citizens a perception or conviction that they now belong together. One major reason for national integration is the building of a strong and united indivisible nation though divers culturally, but united in purpose for a common goal ,values, and ideals of oneness which is accomplished through government deliberate policies, plans and programmes.

### Education for National Integration In Nigeria

In the traditional African society, particularly in Nigeria before the introduction of missionary education the indigenous education as was practiced by the various ethnic communities, Chiefdoms, Empires, Kingdoms and statedom that existed then, were determined by the environment and the needs of the people. Writing on education at this period Fafunwa (1982), maintained that traditional education in traditional African societies emphasized the transmission and inculcation of relevant skills for social responsibility. Job orientation, political participation and moral values were highly emphasized too.

Traditional education was aimed at achieving a homogenizing effect on the life of the people.

However, in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century; for reasons that were partly humanitarian and partly religious and economic; western form of education penetrated the shores of Nigeria through colonialism; such education was used for conversion of Africans into Christianity. Education was limited to those subjects that were relevant to the needs of the three groups – the mission, the colonial government and the traders that represented western civilization in Nigeria. The purpose of education at this period was mainly to produce such personalities as clerks, artisans, lay preachers, and interpreters to support the colonial government and for the expansion of their frontiers in the colonial territory (Fafunwa, 1982).

Emphasis was laid on evangelization and conversion which limited educational practice to reading, writing, arithmetic and of course religious study. In the light of this Kosemani & Orubite, (2010), Fafunwa

(1984) maintains that the primary objective of the early Christian missionary was to convert the 'heathens' Africans to Christianity via education which led to unhealthy rivalry among the missionaries

Udoh (2010) also affirms that knowledge of the Bible, the ability to sing hymns and recite catechism as well as the ability to communicate both orally and writing were considered essential for a good Christian education.

Since education in the hands of the missionaries was aimed at evangelization, the Northern Province which had been Islamized centuries earlier did not welcome the missionary education. This was one of the factors that led to inter Regional educational disparity in Nigeria which this paper considers as one of the major critical problem militating against national unity and integration.

After the British government for administrative convenience amalgamated the squabbling African ethnic communities into a single nation now called Nigeria in 1914, the need to redefine education and its purpose to suit the needs of the new capitalist economy in this new socio-political entity became imperative.

Given the fact that education played a very important role in the development of modern civilization in Europe, it was also expected to champion the course of integration and national unity in Nigeria. No doubt Wilds and Loltich (1961) observed that if western form of education is moved to a new territory, it can also aid developing countries to attain genuine world civilization as in the western developed countries.

Given the above argument therefore, it was expected that the British colonial government in Nigeria would have controlled and modeled education policy with a view to integrating and uniting the squabbling African communities so amalgamated in 1914 to a desired single indivisible nation-state. It was in respect of this that Durkheim (1956), Mannheim in Moorish (1975) maintained that education basically performs a social and political function, the role of the state was largely one of outlining certain basic principles in education and ensuring that these were communicated to the children in the schools.

Given the fact that the Nigeria Nation-state is a socio-culturally, poly-ethnic, multi-lingual divers developing nation. This forced 'marriage' or unity of various pre-colonial empires, kingdoms chiefdoms, ethnic groups or centralized states without the formal consent of the people involved in the 'marriage'; (unity ) has created a lot o problem than it intended to solve in the unity .Right from inception the problem of transferring primordial loyalty or ethnic/sectional loyalty to that of the nation- state has been a major challenge to the amalgamated Nigerian nation. Besides, the fear of domination of the minority group by the majority ethnic group in the union has also been another problem . Other issues like nepotism, ethno-religious fanaticism, intra and inter- regional education disparity, lack of political tolerance and other socio-political problems have been the challenges to the amalgamated Nigeria. All these were manifest in various pockets of riots and crises before and after the granting of Independence in the 1960 by the British Colonial government. There was the Kano riot of 1953, the Tivs crisis, the Western region political crisis, the 1964 election crisis and many others. At last there was the military coup in January 1966 and the counter Coup in July that same year. Given the nature of the casualties in these two coup the safety of Ibos from the then Eastern Region was threatened outside their door- main especially in the then Northern Region. The mass killings of the Ibo ethnic groups in the then Northern Region of Nigeria led to a mass exodus of the Ibos back to the Eastern Region of Nigeria. This lead to a secessionist threat and eventual declaration of the Republic of Biafra by the late Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu after several failed reconciliatory meetings at Aburi Ghana. Consequently, the crisis finally snowballed into a thirty months bloody civil war with the Federal troop headed by the Retired General Yakubu Gowon. Nigeria narrowly escaped disintegration as a result of the civil war as there was 'no victor no vanquished' according to General Yakubu Gowon. After the war, The need to reconstruct Nigeria, reconcile and re-integrate all the aggrieved parties for the avoidance of another civil war became imperative. To successfully unit and integrate the war-torn Nigerian into an indivisible, strong and reliable nation, education was seen a major tool to achieve this ideal. This led to the introduction of some educational reforms and policies aimed at encouraging national unity and integration in Nigeria. At the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970, the then military government of Nigeria came up with national education policy to address the anomalies in the Nigerian polity that led to the civil war, after Nigeria became a political nation among the British Common-Wealth of nations in 1960. Taiwo (1986) maintains that it was this same year that Nigerians were for the first time saddled with the responsibility to stair the ship of the country called Nigeria after getting her independence in 1960. It was also from this time that national goals, objectives, and development plans were formulated for the purpose of building the Nigerian nation and for Nigerians.

It was from that year that educational policies that was aimed at uniting and integrating the different ethnic groups that make up the Nigerian Nation –State was centrally formulated. Prior to independence in 1960, the Richard constitution of 1946 created three different Regions that legislated for themselves based on the ideals, needs and the financial strength of each Region. The Macpherson constitution of 1951, granted the Regional government greater autonomy mostly in the area of revenue and resource control. According to Adigwe (1981) the extent of the powers of the Centre and the Regions with respect to revenue was defined by the Revenue Order in Council of 1951. This instrument provided that public revenue derived from matters stated

in the Fourth Schedules of the constitution or in the schedules to the instrument itself, should belong to the Regions.

The Revenue Order in Council also provided that the Centre could not interfere with specific revenues allocated to the Regions. These provisions of the 1951 constitution was another contributory factor to educational disparity in Nigeria and gave some regions educational edge over other regions given their financial strength as compared with other less financially buoyant Regions.

The Regional governments in the hands of the three major political parties in Nigeria; the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) in the North, Action Group (AG) in the West and The National council For Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in the East ,headed by sir Ahmadu Bello , Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe respectively, all tried to use education as a political score point. The regional governments made deliberate effort to address the crunching educational needs of the people as much as possible.

To be able to effectively meet the educational need of the people, different regional commissions/committees were set up to prepare the ways forward for their regions. There was also the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program in the Western and Eastern regions in the 50s aimed at free mass literacy

However, since these commissions and their recommendations served the various regions concerned, it could not be said to be a national programme as to discuss their general effect on the Nation at large. Besides the Eliot commission on Higher Education of (1943), it was not until April 1959, few month to the granting of independence by the British government to Nigeria that the Ashby commission was set up to conduct an investigation into Nigerian needs in the field of post secondary schools and Higher education to cover the period - 1960-1980 (20 years).

Fafunwa (1974) maintained that this was the first time in the history of education of Nigeria that Nigerians themselves as represented by the minister of education were saddled with the responsibility of deciding for the nation on higher educational structures and in terms of the needs of the country. There was also the Professor Harbison's High level manpower study for Nigeria's future, which was also set up about the same period with the Ashby's commission. However, despite the above mentioned efforts the Nigerian body polity had been heated up by partisan politics, ethnic chauvinism, political hooliganism, winner- takes -all politics, Regional crisis and mayhem in the Regions.

A dog eat dog situation was the order of the day leading to the first military coup in the Nigerian politics on the  $15^{\text{th}}$  of January 1960 to salvage the situation. Unfortunately, the poor execution of the coup, and the lopsidedness of the casualties in the coup casted a lot of doubts on the sincerity of the coup plotters. This led to a counter coup on the  $29^{\text{th}}$  of July that same year that eventually snowballed to a civil war that challenged the unity and oneness of Nigeria.

After the civil war, to keep Nigeria one, united and integrated became a tasked that must be accomplished by the military leaders. This was the philosophy and the spirit that informed the prosecution of the Nigerian civil war by the Military Juntas in Nigeria. However, after the civil war in 1970 the need to reconstruct, rehabilitate and reintegrate Nigeria to an indivisible entity became a challenge and imperative. Education was seen as the main vehicle through which the 'new Nigerian vision' must be accomplished. Education policy was to reflect and respond to this new national philosophy of integration and national unity.

A paradigm shift in Nigerian educational system became imperative. This informed the constituting of the first indigenous education summit the national curriculum conference of 1969. It is worthy to note that the attendance and deliberations of this conference were seriously affected by the Nigerians civil war of 1968-1970. Abernethy (1969) reported that one of the major contributory factor that led to the Nigerian Civil war was the apprehensions occasioned by the educational disparity between the northern and Southern Nigeria, besides other socio- ethno political variables. After the civil war the need for national unity, integration, reconciliation and reconstruction was imperative.

The military regime saw education as the major vehicle through which these ideals were to be achieved (Kosemani, 2005). This gave rise to various educational policies and programs in Nigeria by the military regimes to reconstruct the new Nigeria in the post war period. This informed the introduction of various educational policies by the military regimes to encourage national unity and integration. The Nigeria Military government launched the Free Universal primary Education (UPE) Scheme in 1976, to address the problem of educational disparity.

The 6-3-3-4 system of education was also introduced in 1982 to address the very bookish nature of the inherited missionary colonial education. Other precautionary education policies introduced by the Nigerian military government to encourage national integration include , the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme of 1973, the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) and Quota system in university admissions and in employment to the civil service respectively, the introduction of social studies and general studies in secondary school and tertiary programmes respectively , the establishment of Federal Government

Colleges in all the then twelve States of the Federation otherwise referred to as unity schools and the policy of federal Character in all national issues and appointment to Government offices.

All these policies were aimed at addressing educational need of the country to meet the aspirations of the Nigerian nation to control educational disparity in the country, build a united and integrated "New Nigeria" nation and to avoid any miss-givens amongst the different ethnic groups that might snowball to another civil war as was the case in the 1960s. These policies were also aimed at reducing and avoiding the dominance of any ethnic group or region in the Nigerian polity. Despite all the educational policies and programs targeted at keeping Nigeria a united indivisible nation, Nigeria is still faced with many daunting challenges in this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Ethnic politics, Ethnic militancy, regional insurgency, religious sectarianism, terrorism, Fulani herdsmen verses host communities , the issue of grazing right , indigene non indigene dichotomy , lopsided appointment into Federal institutions , political intolerance, secessionist threat, hate speeches by national leaders that encourage ethnic sentiment , the demand for fiscal federalism etcetera are still manifest in the polity of Nigeria. Despite all the chanting of one indivisible nation , it is very disheartening that no matter how long a Nigerian resides in a particular state or region other than that of his parents he is still treated as a stranger. All these have posed a strong challenge to the National unity and integration in Nigeria.

Is Nigeria actually uniting and integrating as desired? Are the policies put up to encourage national unity and integration actually accomplishing that purpose? What are the challenges to national unity and integration through the educational policies and its implementation in Nigeria? What are the gaps between education policy and national unity. The above questions need urgent answers to address the demand on national integration in Nigeria through education

# **II. CONCLUSION**

This paper is concerned with the historical analysis of education for national unity and integration in Nigeria. The paper review showed that Nigeria as a nation is made up of many ethnic nationals with different languages cultural and religious practices. Having been amalgamated in 1914 by the British colonial government as one political nation – state, the need to galvanize, unite and integrate these multi –ethnic nationals into one indivisible entity has been a major challenge to the Nigerian nation since she gained her political independence from the British imperialist in the 1960.

Having experienced a thirty months civil war that almost led to the disintegration of Nigeria as nation, researchers are of the opinion that some of the factors that led to the civil war were educational disparity, leadership problem, lack of inter-ethnic tolerance, primordialism, lack of unity and sincerity of purpose and other religio-cultural factors and practices that are not accommodating to national unity and integration. Scholars also maintain that many other countries in Europe, Asia, Israel, India and Latin American have used education to respond to major national problems similar to that of Nigeria with positive results, with this in mind the Nigerian government also decided to use education as a veritable tool to address her daunting challenge of national unity and integration.

This was what informed the various educational policies and reforms in Nigeria after the civil war (1967-1970). In the review we discovered that major policies like the nation-wide Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme, the 6-3-3-4 system of education, the Unity school, the introduction of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme, Quota system of admission, Federal character to all national issues etcetera were all geared towards addressing the challenge of unity and integration in the nation-state Nigeria with diverse ethnic nations.

However, it is very unfortunate to note that all the effort at national integration in Nigeria through the educational system, seems to be more of a wild goose chase, a lip service than of a reality. This is because to a polity is said to be integrated to the extent that it is able to transcend domestic conflict, limits conflict to a certain level of intensity while providing political channels for its expression, and has cleavages that cut across rather than reinforce each other (Abernethy 1969). Despite the enormous investments in education in Nigeria the results are problematic and even counter- productive due to lack of consensus. Nigeria seems to be more divided now than ever with more ethnic conflict nepotism, weak institutions and poor governance unable to protect life and property leading to violence and crises unabated. There seems to be no sincerity of purpose with the leadership of Nigeria at integrating the people. Until something serious is done at tackling all these anomalies, integration remains elusive in Nigeria or the memorization of the early nineties soviet union or the Sudan as an option.

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