AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF EDWARD BLYDEN, HENRY CARR AND JULIUS NYERERE TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

by

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PROMOTER: DR T G SMITH

JUNE 1997
DECLARATION

"I declare that AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF EDWARD BLYDEN, HENRY CARR AND JULIUS NYERERE TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA, is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references".

KHAZAMULA ZOPHONIA NKUNA
JUNE 1997
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SUMMARY

This thesis presents an educational and historical analysis of the contribution of Edward Wilmot Blyden, Henry Rawlinson Carr and Julius Kambarage Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa.

These African educational thinkers made a profound intellectual and educational innovation which relates to Western education which was imposed by Western countries on Africa since the past centuries. The inadequacies of such inherited education were taken as the point of departure in their educational innovation.

In analyzing their contribution to educational innovation in Africa, it has been essential to look into the inseparable relationship which exists between the African culture and American culture; and between African and American worldviews and educational innovation. This served to throw light on the reasons why educational innovation in Africa is unable to proceed as it ought to. It was however, necessary to identify and refer to factors which inhibited the development of intellectual and educational innovation in Africa.

The major educational matters which Blyden, Carr and Nyerere innovated were carefully selected and presented and meaningfully compared as intellectual and educational innovation in Africa as a unity. Therefore it has been possible in this thesis to refer to the following matters: Aim of education, curriculum, primary education, secondary education, women’s education, secular education, school management, higher education, supplementary education and improvement of educational standards.

Although their innovations were originally made in West and East Africa, it was, however, necessary to show that they were not only limited to the said areas but have direct relevance to the rest of Africa as this continent has adopted Western education in its schools.

It is however, necessary to point out that an analysis of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere’s contributions to educational innovation would not be complete if it excluded the current 1997, envisaged educational innovation in the RSA. By explaining the link existing between
West African, East African and South African educational innovation, the unity in educational innovation referred to earlier becomes clearly articulated. This indicates the benefit derived from Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's educational innovation.

Finally, to conclude this thesis, recommendations regarding the future educational innovation in Africa were given.
CHAPTER 1

1. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is entitled “An analysis of the contribution of Edward Blyden, Henry Carr and Julius Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa”.

As far as educational innovation is concerned it includes, among others, changing educational structures substantially, creating new systems of education as well as improving the existing education structures (Thompson 1981:204). Therefore, the contributions made by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere have been largely, among others, towards the attainment of these matters.

However, their contributions were not incidental or theoretical for they were involved in the educational practice at the time they made them. Thus observation before innovation had been the most significant step towards their practical educational innovation.

It needs to be pointed out that their contributions towards educational innovation were concerned with the then demands made on education that the education provided should in all respects match the characteristics and needs of the people concerned, in this case the Africans (Ibid 1981:203). This ought to take place despite the fact that education in Africa was inherited from the Western countries, that is, Britain, America, etc.

And having realized that education in Africa did not suit the African's needs and characteristics, the colonizers set up commissions with a view to adapting and recommending rather than innovating the African education. The Phelps-Stokes commission was one of such commissions (Musgrove 1953:117).

It must, however, be noted that before and after such commission education in Africa did not meet the African needs for it turned out 'Imitation-Europeans'. Educationist also sought to
make school curricular fundamentally African (Ibid. 1953:117). In other words attempts were made by educationist to innovate education.

Thus, from the contribution of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere it will be observed that, rather than focusing on curricula innovation only, their innovations were concerned with a radical change from colonial to Africa-based education. Hence their innovations effected change of educational aims, methods, structures, institutions and standards of education besides curricula (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2; Chapter 4, par. 4.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2).

1.2 SITUATING THE PROBLEM

Having already stated the problem in the introduction, the researcher can now situate it. In doing so he has found it necessary to look into the question why educational innovation in Africa? Certainly, to arrive at the answers to this question requires him to present background factors to the educational innovation problem as dealt with in this research.

When looking at the development of education in Africa it can be noted that two major phases can be identified, namely, the colonial era and post-independence era. It is, however, necessary to state that the pre-colonial era is not referred to because of the fact that it covers much of the indigenous African education which is outside the scope of this research.

Now, going back to the colonial era it can be maintained that education in Africa was imposed by the Westerners or Colonialists and hence named Western or colonial education. Facts about this education reveal that the so imposed education could not in any way develop or preserve key African cultures. The languages of instruction as well as the religion introduced belonged to the European colonizers (Marah 1987:464).

Accompanying the imposition of education on Africans was the inculcation of negative attitudes towards the Africans' own culture and heroes while promoting respect for the European culture and its heroes. Put differently, Africans were made to hate their culture, themselves as well as their heroes. On top of this the literary education provided by the European had its curriculum transplanted into Africa. The same was done to the forms of the government and the legal systems. Because of this, several aspects regarding the African's
psychology and social state of life could not be given due consideration. The purpose of doing this had been to subjugate the Africans for it was concluded their culture was inferior. Consequently education could no longer serve the function of transmitting culture from one generation to the next (Marah 1987:465).

It could also be revealed that during the colonial era the Africans' traditional ways, values, worldview, etc. were greatly, deeply, consistently and insistently criticized and condemned and their cultures were blamed, deformed, dismissed as well as devalued as primitive and heathenistic. In addition to this the colonial education systems were not only purely Western in all respects but also failed to acknowledge the content and methods of traditional African education. Such systems further served to inculcate the colonizers' culture in the Africans. As indicated earlier, rather than attempting to socialize the Africans properly into the African society the opposite was done. The Africans were as a result changed and de-Africanized and their identities altered (Wright 1994:181).

As said before, the African culture could not be considered and hence it had no place in school and language. The school culture was therefore far from being related to the lives of the community. To put it differently, the language, content, context and pedagogy reflected the western, colonial model with much of the study material referring to issues external to the learner's environments. Therefore, western, colonial education was not relevant to the learner's lives chiefly for the fact that it was no more African and worse of all designed to impart Western instead of African knowledge. Above all, it alienated the Africans from their own traditional societies making them unfit to live in such societies (Ibid 1994:184).

In the early 18th century, most of the African schools were modelled after the 'charity schools' found in Britain and these schools had a religious objective meant to civilize the Africans. But the schools had no pedagogical or vocational objectives. Through such schools education provided in Africa was equated to that reserved for the working class in Britain, or correctly the poor class in Britain (Ruddel 1982:297; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2).

The imported curriculum referred to above was narrow and designed to turn out secretaries and clerks who cannot serve in the colonial enterprise. Such curriculum cannot be suited to the needs of the developing Africa. And a need to design appropriate curricula for rural
development to cater for the vocational and technical training always existed (Watson & Osibodu 1984:33; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.1).

The inappropriateness of the said curriculum can be indicated by the fact that in the mid 19th century, the primary and secondary schools adopted the same curriculum. Such curriculum lacked vocational guidance and it was intellectualistic and spiritualistic to serve the government service, politics, business establishment as well as turn out spiritual servants. A few and narrow subjects could therefore be offered. The absence of vocational guidance was not by coincidence but largely owing to the fact that the British themselves by then knew nothing in this field in their own schools back home. They could hence not provide this guidance (Ipaye 1989:67). This largely demonstrates the weakness of the imposed curriculum and why vocational training during the colonial era could not be properly carried out.

Colonial methods of teaching were not without criticism for from the high school to university level they were the same, that is, with emphasis on rigid adherence to the syllabus and accumulation of facts with little or no room for individual enquiry or research (Burchell 1988:50). This in itself suggested the inappropriate use of teaching methods.

During the same era education in Africa, including higher education, had been too academic and classical. Higher education, for example, at Fort Hare University was based on Scottish tradition and beliefs which required the curriculum to lay emphasis on the so called mental discipline theory, academic subjects and examinations. And most characteristic of the university education was the lack of reform and innovation (Ibid. 1988:49).

The post-independence era had not been much different from the colonial one for it resumed some of the educational systems and activities as adopted in the colonial era. Therefore it was not uncommon to find schools which were still religious in purpose, following the curricula which were too literary and academic, and old methods of teaching belonging to colonial era. This had been due to the lack of educational innovation.

By viewing the two periods together, the need for educational innovation becomes clearly articulated. It can thus be held that it was for these and other reasons that Blyden and Carr during the colonial era felt the need to innovate African education. Of course, education had
to be made own to Africa as opposed to being imposed, it had to serve the needs of the African rather than those of the foreign countries. Most significantly it must transmit in this case, African values. And to link up with Blyden and Carr's innovation Nyerere in the post-independence era avoided the continuance of colonial education by resuming educational innovation which was against the said education.

According to the two eras discussed above, educational innovation ought to focus on these matters, the purpose (aim) of education curricula, nature, type and level of education, institutions and standards of education as already said before.

1.3 THE AIM AND ACTUALITY OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is to look into what Blyden, Carr and Nyerere contributed towards educational innovation in Africa. Although Blyden and Carr were from West Africa and Nyerere from East Africa, their contributions relate much to the rest of Africa for as it will become clear later on their intention was to establish relevant, acceptable and useful education for the Africans.

It is further aimed in this research at bringing to light the fact that inherited education can hardly recognize the needs of the people it is purported to serve. And that such education can have its weak points addressed through innovation. For instance, through innovation aspects of African culture, values and customs can receive attention in education.

As part of its aim this research will illustrate the fact that education in Africa, though it is for a static culture it has to be innovated. In other words, Western education for Africans could not remain static as compared to indigenous African education. It will also be essential to indicate in this research that social, cultural and economic needs in Africa have been the driving force behind educational innovation in Africa.

And now turning to the actuality of the research it can be stated that this is the first research based on the contributions of the twentieth century educational thinkers, namely, Blyden, Carr and Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa.
Their contributions towards educational innovation in Africa were not only the earliest but the most significant in fighting against the influence of Western education on Africans. And to analyse their contributions properly, this research has to answer, among others, these questions:

- Why did Blyden, Carr and Nyerere deemed it necessary to innovate the Western education?

- Which aspects of Western education did they innovate and why?

- Are the educational innovations as made by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere still relevant to today's education in the RSA?

These questions lead to further questions the answers to which enabled the researcher to look more deeply into the said contributions. Here are such questions:

- What did the Western education neglect with regard to the Africans and why?

- What were the purpose and content of Western education and did these suit the Africans?

The significance of this research as it will be noticed later lies in its theoretical and practical application. Theoretically it provides very vital information about the past educational innovation, that is, why, when and how it took place as well as by whom it was initiated. For educational innovators it is important to provide the scope and depth of the past educational innovation from which to work on future innovation. Practically it contributes towards the improvement of the present and future educational innovation for it provides the basic information which should be taken into account to enrich the innovation. It further serves to remind the educational innovators that certain educational matters are an integral part of the innovation and should be given due consideration in the future educational innovation.
1.4 THE FIELD OF STUDY

Since educational innovation includes many aspects which can be researched over a wider scope, for the purpose of this research the field of study has been demarcated in such a manner that attention could be paid to the contributions made by Blyden (1832-1912), Carr (1863-1945) and Nyerere (1922-) towards educational innovation in Africa. Having delimited the field of study to the three pedagogical thinkers it also became imperative for the researcher to identify educational matters which should form part of their educational innovations.

The researcher has found it appropriate to include in the field of study these important educational matters: the aim of education, curriculum, liberal education, higher education in Africa, secular education, primary school education, secondary school education, supplementary education, improvement of educational standards, teaching methods, school management, school examinations and adult education.

Also of significance was to include in the field of study, the factors that hindered the development of the intellectual and educational innovation in Africa.

And since education and culture are also closely related it has been necessary to include the comparison of the African and American cultures in this research. It was also important to compare the worldviews of the two cultures.

1.5 APPROACHES AND METHODS

In order to arrive at the scientific analysis of the contribution of the three educational thinkers towards the intellectual innovation in Africa, the researcher deemed it essential to employ the following approaches and methods:

1.5.1 THE PROBLEM-HISTORICAL APPROACH

By means of the problem-historical approach the researcher has been able to ask questions related to the present and future intellectual and educational innovation in Africa. By so doing it has been possible to gather relevant and important facts on the said innovation. Examples
of such questions are: Which factors affects the intellectual and educational innovation in Africa? Which educational matters are central to the present innovation? What recommendations can be made for the future educational innovation? In which way is the intellectual and educational innovation influenced by the European and African worldviews? etc. It is important to indicate that prognosis carried out in the last chapter has been possible because of this approach for it permitted the researcher to regard the present innovation as the basis of the future one (Venter 1979:167-172; Venter & Verster 1986:36; Dewey 1942:251; Venter & Van Heerden 1989:107-108; Venter 1986:7-8).

1.5.2 THE PERSONAL APPROACH

Owing to the personal approach, the intellectual and educational innovation in Africa has been viewed in terms of the contributions of the great pedagogical thinkers, that is, Blyden, Carr and Nyerere. And they were, actually, the great minds who on the basis of the general life and worldview of their time could put new challenges and directives to the provision of education in Africa. As pedagogical thinkers they wrote for life and were continually responding to their educational environment with which they agreed but most often objected to it. Hence because of the personal approach the researcher had to understand and analyse their contributions towards educational innovation against the background of the era in which they rendered the educational services (Venter 1979:148-151; Mminele 1995:9-10).

1.5.3 THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

The researcher has employed the phenomenological approach in order to allow the contributions towards educational innovation as made by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere to "speak" for themselves, to reveal themselves as well as "show" themselves. To achieve this the researcher in his investigation has provisionally set aside his personal views, prejudices, philosophy of life, presuppositions and everything casual. Put differently the researcher permitted the contributions to address him freely before he could commit them to paper. This further implies that the researcher "went back to the contributions themselves".

This approach suggests that the researcher has been in dialogue with the contributions of the
three pedagogical thinkers which requires the researcher to make the negative and positive reduction, to form ideas as well understand the contributions intuitively.

In making the negative reduction, all the things that could conceal the contributions were temporarily suspended or avoided so that what was actually contributed could come to light. And through the positive reduction the researcher guarded against leaving out important facts. It can be mentioned that because essential facts were taken into consideration, it has been possible for the researcher to write comprehensively on the contributions of the three pedagogical thinkers.

After making the foregoing deductions the researcher also formed relevant ideas of their contributions to educational innovation. In other words the contributions were viewed from the different angles in order to arrive at the essence or ideas.

In his application of the phenomenological approach, the researcher has reasoned, used his experience, imagination and intuition to reach a true understanding of the contributions made by the three pedagogical thinkers. The researcher was not only engaged in these activities but also involved in interpreting and explaining their contributions towards educational innovation correctly (Venter & Van Heerden 1989:142-143; Gunter 1969:22; Gunter 1982:5-7).

1.5.4 THE CHRONOLOGICAL APPROACH

This approach has been employed by the researcher to put the names of the three pedagogical thinkers in the order in which they are given in the title of this thesis. Starting from the earliest period to the last period the said thinkers have been arranged chronologically as follows: Blyden (1832:1912), Carr (1863-1945) and Nyerere (1922-). Owing to the chronological approach educational innovation could be analysed in the correct chronological order thus suggesting it to have been a continuous process carried out in Africa between the 19th and 20th centuries. And owing to the chronological approach innovations of various educational matters could be viewed in the correct sequence so as to make the analysis meaningful.
1.5.5 THE METABLETIC APPROACH

Although this approach is closely related to the phenomenological approach, the researcher has employed it because of its emphasis on the principles of non-disturbance, the reality and changeability.

According to the principle of non-disturbance, educational innovation of the three pedagogical thinkers have been researched and described as fully as possible, that is, without removing elements which might cause them to change from what they originally were. And all the discussions were made in terms of what the documents revealed to the researcher.

With regard to the principle of reality the researcher has attempted to describe the educational innovations of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere as realistic as possible as they manifest themselves in the educational past.

Owing to the principle of changeability the researcher has been interested in the changes that occurred to various educational matters during Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's time. In other words he was interested in knowing and also comparing their innovative ideas. This required more than the superficial analysis of such ideas (Venter & Van Heerden 1989:156-158; Venter & Verster 1986:43-44).

1.5.6 THE EXEMPLARIC APPROACH

By referring to this approach the researcher could limit the exemplars of educational innovation to three only, that is, innovations by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere. In addition to these main exemplars it was also necessary to include in this research the most recent innovation as found in the RSA as an exemplar of innovation. The reason for doing so has been to see if the RSA could benefit from innovations as made in the West and East Africa or vis-à-vis.

Alongside the aforementioned approaches the researcher employed the following methods:
1.5.7 THE BASIC-SCIENTIFIC METHOD

This method has been very useful for the researcher in looking for and designing the theme of this research. According to this method the theme should focus on facts which are central to today's educational debate. And looking at "educational innovation" as the theme of this research and the desirability thereof, it can certainly be asserted that the theme is still the focus of today's public argument. Since the researcher has adopted the basic scientific method it became possible for him to contribute to educational knowledge of the present educational innovation by using the past of education as well as making recommendations for the future educational innovation.

It can also be added that this method allowed the researcher to choose the title of the research bearing in mind the availability of different primary sources. This method has further been very useful to the researcher in delimiting the field of study for it reminds him to do so. Otherwise without it the topic might have been too broad or too narrow with the dangers that being too broad it might superficially be investigated while too narrow it might turn into a blind alley.

In delimiting the field of study it was therefore necessary for the researcher, according to this method, to state the educational thinkers to be referred to in the analysis as well as other matters to be dealt with in the research (Venter & Verster 1986:29-30).

1.5.8 THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

To make the analysis of the contributions by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere more meaningful the researcher had to compare their contributions towards educational innovation. And through the use of the comparative method similarities and differences could be discussed. Besides this, it was necessary to compare the African culture and the European culture as well as the worldviews of the two cultures. For this purpose the comparative method was used to show the differences in tabular form.
1.5.9 THE DESCRIPTIVE METHOD

This method has been employed to analyse and describe the educational innovation as viewed by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere. Through the use of this method the researcher could throw light on the contributions made by each of the three educational thinkers. The description has been scientific for it included critical reviews as well as interpretation of facts. And in using this method it was always necessary, first of all, to arrange and classify the facts concerned thus rendering the description systematic (Venter & Van Heerden 137-138).

1.6 CLARIFICATION OF THE TITLE

In order to enable the reader to grasp clearly what the title of the search entails, it became necessary for the researcher to analyse and describe the title. For this purpose the key concepts as contained in the title will first be underlined and thereafter be described in relation to the title, as follows:

"An Analysis of the contribution of Edward Blyden, Henry Carr and Julius Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa".

The title is about separating into components the various innovative ideas towards educational matters as provided by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere in the field of planned, purposeful and willed pedagogical change in Africa. The said separation is, however, accompanied by the discussions and interpretation of those ideas.

1.7 CLARIFICATION OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CONCEPTS

Just like in the case of the title above, it is quite necessary to clarify the most significant concepts so as to ensure that their meanings are understood in the context in which they have been used in this research. Such concepts include:

- The concept innovation has been used to refer to change which is purposeful, planned and willed as opposed to mere change which occur without external cause. And it is change which attempts to improve the educational practice by adjusting the old
practices, replacing them totally or even accepting a practice that was once used somewhere else. More simply innovation implies the introduction of new ideas, method or advice in the curriculum, aim, etc. (Dalin 1978:20; Venter 1979:108; Good 1959:303; Farrant 1980:28-29).

The concept analysis means the process of resolving any situation into its component elements (Good 1959:28). For example, the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere were separated into parts namely, aim, curriculum, methods of teaching etc. for the purpose of discussion.

By oral tradition it is meant the custom for which there is no technology of writing at all. In other words the concept refers to traditional African verbal arts such as folklore. And according to such custom knowledge is preserved and transmitted orally (Nyiri 1972:76-77; Miller 1990:71).

The term philosophy is used in African context to mean a collective worldview related to unreflective and implicit system of beliefs to which all the Africans are expected to adhere to, for example, commonality. Philosophy has further been taken to designate a conceptual response to the fundamental human problem arising in any given society at a given period. In this latter sense it is a literature produced by Africans to deal with philosophical problems (Hountondji 1988:60-63, 101; Geykele 1988:3).

The word socialism has been used in the African context to signify the traditional communal practice according to which the society is a collectivist and regarded as a communion of souls than a collection of individuals (Gyekye 1988:23). Hence the idea of ‘living together for the common good’ as the basis of communalism is stressed in socialism.

The word intellectuals has been taken to refer to persons who are professionally engaged in the production, elaboration and spreading of theoretical knowledge, ideas and symbols, for example, university academics, scientists, research scholars etc. Those who only disseminate knowledge, for instance, teachers are excluded from the category of intellectuals (Etzioni-Halevy 1985:9; Bauman 1987:1).
By the concept intellectual environment it is understood, as shown above the surroundings in which there are universities as well as university academics, scientists, research scholars, journalists and writers. In other words it refers to the community of these people together with universities.

The concept intellectual tradition designate, as indicated earlier, the custom or practice in which the intellectuals participate in the production and dissemination of knowledge, ideas and symbols.

Culture means the basis of structure, stability and security which both the individual and the society should have if they are to survive. In other words, culture refers to the means that helps the society to survive and perpetuates itself by the survival, reproduction and training of the persons who comprise it. Thus culture includes the common form of life of a community, common identity and homogeneous value of lifestyle (Ogawa 1986:114-115; Van der Merwe 1994:195). Thus African and American cultures should be understood in this context.

The terms educational thinker and pedagogical thinker have been used interchangeably to designate a person who has written inclusively and comprehensively on education or pedagogics.

1.8 DESCRIPTION OF THE CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

The criteria for evaluating the contribution towards educational innovation are derived from the essential characteristics (or categories) of the African culture some of which are expressed by the factors that inhibit the intellectual and educational innovation. But, the last criterion was based on the relation between the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere and the innovation going on in the Republic of South Africa. It is, however, essential to indicate that such criteria are categories given in question form (Cates 1985:24), as done below:
1.8.1 ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AFFECTED BY THE GENERALLY DEFORMED INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT?

One of the main features of the African cultures is the presence of a generally deformed intellectual environment under which the intellectual and educational innovation is pursued. And in evaluating the educational innovation it is required to check if the aspects of this environment do influence this process (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1; Chapter 6, par. 6.2.4).

1.8.2 ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AFFECTED BY THE LACK OF AN INTELLECTUAL TRADITION?

This criterion looks at the availability of the intellectuals and their activities for they form such a tradition. It also looks at orality, discrimination and illiteracy with regard to the extent to which they hinder educational innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1; Chapter 6, par. 6.2.4).

1.8.3 ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION PART OF THE LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED AND BEING CONFINED BY POLITICS OF FEAR OR CONFORMISM?

According to this criterion the extent to which the liberation process has been part of and also affected the educational innovation is assessed. This requires looking into the engagement of intellectuals in the mentioned process. The effect of other aspects of this process on the educational innovation is also assessed. Thus conformism, alienation, channelling intellectual energy, political imperatives etc. are some of the aspects which have a bearing on educational innovation and need to form part of the evaluation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2; Chapter 6, 6.2.4).

1.8.4 ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION HINDERED BY THE TYRANNICAL CUSTOM OF AFRICAN CULTURE?

Through this criterion the effects of the non-literary mode of thought which are
underdeveloped scientific enquiry, the absence of scientific heroes and the prevailing communality in African cultures, are used to assess the educational innovation. In other words the extent to which the lack of these aspects obstruct education is viewed (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3; Chapter 6, par. 6.2.4).

1.8.5 ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IMPAIRED BY THE ABSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING?

Since the African culture lacks science, this criteria is referred to for assessing the extent to which such a lack hampers educational innovation. It draws attention to the inability of African philosophy to assist towards educational innovation problems. From this criterion it can be understood that the static nature, absence of ethicists and abundance of moralists impede innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4; Chapter 6, par. 6.2.4).

1.8.6 ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION HINDERED BY THE AFRICAN CULTURE’S ABILITY TO RESIST CHANGE?

Due to being past, present and continuous oriented, the African culture is subject to resisting change. This is owing to the fact that this culture wants to retain its past, that is, its tradition. By means of this criterion the extent to which innovation is hindered is assessed (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.5; Chapter 6, par. 6.2.4).

1.8.7 DO THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLYDEN, CARR AND NYERERE TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA RELATE TO THE CURRENT AND ENVISAGED EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA (RSA)?

The criterion serves to indicate the extent to which the contributions made by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere can be part of the RSA educational innovation. In other words it tests the applicability of their contributions to the RSA educational situation (Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.2.4).
1.9 A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE AMERICAN (WESTERN) CULTURE AND THE AFRICAN CULTURE

Owing to the fact that this research is based on the innovation of education in Africa and that education in this continent is Western oriented, it is quite essential to make a comparison between the American culture and the African culture. The most important differences that reflect the psycho-behaviour, values and customs as well as ethos are presented in the table below:

**COMPARISON: AMERICAN AND AFRICAN CULTURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMERICAN</th>
<th>AFRICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Experimental and innovative</td>
<td>Differential and shows respect for hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contentious</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Assertive of individual rights</td>
<td>Observing of group obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Values liberty</td>
<td>Esteems fraternity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Impartial and impersonal application of</td>
<td>Sensibility to personal needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Venerates change</td>
<td>Embraces tradition/continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Values virtues of individualism</td>
<td>Values the verities of collegial solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Future oriented</td>
<td>Past oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Seeks equality among sexes</td>
<td>Tends to elaborate the status of man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Flexible</td>
<td>Rigid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Adapted from Sono, T. 1994. *Dilemmas of African intellectuals in South Africa*, p. xvi.

The differences as presented in the table above can be explained below in the order in which they have been given.

1.9.1 EXPERIMENTAL, INNOVATIVE AND DIFFERENTIAL NATURE

Unlike American cultures, African cultures fear experimentation and thus cannot create new ideas. The emergence of new ideas is largely discouraged by the need to respect those in
authority whose questioning is forbidden in terms of the African culture (Woodhouse 1985b:5; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4).

1.9.2 CONSENSUS AND CONTENTIOUS

More different from the American culture, in African culture the idea of pursuit of consensus is more prominent. And through consensus the individual’s view and opinion need to be considered in decision making. Of significance in the pursuit of consensus are mutual tolerance, patience and attitude of compromise (Kaphagawani 1993:78).

Because reaching consensus is desirable in various debates it is always important to talk until there is an agreement between the parties concerned. Harmony created by such an agreement is also preferred to being quarrelsome as is mostly the case in European cultures. These cultures are contentious in nature.

1.9.3 ASSERTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND OBSERVING GROUP OBLIGATION

Different from American cultures, African cultures conceive man as an individual in relationship with other living beings in a group. In other words man’s ontological relationship with others is important. The idea of observing group obligation is further illustrated by the view than man is a being in community or is born socialized. He is considered an individual as far as he belongs to a clan, a community or a family. And he cannot be a lone being. On the contrary the American culture stresses the concept of individuated things standing on their own (Okolo 1992:482; Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1). Thus from this explanation, Europeans can assert individual rights by virtue of being able to consider the individual a such while they also prioritize such rights rather than that of a group.

1.9.4 VALUES LIBERTY AND ESTEEMS FRATERNITY

Arguing it from the point of recognizing individual rights it can rightly be said that European cultures value individual liberty over familyhood. African cultures have a strong preference of fraternity which is more likely practised in extended family system (Mjoli 1987:16).
1.9.5 IMPARTIAL AND IMPERSONAL APPLICATION OF RULES AND SENSIBILITY TO PERSONAL NEEDS

Among other differences between the American and the African cultures is the application of rules which, in the former cultures is strict while in the latter discussion is important, for instance, to achieve harmony and to resolve conflict. It can further be argued that social order in American culture is maintained by the application of rules hence, the use of constitutions, codes of conduct and courts.

1.9.6 VENERATES CHANGE AND EMBRACES TRADITION/CONTINUITY

Unlike European cultures, African cultures value tradition very highly for they consider tradition tried and tested. Africans are also past oriented and they prefer to emphasize the present and the continuous. This implies that change is less valued. On the opposite, European cultures value change very highly but such change should not threaten the value order (Dixon 1976:59; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4).

1.9.7 VALUES VIRTUES OF INDIVIDUALISM AND VALUES THE VERITIES OF COLLEGIAL SOLIDARITY

In African cultures as opposed to American cultures there is a sense of community and solidarity. African tribes and other forms of social life are bound together by this sense and the concept of “We” in African culture as against the “I” concept of the Western culture clearly indicates the value placed by the two cultures on solidarity and individualism respectively (Kimmerle 1992:72).

1.9.8 FUTURE ORIENTED AND PAST ORIENTED

The temporal aspect is viewed differently by the American and African cultures. The former culture emphasize the future for it expects it (future) to be bigger and better. This culture does not prefer the past because it is regarded as “old fashioned”. The opposite occurs in African culture which prefers the traditional past. Africans as a result lead routinized life according to which every activity is performed according to inherited traditional custom and
belief. Such life rules out any need for future planning. Therefore, in African worldviews time is relaxed and there is, in fact, no need for everybody to hurry (Du Preez 192:50; Dixon 1976:56-59).

1.9.9 SEEKS EQUALITY AMONG SEXES AND TENDS TO ELABORATE THE STATUS OF MAN

While in African culture men are regarded as superior to women, in American culture the two sexes are expected to enjoy the same status. In the former culture, women should respect men, be obedient to them and not question men’s authority as husbands. It is for this reason that men are seen as dominant partners in African cultures. And African cultures which are still untouched by Western cultures still keep women subordinate to men, make them feel inferior to men as well as make them incapable of operating at the level parallel to that of men in society. In fact, in Black society women are not accorded equality with men (Woodhouse 1985b:64, Dolphyne 1991:1; Mjoli 1987:12; Nyerere 1993:20).

But, to copy from the West, African cultures seek to reach equality in terms of the status of man and women. And copied for this purpose, are Western constitutions which stress such equality, for example, the Republic of South Africa’s new constitution regard men and women as of equal rights. Such equality further requires males (husbands) and females (wives) to share the complements and accommodate one another (Constitution 1996:7; Thekisho 1990:6; Balatseng 1996:9).

1.9.10 FLEXIBLE AND RIGID

Flexibility in American culture as opposed to rigidity in African culture can be ascribed to the fact that this culture, is innovative and favours change while the African culture is said to be rigid because of sticking too much to the past and unwilling to accept innovation as well as prefer the present and the continuous, as indicated earlier.
Apart from distinguishing between the American and African cultures as done above, it is also important to differentiate between the worldviews as found in the two cultures, as done below:

**COMPARISON: EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW AND AFRICAN WORLDVIEW**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EUROPEAN</th>
<th>AFRICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Individuality</td>
<td>Groupness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (a) Uniqueness</td>
<td>Sameness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Difference</td>
<td>Commonality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (a) Competition</td>
<td>Co-operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Individual rights independence</td>
<td>Collective responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Survival of the fittest</td>
<td>Survival of the tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Control over nature</td>
<td>One with nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Adapted from Sono T. 1994. *Dilemmas of African intellectuals in South Africa* ...

p. xvii.

1.10.1 **INDIVIDUALITY AND GROUPNESS**

From the foregoing table it can be maintained that individuality in European worldviews as apposed to groupness (or collectivity) emphasizes the personal goals above those of the group. It allows the individual to be free to do his own things as against being strictly controlled by the group (collective) as in the African worldview. Further assertions about the two are that the Europeans should be treated differently because of their difference in personality while according to the African worldview, Africans should be treated alike and in dealing with them the collective approach is adopted instead of the individualistic one (Kemp 1995:44; Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1).
With regard to group behaviour in African worldview it can be added that because of the need for group identification the individual is forced to react to the attributes of the group as if they belong to him. And as a result thereof he has to share values and goals of a particular group (Scheidlinger 1984:9). This illustrates, again, the lack of individuality in African culture.

1.10.2 UNIQUENESS, DIFFERENCE, SAMENESS AND COMMONALITY

While on the other hand uniqueness and difference in European worldview are largely an extension of individuality and support it, sameness and commonality support the idea of groupness whose base is communality in African worldview.

Thus, the European worldview is inclined to be more individualistic whereas the African one more communalistic. And it is further claimed that the communalistic thinking patterns always emerge if there is tension, say at universities. Sameness rather difference is as a result desired, for example, in cases where the students who performed well in the examination are harassed. Slogans such as “Pass one, Pass all” and even “Admit all” are adopted to suit the harassment (Van Niekerk 1994:30-31; Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1). What all this implies is less recognition of uniqueness and difference.

1.10.3 COMPETITION, CO-OPERATION, COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY, INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND INDEPENDENCE

And instead of competition, the African worldview because of the traditional form of communalism, stresses co-operation, that is, good interpersonal relationship. According to co-operation it is also maintained that the individual cannot function separately from others. Co-operation is further, highly valued for the collective mind which is superior to that of the individual. In a sense co-operation in African worldview stresses the fact that the “Whole is more than the sum of its parts” (Manganyi 1987:257; Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1).

Based on the concept of ‘ubuntu’ the collective responsibility in African worldview is stressed. By means of this concept it is possible to stress the collective personhood and collective morality very highly. Thus African communities are claimed to survive on the principles of collective solidarity rather than the principles of individual self-sufficiency, that is,
independence. In addition to this, group conformity, care and compassion on collective survival matters is emphasized (Mbigi 1995:42). This suggests that because of collective parenthood, Africans are collectively responsible for one another's action to a very large extent but not completely. And contrary to the European worldview, the African worldview does not as a result of collective responsibility stress independence and individual rights.

To explain the question of individual rights a bit further it can be said that they are hardly recognized in African worldview for it is maintained that there are, in fact, no human beings but Africans. This thinking implies that human rights are, simply, abstractions and what real matters is culture, race or nationality. It is, therefore, for this reason that human rights in African worldview are regarded as something to be invented by tribal customs and acknowledged by the chief (Ndue 1994:52).

Adding to the foregoing explanation it can be indicated that since the notion of human rights is rooted in the European tradition, it was imposed upon other countries including Africa. And in Africa it ought to have been applied by the colonial powers for they had it as part of the constitution meant for African people. Noticeably was, however, the fact that the African countries were unwilling to accept the human rights standards as laid down in the said constitutions (Scholze 1992:57; Nhlapo 1995:40). This actually supports the lack of recognition of individual rights. Such a lack is further illustrated by the prevailing African political thought characterized by dictatorship, lack of democracy and adherence to traditional values.

Another arguments regarding the human rights question in Africa reveals the fact that human 'dignity' instead of human 'rights' seem to be found in Africa and that the latter appears in theory and often violated in practice (Penna 1991:93). Thus, even if there are claims of the existence of these rights in African worldview, the absence of implementation invalidates such claims.

1.10.4 SURVIVAL OF THE TRIBE AND SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

As opposed to the European worldview, the survival of the tribe in African worldview depends largely on the strong group affiliation of existing members in African culture. And
according to this affiliation the well-being of the tribe is regarded as the highest value to be pursued. In order for the tribe to survive it is further asserted that the hierarchical position and status as determined by birth, and age are sustained (Du Preez 1992:30).

From the preceding discussion it can be argued that the survival of the fittest in European worldview can be seen as an extension of individualistic view according to which everybody, in the absence of the collective push is responsible for his own actions (Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1).

1.10.5 CONTROL OVER NATURE AND ONE WITH NATURE

It is quite important to indicate that the distinction between man and nature in African worldview is hardly made or regarded as important to be made as in European worldview. This is owning to the fact that while the Africans attempt not to be separated from nature, the Europeans seek to know more about nature for the purpose of gaining control over it (Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1).

Adding to the preceding argument it can further be maintained that in comparison with the Europeans, the Africans are uninventive and because of this, it is claimed, they try to be at peace with nature (Joseph 1992:261). This therefore suggests that very little can be discovered, by the Africans from nature for attempts will be made to keep it undisturbed.

1.11 LITERATURE REVIEW

Educational innovation is a broad field of study which requires scattered knowledge of this process to be brought together by means of intensive review of literature. This has, truly, been done for a number of primary as well as secondary sources have been referred to.

As required in any research, the primary sources formed the core of this research. Works in the form of books and periodicals have been consulted to extract the original word written by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere for use in the quotations and discussion.
It must however be noted and accepted that the works of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere, that is, speeches, lectures and ordinary writing have in most cases been compiled together in separate books with separate titles. Therefore the same sources have been referred to repeatedly for various quotations and other primary information on various educational matters.

The theses and dissertations having a bearing on the topic for this research were also referred to for information.

1.12 SEQUENCE OF CHAPTERS

The entire thesis has been divided into six chapters. A brief overview of how this had been done is presented to enable the reader to have an idea of their contents.

Chapter One is an introductory chapter which gives all the necessary background to orientate the reader towards the whole thesis. In this chapter the problem has been stated and situated; the aim of the research presented; the actuality of the research explained; the field of study delimited; the application of approaches and methods discussed; the clarification of the title and concepts made; the criteria for evaluation described; a sequence of chapters presented and comparisons between the European and African cultures as well as between the European and African worldviews made. An assessment is made at the end of this chapter.

Chapter Two paid attention to the factors which inhibited the African intellectual and educational innovation. The researcher referred to these factors: The intellectual environment in Africa in general is deformed; African culture lacks an intellectual tradition; the liberation of the oppressed and politics of fear or conformism; the tyrannical custom of African culture; the absence of scientific thinking and the African culture exhibited an ability to resist change. An assessment is presented at the end of this chapter.

Chapter Three analyses Blyden's contribution towards educational innovation in Africa. This has been done by first outlining his biography which included his early childhood and educational career between 1832 and 1850, as Pan-Africanist (1851-1877) and contact with international world between 1877 and 1910. His contribution towards educational innovation
was discussed with regard to these educational matters: The aim of education, methods of liberal education, higher education in Africa, secular education and education of women. A critical review of Blyden's contributions was presented as part of this chapter. A résumé and an assessment concluded the chapter.

Chapter Four concentrated on an analysis of the contribution of Carr towards educational innovation in Africa. As in the previous chapter the biography was presented first and thereafter his contribution towards various educational matters. Very briefly, his biography contained information about his early childhood and educational career (1863-1882), his teaching profession (1882-1889) as well as his service as civil servant (1888- ). The discussion of his contribution focused on: The aim of education, curriculum, higher education in Africa, primary school education, secondary school education, supplementary (adult education), education of women and improvement of educational standards. A critical review of his contributions was made.

Chapter Five dealt with the contribution made by Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa. The analysis of his contribution started with a presentation of his biography which included his early childhood and educational career (1922-1945), teaching career (1945-1948), his studies abroad (1949-1952) and his political career (1953-1962). In the discussion of his contribution attention was paid to these educational matters: The aim of education, curriculum, teaching methods, school management, school examination, primary school education, secondary school education, adult education, and university education. A section was allocated for reviewing his contributions towards educational innovation critically.

Chapter Six as the last one dealt with the final analysis and evaluation of the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa. In this chapter it has been necessary to analyse the differences between African and European worldviews and education. Factors which inhibited the development of African intellectual and educational innovation in the past received further attention. And other matters which were analysed in this chapter included, the complexities and challenges of the post-industrial world, discrediting the content, universality and rational faculties of Westernization, the liberation of the students from the demands of rationality, objectivity and the scientific method, and the closing of the African
minds. As part of this chapter an analysis of the African situation from the works of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere focused on the similarities and differences in approach; the contribution to an open African mind and an evaluation of the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere in terms of criteria, most of which are based on factors discussed in Chapter Two.

This chapter is concluded by the researcher's own recommendations according to which the made his own contributions towards the future educational innovation in Africa. And after analyzing the past and present educational innovation in Africa, he deemed it appropriate to make recommendations based on these matters: Centralization or decentralization of power, the place of African culture and education, the inauguration of a new African Age of Reason and Education and moving into and participation in the mainstream of scientific pursuit. The whole thesis is thereafter concluded with a final assessment.

1.13 ASSESSMENT

This first chapter is composed of various, important and integrated sections all of which are meant to lay the background to this thesis.

In the introduction it was important to start by stating the problem. And thereafter it was necessary to give the background information related to the educational innovation and what it entails. The introduction would be incomplete without stating to which educational matters Blyden, Carr and Nyerere made their contributions. It also became clear from the introduction that educational innovations by the three educational thinkers marked an important transition from colonial to African education.

By situating the problem it became possible to give the reasons why educational innovation had to take place. The necessary and related facts based on the colonial and post-independence eras were advanced to justify the need for educational innovation in Africa. And when situating the problem it was made clear why educational innovation could not be avoided in Africa. It was therefore necessary to bring to light the weak points of education during the two eras.
The section on the aim and the actuality of the research paid attention to the purpose of carrying out this research as well as its significance. It has also been deemed appropriate to state under actuality of the research that this research was absolutely not a repetition of the previous ones. Thus, implying it was a new contribution towards educational innovation in Africa.

When delimiting the field of study the investigation into the educational innovation in Africa was narrowed in such a way that it clearly indicated the periods referred to for the contributions made by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere as well as mentioning the educational matters in which they contributed. As part of the field of study it was also indicated that factors that inhibited the intellectual and educational innovation, comparisons between American and African cultures as well as between European and African worldviews are part and parcel of the investigation.

Without the clarification of the title and of the concepts the reader can experience difficulties in grasping correctly what the research is all about. So, this problem has been eliminated by clearly explaining the title and concepts.

Although evaluation is made in the final chapter, it has been necessary to explain the criteria for evaluation in this first chapter. As it has been noticed, they were based on factors that hinder the intellectual and educational innovation as well as the relationship that exists between the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere and the present educational innovation in the RSA.

Since educational innovation in Africa cannot be divorced from African culture and worldview, it was essential to make a comparison between the most significant aspects of American and African cultures as well as between the worldviews in the two cultures. This was aimed at identifying what might inhibit or promote the African intellectual and educational innovation.

Through literature review it has been possible to identify the most appropriate primary and secondary sources in the form of books, periodicals and theses.
In the absence of the directive from the sequence of chapters the reader would, certainly, find it difficult to know very briefly what is contained and may be expected in each chapter. Thus to ease this problem the section on the sequence of chapters has been included as an integral part of this first chapter.

Factors as they inhibit the development of the intellectual and educational innovation in Africa will be investigated in the chapter which follows.
CHAPTER 2

2. FACTORS WHICH INHIBIT AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Prior to discussing the factors which inhibit the African intellectual and educational innovation it is essential to explain the nature of the African intellectual environment and the lack of intellectual tradition in African culture. This will lay the necessary background against which to understand the factors.

A closer look at the nature of the aforementioned environment reveals that it has, in general, a deformed nature which is largely due to a number of things. Its growth of knowledge has, since the eighteenth century, been affected by cultural, social, education, economic and political aspects which among others are inertia, superstition, persecution, censorship, missionary educational control, racial discrimination, etc. (Sono 1994:xvi).

Each of these and other aspects had to find their way into the development of the African intellectual environment. Some of them being of Western heritage and others indigenous to Africa, achieving co-ordination among them is not always possible for some are fixed in the African cultures. For example, because of the stronghold of superstitious beliefs, the growth of knowledge can therefore be restricted to the development of certain cultural aspects thus bringing about a one-sided growth of knowledge. And owing to these beliefs the intellectual environment can possess a store of knowledge which is not based on facts but rather on mystical thinking. It can, however, be indicated that such knowledge is not verifiable and therefore cannot contribute towards the development of the proper intellectual environment.

The deformity of the African intellectual environment is also attributed to the fact that the intellectual history of Africa has not been written. Such history could reveal the African's knowledge of literature, art and philosophy of life, long before they came into contact with the Western world. The contribution to the Black intellectual history as made by the University of Sankore of Timbuctoo in the Republic of Mali, in West Africa, has been
neglected (Clarke 1977:142-143). This denotes the incompleteness of the knowledge as found in the intellectual environment. By leaving out such history, it presupposes that its accompanying knowledge, as given by the intellectuals of that period, has not been taken cognizance of. The effect of this is to restrict educational innovators to plan and work out innovation only on the knowledge as found from a certain period and by so doing leaving out some of the vital information. In addition to this, the contribution by those intellectuals neglected by the history might be of importance to enrich the intellectual and educational innovation which might be under review.

Africa's deformed intellectual environment can further be ascribed to the origin and development of its history of knowledge which appears to be disjointed and needed to be reconstructed. This can be understood from the fact that the available knowledge in documents provides answers while simultaneously providing questions (Mudimbe 1988:175). By having documents as sources of questions and answers, knowledge tends to circulate in a vicious circle rather than grow continuously. And, correctly, documents cannot have all the questions and answers for all the knowledge required. Thus by having the two, that is, questions and answers for the particular section of knowledge and not having the same for the other section of knowledge certainly leads to the disjointed state of knowledge. From this historical state of knowledge it can be maintained that a continuous link of knowledge should develop from new and independent questions of which answers should be derived from further research.

It is mainly due to the aforementioned aspects that the correct African intellectual environment could not emerge. For instance, the missionary control of education with its emphasis on evangelization limited the development of the intellectuals to spiritual knowledge acquisition at the expense of the other fields of knowledge (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2).

Another instance which contributed to the deformed nature of the African intellectual environment is racial discrimination. This discrimination barred most of the Africans from conducting research by limiting the same to the white community. The Blacks, especially in South Africa were, as far as their intellectual environment was concerned, at a disadvantage. Their universities never regarded research as the most important part of their function and
they were prevented from doing so by the Segregations Legislation enacted in 1959, with the exception of Fort Hare University. Blacks never intended to exclude themselves from research (Evans 1990:23). The argument is that inequality hampers, to a great measure, the development of the intellectuals which in turn inhibits educational innovation.

A further examination of the intellectual environment also reveals that the lack of African intellectual tradition was more evident in the pre-historic Africa where the African communities did not formerly have the intellectuals from universities but rather relied on priests, wise old men and medicine men for existence (Nicol 1962:10). These people did not constitute the intellectual communities with an intellectual tradition. The lack of the universities was thus the cause of such a lack of intellectual tradition.

To explain the previous statement further, it is important to indicate that for the establishment of any intellectual tradition to occur it is necessary to have universities for they are a precondition of any intellectual tradition. Without universities the intellectual tradition is considered to lack the institutional base. In African culture this has been the case since the colonial times to date. From philosophical point of view this is supported by the fact that ethnophilosophy, as it is maintained, may fail to reach this maturity required as a result of lacking such a base (Salemohamed 1983:537). This actually implies that in order to have an intellectual tradition the country should make ample use of institutions of higher learning to obtain highly educated people who can contribute towards the promotion of educational innovation. And without universities the intellectuals can hardly emerge.

The intellectual tradition which might also be called the tradition of approach or perspective very often consists of secular intellectuals belonging to the bourgeois society and since this tradition has to provide creative imagination in the field of literature it certainly has to draw on literary experience. The importance of such literary experience lies in the ability of the writers, as intellectuals, to mediate: between the competition for a new order and the authority of the past: between scepticism and faith; etc. Most importantly, the intellectual can share the generalized vision of the intelligentsia as a whole or even argue for his opinion, that is, to argue in support of his views (Phillips 1960:478). But, a closer investigation into African cultures reveals a lack of the said experience. What all this suggests is a lack of intellectual tradition. It can on this basis be argued that the literary experience is a sine qua non of the intellectual tradition.
non of properly developed intellectual tradition which in turn may promote educational innovation. Out of the inadequate literary experience, the African culture may not have intellectuals to mediate between the educational past and the present educational innovation and vis-a-vis. Put in different words, African cultures lack the perspective which can aid towards educational innovation.

The intellectual tradition can be regarded as lacking in African culture because of the lack of a rational-empirical outlook which, among others, includes independent curiosity, openness to experience, disciplined enquiry and analysis, as well as, reasoned judgement. Inadequate rational-outlook, however, presupposes that the intellectuals' curiosity is restricted. Their exposure to various experiences is limited and they cannot conduct enquiry and analysis properly. Their reasoned judgement is also likely to be impaired when confronted with alternatives. All these aspects are essential to promote intellectual and educational innovation. Such an outlook is a creation of the West. Having spread to Africa it has not yet reached all cultures. Besides the lack of this outlook, African cultures are non-scientific and thus lack a scientific and scholarly activity (Shils 1972: 72-73). Therefore, though there is an intellectual tradition in African culture, it is hampered by the said outlook and activity to contribute towards educational innovation.

The lack of intellectual tradition could also be said to have been due to oral teaching and manual training which dominated the African indigenous education in the past centuries. Because of such teaching and training, the training of the intellect as part of the intellectual tradition, received less attention (Moumouni 1968:23-24). Expressed differently, African education has an inadequate intellectual tradition stemming from its educational past. On the one hand, oral teaching as part of the oral tradition can hardly contribute to the intellectual tradition, especially if it is assumed that a very limited amount of knowledge can be handled in this tradition and that intellectuals deal with a bigger body of knowledge to be used further by a larger public. Thus intellectuals can draw very little from oral teaching to assist them in their role as intellectuals. So if the culture relies on oral teaching it may end up having fewer intellectuals, if any.

Manual training on the other hand, does not lend itself to developing abstract thinking required by intellectuals. It can therefore be held that this training hampers the development
of the intellectual tradition as well as educational innovation.

As it will be seen in the forthcoming discussions, the intellectual and educational innovation can, apart from the foregoing aspects, be inhibited by the following factors:

- **Liberation of the oppressed and politics of fear or conformism**: Although this might sound political, it will, in the subsequent discussion, be viewed educationally by looking at the involvement of intellectuals in this activity and educational innovation, simultaneously. This will be discussed first and it will be followed by,

- **The tyrannical custom of African culture**: The discussion of this factor will be restricted to identifying those aspects of African culture that may hinder the intellectual and educational innovation. After this there will be the discussion on,

- **The absence of scientific thinking**: The manner in which this thinking is required and also influences the intellectual and educational innovation will be brought to light. It will, however, be necessary to indicate that in its absence the traditional African thought has been an inhibiting aspect in this innovation. Lastly, attention will be paid to the manner in which,

- **The African culture exhibits an ability to resist change**: The reasons that cause this culture to resist change and the manner in which such resistance affects intellectual and educational innovation will be looked at in the discussion. A critical assessment of these factors will, however, end this chapter.

The sequence of factors as it is given above will be adhered to throughout the discussion.

2.2 **LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED AND POLITICS OF FEAR OR CONFORMISM**

2.2.1 **INTELLECTUAL ENERGY AND POLITICS**

The liberation of the oppressed needs here to be understood as a struggle for African freedom destined to reinstitute the economic, historical, political and cultural actuality of the
colonized. It must also be thought of as a means of reclaiming the historicality of the African peoples derailed by the colonialists (Serequeberhan 1991:50-51). Understood in this context, it can be stated that the liberation of the oppressed cannot proceed without the help of the intellectuals who because of their high level of education can plan and advise politicians in their effort to carry out the liberation process.

Thus due to the liberation of the oppressed there exists an interaction between politics, intellectuals and educational innovation. Liberation of the oppressed may be pursued to a very great measure by intellectuals rather than politicians alone. This means they become engaged in politics. Besides this the same intellectuals may take part in educational innovation. But, because of liberation, the intellectuals are inclined to concentrate on liberation politics, largely owing to the contribution they might make. In fact, the participation of intellectuals in politics of whatever nature is not arbitrary but it is based on the fact that they hold a special position in the society which allows them to have much influence, but relatively little direct power over others, that is, they have the power to convince others of the validity of and usefulness of the knowledge they present but cannot determine the actions to be taken by those concerned. Apart from this they can shape ideas which may legitimize or de-legitimize whatever existing social and political activities or structures there are (Etzioni-Halevy 1985:11).

Referring to the liberation of the oppressed the intellectuals participate in this activity by virtue of having the ability to exercise the same influence with a view to shaping it the way they want it to proceed.

Their participation, hence the focusing of their intellectual energy in the liberation of the oppressed, may also stem from the fact that sometimes they are called to occupy senior bureaucratic posts as consultants, staff of commission of enquiry, members of certain government committees or councils. They are actually drawn from academia to serve as advisers to politicians before they make decisions. In such positions, intellectuals can propose while politicians dispense. Their positions certainly, allow them to influence the liberation process though this might not be an easy task and hence the need for alienation or radicalism (Ibid. 1985:24; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.2).
By drawing the intellectuals from academia to politics the former field is deprived of the intellectuals who might otherwise contribute to educational innovation. This practice, can therefore retard the latter process. And by so doing the educational field is deprived of their contribution.

The political situation in most of the countries of the Black Africa over the past decades serves to illustrate the political involvement of intellectuals in politics for such countries were under the control of either the colonial or the apartheid (in South Africa) governments (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.2). Therefore, it was not uncommon for the vast number of political organizations to realise the need to liberate the Africans from such governments which were deemed undesirable. These governments, among others, prohibited the free flow of thought and participation of the Black intelligentsia in African politics. The Blacks were, so to say, not permitted to express their views either orally or in writing regarding their political or other rights, for example, the rights to live, to learn, etc. And their participation in political organisations were restricted by certain laws (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.5).

Actually, the oppression of the Blacks meant, inter alia, denying them civil liberties such as freedom of speech, association, religion and freedom from arbitrary arrest. It was therefore mainly for this reason that to ensure success in an attempt to liberate the oppressed, the political organisations had to draw the Black intellectuals to the political agenda (Sono 1994:xvii; Nwabuzor & Mueller 1985:82). And it can be argued that although their knowledge was indispensable in working out the liberation strategies, their participation in politics represent a great flow of intellectual energy from education to the field of politics. This always impacts upon the educational innovation negatively, for it leaves the former field with fewer intellectuals than otherwise it could use.

The lack of liberties, more especially if they are forbidden by law, results much in a politics of fear and conformism. Such politics does not only hamper intellectual innovation but also educational innovation, as the two are complementary. Intellectuals might fear to oppose, say, the laws governing the education system adopted in their country, because of fear of arrest coupled with such an act. The opposition might be for improvement. Thus for them to be free from such arrest, they tend to conform to the existing politics and laws governing various social, economic, cultural systems, etc. This state of politics further
renders the intellectuals unable to come up freely with new ideas which can promote educational innovation.

Liberation of the oppressed itself requires harnessing and channelling the intellectual energy into politics. Put differently, instead of directing their energy to educational innovation, the intellectuals direct it to politics. It needs to be indicated that most of the African educational intellectuals become highly involved in politics as prominent leaders, for example, Professor Dr H W E Ntsan'wisi, the former Gazankulu homeland leader, was formerly a teacher and lecturer; Dr Edward Mondlane the first President of Frelimo was formerly a teacher in an American University and Julius Nyerere was formerly a teacher and later a head of the Tanzanian State (Afigbo 1992:277-279; Vide Chapter 5, par 5.1.2).

Such a concentration of educational intellectuals in the field of politics leaves the education field with a limited number of them to pursue innovation. It is a fact that a shift of intellectuals from education to politics indicates how dependent the latter field is to the former and also the extent to which the former can be negatively influenced. Of course, this leaves no doubt that the educational innovation can, over an indefinite period of time be inhibited.

It needs to be pointed out further that the liberation of the oppressed Black brothers and sisters can be done through the role culture plays in generating literacy. In this regard the intellectuals are regarded as leaders of thought and missionaries of culture for they have the power to uplift and liberate the Black people through the part played by culture in generating literacy. The culture’s role can thus be perceived as developing literate citizens by providing a familiar context for the growth of a new language, that is, providing its terms, technology and orthography. In generating literary culture it is also expected to restructure a number of experiences which can promote the knowledge required for its liberation as well as that of the individual. In other words, the culture must be capable of self-education if it is to be liberated (McPhail 1987:11). This, in other words, implies that the culture should accept the role to develop its people literarily. In so far as this is a political activity, intellectual energy is devoted to freeing the African’s mind from, among others, ignorance, including that of educational innovation. Once literacy has been achieved, the mind has free access to knowledge and simultaneously is able to express ideas. Rather than focusing their energy on
educational innovation, the intellectuals become engaged in literacy programmes which in actual fact are not part of innovation. This type of liberation is a hindrance to intellectual and educational innovation.

2.2.2 ALIENATION OR RADICALISM

Insofar as alienation or radicalism is a revolutionary process which involves the young intellectuals in liberating the oppressed, it affects the intellectual and educational innovation.

The young Black intellectuals may be drawn to the politics of liberation because of their felt need to liberate the oppressed. They become involved in protest marches and demonstrations against the government of the country. In South Africa, for instance, students from the English language universities (Wits, Durban and Cape Town) in the past, united in their opposition to white supremacy and capitalism. The students become alienated from the academic activities and seek the political innovation rather than the educational one. The former innovation was more evident in the rebuilding of the new left wing intellectuals (Charney 1986:10).

Besides the aforementioned type of alienation, liberation of the oppressed may be promoted by the general alienation of intellectuals and intelligentsia from the government. In such case alienation may be sought to provide a favourable climate for radical ideas and revolutionary movements. Owing to alienation, intellectuals are able to place their knowledge at the service of the people, to devote their lives to the liberation of the masses and direct them to social revolution. To carry out the liberation process, the intellectuals, namely, students from the universities do not only work in groups to address the peasants but also stay among them and seek their confidence (Seton-Watson 1960:44).

Attempts to achieve liberation of the oppressed through alienation is not an easy task in an undemocratic state which lacks freedom of speech and individuals, for arrest, banishment and imprisonment are the order of the day. These actions force revolutionaries to form underground parties to pursue liberation (Ibid. 1960:44; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.1).

From what has been said so far, it can be argued that alienation is a limiting factor as far as
intellectual and educational innovation is concerned. This can be accepted if it is understood that intellectuals cannot be involved in educational matters because of their participation in the politics of liberation. Imprisonment and arrest withdraw them from the service of the community, the provision of education and its innovation included as services also.

If liberation of the oppressed is achieved through radicalism, groups of young intellectuals develop into radicals who form organisations to challenge the economic and power structures (Charney 1986:12). This again affects intellectual and educational innovation for the young intellectuals are drawn to the political field which they attempt to innovate while neglecting the educational field. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the South African Students Organisation (SASO) are examples of students radical organisations.

It is further essential to add that the radical political thought operating in most of the African countries originates from the Western thought which was widely influenced by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy (Mandaza 1988:7). This, in other words, suggests that the radical African intellectuals are an outgrowth of the Western intellectuals and thus the two to a great extent closely related.

*Because of their origin, the radical African intellectuals base their idea of the liberation of the oppressed on the Marxist-Leninist philosophy or ideology.* Again, it is because of drawing from this philosophy that, for example, the English-speaking white students in South Africa reacted against the dominance of bourgeois liberation in their new attempt to liberate the oppressed. Their radicalism was therefore aimed at achieving a democratic socialist South Africa with worker self-management receiving more attention (Charney 1986:11).

Radicalism may also stem from the educated bourgeoisie themselves whereby they attempt to liberate themselves from say colonialism, imperialism or even racial government, for they are educationally in a better position to understand the said and similar forms of political authority. To achieve liberation, they may initiate a revolutionary struggle by providing education to and radicalizing the political consciousness of the peasant masses (Potholm 1979:94). Therefore, rather than being involved in intellectual and educational innovation such intellectuals are engaged in the liberation politics or struggle. In other words they are distanced from the educational innovation without whom it can hardly succeed.
It further needs to be indicated that radical ideologies such as Marxism do not promote intellectual and educational innovation because they frustrate and abuse intellectuals and scientific curiosity very greatly (Higgins 1991:13). In terms of Marxism, the operation of curiosity may, among others, be limited to socialism while educational innovation goes beyond it to include other ideologies, such as capitalism.

Having said earlier that Marxism prevails among the radical African intellectuals, it is proper to indicate that to be more useful in educational innovation the radical African intellectuals need to abandon this ideology so as to allow their curiosity to contribute towards this innovation through scientific and proper planning in the absence of Marxism.

Another impediment towards intellectual and educational innovation may arise from the exclusion of intellectuals and academics from shaping the political events such as liberation of the oppressed. This group of people may turn radical if they deem that this political activity is not occurring in a desirable way. And their intention to do so would be meant to influence it in a manner they consider meaningful (Ibid. 1991:8: Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1). In this case, intellectual radicalism concentrates on politics rather than on education and it can thus be said to inhibit educational innovation.

Furthermore, Marxism, being a prevailing ideology in the liberation of the oppressed, it is mostly intellectuals in the universities and various professions who try to achieve a socialist transformation. For example, the social scientist may study this ideology in order to apply it in the struggle against imperialism. Similar to Leninism, Marxism is favoured by radical African intellectuals because it stresses democratization of societies. As a liberation process democratization tries to ensure collective control of productive forces, common access to means of production, distribution and exchange, equal access to food, clothing and shelter and arranging social relations so that each citizen is awarded according to his ability and his contribution towards work (Sil 1993:371-373). This implies that radicalism based on Marxist ideology attempts to remove class struggle between workers and superiors with the latter exploiting the former in an employer-employee relationship. Since intellectuals become seriously engaged in such ideology they cannot fully concentrate on educational innovation. Hence, it cannot be denied that radicalism hampers innovation.
Looking a bit further at Marxist ideology it needs to be indicated that radical intellectuals become Marxist-dominated and among others in their operations they emphasize economic and political liberation. The latter activities can be achieved by promoting new theories for Westernization of Africa (Mudimbe 1988:170). Owing to being an inhibiting factor this domination prevents intellectuals from participating in educational innovation and the major preoccupation remains in striving to achieve success in implementing Marxist-theories.

2.2.3 POLITICAL DOGMAS AND ORTHODOXIES REPLACED INDEPENDENT INQUIRY

Political dogmas and orthodoxies as an extension of ideology may be adopted in an attempt to liberate the oppressed. This is owing to the fact that such dogmas and orthodoxies reflect beliefs, values and morals of political societies. And through application they can, however replace the search for critical meaning. For, example, the Marxism orthodox as a transplanted ideology is widely adopted in most of the African countries in modified form. It is for this reason that the statesmen like Nyerere and Nkrumah talk of African socialism and scientific socialism, respectively (Potholm 1979:67; Shils 1972:23).

With such and other orthodoxies dominating the political societies the search for critical meaning, which is so vital for the educational innovation, cannot be achieved.

In the liberation of the oppressed certain political dogmas and orthodoxies, as expressed by slogans, are adopted by the intellectuals so as to achieve liberation. Because of such slogans it becomes impossible to exercise independent inquiry.

It can correctly be indicated that slogans play and important part in the liberation of the oppressed and their formulation has been always the duty of the intellectuals for they work with symbols and words in the same way as the porter works with clay. This implies that they do whatever they like with words. From the intellectuals slogans such as ‘Liberation before Education’ or vis-a-vis have been used in the early eighties to fight for liberation in South Africa (Higgins 1991:29).
With slogans from the intellectuals, independent inquiry becomes hampered for they have an intoxicating and even-like qualities. They are, so to say, ready-made rhetoric, prefabricated and seductive, for example, words like the following are included in slogans: order, comrade, impimpi (an informer), liberation, peace, solidarity, equality, etc. By making the use of these and similar words the intellectuals are able to make lies sound true (Higgins 1991:29). Because of such slogans, other intellectuals may tend to be swayed from their search for critical meaning about the liberation of the oppressed. They may adopt them uncritically. A dogma or an orthodox represented by a slogan such as ‘Free education for all’ may be high sounding with the result that it may impair independent inquiry for it relates to a sought for and awaited educational innovation. A further critical search for meaning, which may be conducted later to this orthodox, may reveal its inadequacy.

Besides slogans, independent enquiry resulting from idealism can be replaced by orthodoxies in the form of political prescriptions. According to them, individual members of the society, including the intellectuals, are not regarded as true or ultimate bearers of values. Under such circumstances the good can only be affirmed by the State. In this regard the community is considered to be an indivisible entity entitled to use the individual for the pursuit of its welfare (Brown 1986:152). It can be argued that such prescriptions restrict the search for critical meaning or independent inquiry on various life activities. Individuals are therefore not given an opportunity to carry out independent inquiry including that which may be needed in educational innovation.

Through the use of questions, innovators can arrive at independent inquiry which might somehow be replaced by political dogmas and orthodoxies. Here are examples of such questions: What does educational innovation entail?; How can it be conducted?; Which parties should be involved and what are their roles?; Which problems may likely be encountered?; etc. From these and similar questions the meaning of various aspects of educational innovation can be brought to light.

The search for critical meaning can, however, not be achieved without the use of critical, constructive and deeper questions (Burr & Goldinger 1980:318). Thus if independent inquiry is replaced by political dogmas educational innovation may proceed with facts that are uncritically reviewed.
It cannot be denied that independent inquiry desired in the intellectual and educational innovation is to a great extent limited by political dogmas and accepted opinions of the intellectuals.

2.2.4 PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION/ANALYTICAL REASONING BECAME A FOREIGN CONCEPT - POLITICAL IMPERATIVES BECAME DOMINANT

Notably, intellectuals because of their ability to create, disseminate and apply culture are involved in the liberation of the oppressed. And it is not uncommon that they may be interested in power structures like Nationalism, to such an extent that they neglected analytical reasoning in their participation in the latter political activity (Vide Chapter 2, par 2.2.5). The intellectuals’ interest in nationalism originates from the fact that this activity is regarded as an ideal way of eliminating foreign pressure and influence so as to achieve economic independence, political sovereignty, as well as freedom of the indigenous national culture. The latter is achieved by attempts to make independence real, true as well as meaningful. Also of interest to the intellectuals about nationalism is this activity’s ability to dealt with the national aim and unity always sought for by Africans.

Since Nationalism, as it appears, is a wide political activity, attending to its various aspects does not only require the intellectuals’ time but rather to be fully committed to it. Hence they lacked time for analytical reasoning.

By keeping the latter reasoning at bay it becomes like a foreign concept which means politics seems to dominate induction and deduction as components of analytical reasoning. Without induction intellectuals cannot draw an inference whose conclusion is from particulars. The same applies to deduction. Without it intellectuals may fail to argue or infer from general conclusion to the particular (Witherall 1968:17). Relating the two concepts of reasoning to the educational innovation, it can be stated that inductive reasoning requires the intellectuals to find premises which support the conclusion while deductive reasoning requires them to proceed from the general conclusion and work towards premises. For example, the conclusion that ‘the existing education was irrelevant and therefore the need for innovation’ can under the former reasoning be supported by relevant facts. In the same manner, for the
latter reasoning, particulars such as: curricula are outdated, educational aims and methods do not suit the learners, etc. may lead to the conclusion that the 'the existing education system is irrelevant.' If the two forms of reasoning are neglected because of the political imperatives, the intellectual and educational innovation can be seriously hampered because of the inability to acquire facts which are related to conclusion or because of lack of ability to work from conclusion towards facts.

Because of the demands for democracy which originated from the grassroots of African societies since 1990, the political imperatives which, among others, included free and fair elections, press freedom and strengthening of democratic institutions became dominant. It needs to be noticed that since this period most of the African countries had to be transformed from autocracy to democracy. The former government became undesirable because of, among other things, nepotism, corruption, low economic growth and poor governance (Diamond 1992:32). Fighting against the said practices requires much commitment on the part of the intellectuals. Intellectuals, as a consequence, became so preoccupied with them that they always think of strategies to eliminate them politically. But, in an attempt to do so, they can hardly devote any attention to analytical reasoning, which when fully exercised, can render its adoption useful in educational innovation whenever required.

By seeking democracy the African societies hoped that the given evils would be minimized if not eliminated. And it is also believed that the second liberation (democracy) could free the African people from the evils of autocracy such as tyranny and oppression.

In so far as democracy can be used to end autocracy, that is, eliminating arbitrary elite power, enhancing and protecting human rights and decreasing inequalities, it is essential, that due to its large and diversified scope, a considerable number of intellectuals be greatly involved in this political activity. The intellectuals are also regarded as key players in the support for democracy and as such they can influence this process through the production of the research networks (Robinson 1994:46; Etzioni-Halevy 1985:60-61). And in the same way, as with nationalism as previously discussed, the intellectuals become more interested in democracy to such an extent that they remain committed to it and tend to neglect analytical reasoning.

And turning to the intellectual and educational innovation it may be stated that the
intellectuals may be capable of philosophical speculation but may be prevented from exercising it because of being much preoccupied with the political imperatives just mentioned above. The said imperatives may also withdraw them from making their contribution towards educational innovation.

2.2.5 THE DESTINY OF MAN BECAME CONCEIVED IN POLITICAL TERMS

Conceiving the destiny of man in political terms was not so much evident in the 'first liberation' which occurred in the early 1960's in which there was a shift from colonialism to independence in Africa. The latter form of government was more authoritarian rather than democratic and this led to the desire for a second liberation which was a democratic form of rule.

Achieving the 'second liberation' is in itself a difficult task for those in power would like to remain in it while the ruled people demand, among other things, the return to multiparty politics, multi constitutional rule, multiparty elections and political pluralism. Failure of those in power to meet these demands often resulted in strikes, protests, and in some instances the assassination of leaders and civil wars. Some leaders even fled their countries (Riley 1992:116). Because of the second liberation the existence of man has been determined by the acceptance of and participation in the political activities. Educational innovation thus received less, if any, attention for more people become engaged in political activities.

Because of the political transitions in Africa between 1990 and 1993, man’s destiny could be conceived in political terms if it is understood that those transitions focused on a change from authoritarianism to democracy. Man was required to participate in the free and fair elections as a means of achieving the latter. And such elections resulted in weak, partial and in many respects, superficial democracy (Bratton & van de Walle 1994:453; Diamond 1992:38). From this it can be pointed out that the striving to achieve democracy was regarded important in determining the man’s future for he would be free from oppression, corruption and tyranny. But man’s involvement in politics hampers his participation in bringing about educational innovation. This is due to less attention he may pay to it.

By examining the African political thought and the actions of the African political thinkers
it can further be noticed how the destiny of man can be understood in political terms. The aforementioned thought and actions are much reflected in eight concepts to which, at one time or another, the most prominent African thinkers such as Blyden, Nyerere, Azikiwe, etc. addressed themselves. They were, namely, cultural nationalism, plaintive nationalism, radical nationalism, race and colonial imperialism, Pan-Africanism, neo-colonialism, ideological and integral nationalism, and African non-alignment. African politics can be said to have developed from these concepts. It can also be held that they received attention from various African political thinkers since they reflected international situations which were among others, between the colonizers and the colonized, between the tribesman and non-tribesman, between power holders and non-power holders. But of all these concepts, nationalism was more prominent (Mutiso 1975: Introduction).

To explain these concepts further, it can be maintained that man was placed in various political perspectives. For instance, because of cultural nationalism, the African ceased to be considered cultureless. His culture began to be recognized.

The need to assimilate the African into the colonized society was pursued through plaintive nationalism which, among others, emphasized equal opportunities in a multiracial system.

Through racial nationalism it was demanded by the political thinkers and scholars that Africa should be for Africans. This was regarded a radical way to reject the colonial society and white superiority.

In the above remaining concepts, man's political rights in terms of race superiority, freedom, dealing with neo-colonialism, consolidation of power and strategy for extra-Africa relations and approach to the international ‘cold war’ situation received much attention.

As it will be seen in the next discussion, the tyrannical custom of African culture also inhibits intellectual and educational innovation.
2.3 THE TYRANNICAL CUSTOM OF AFRICAN CULTURE

2.3.1 NON-LITERARY MODE OF THOUGHT STIFLED CREATIVITY, IMAGINATION AND INITIATIVE

Closely connected to the tyrannical custom of the African culture is the non-literary mode of thought and the extent to which it restricts creativity, imagination and initiative necessary for intellectual and educational innovation.

Unlike the Western cultures, African cultures are tyrannical in nature. This is more evident in the manner in which they adopt the authority structures, be it in the government or family or etc. For instance, a chief, as a traditional ruler, is unlikely to be opposed after laying down certain rules or in case of disputes, after passing the judgement. Most of such rulers attended no schooling at all and thus could be regarded as illiterate. The same applies to the father as the head of the family. Decisions made by him should be obeyed and carried out.

Other examples to illustrate the tyrannical custom of the African culture are obtained from rulers such as Amin, Bokassa andNguema who rose to power at the age of 45 and ruled their countries for about 8 to 13 years. All of them were of low traditional status varying from illiterate (Amin) to the lack of aptitude for mental effort and study (Nguema) and secondary education (Bokassa) (Decalo 1985:214-215).

It can be added that as tyrants, the three reflected the non-literary mode of thought which stemmed from the use of soothsayers, sorcerers and devines. Amin constantly attended the fortune-tellers, Bokassa frequented soothsayers while Nguema was a master of traditional witchcraft (Ibid. 1985:224-225).

From the three tyrants it can be inferred that the tyrannical custom of African culture is non-scientific and was based on the non-literary mode of thought backed by superstition, beliefs and witchcraft.

And since the non-literary mode of thought is based on oral tradition, there is, of course, little or nothing which can be handed down from the African cultures in at least written form for
philosophers or even intellectuals to reflect on (Sogolo 1990:43). This implies that the non-literary mode of thought can be of little significance to educational innovation. Little recourse can be made to written records or such records can hardly be made available to educational innovators due to their lack.

The mode of thought in any intellectual and educational innovation plays a major role. From the study of the African intellectual history and its sources, it can be clearly noticed that the ideas and emotions of the majority of the African population, are not expressed in writing but rather in oral and artistic forms. This could be ascribed to the fact that they were non-literate and their mode of thought was further based on oral literature or folklore, proverbs, popular songs, stories, art, drama and similar forms of expressions collectively known as African Orature (Ekechi 1987:66).

As far as the non-literary mode of thought is concerned it cannot assist to develop creativity necessary for educational innovation. This can chiefly be argued from the fact that, firstly, it has a non-scientific foundation which also involves less critical thinking and stresses memory reinforcement. Secondly, it deals with non-educational matters related to African cultures.

A look at popular songs reveal the lack of the non-literary mode of thought to promote educational innovation for there is nothing critical about them except to be used for studying, among others, attitudes, opinions and reactions of the average Africans to social and political situations. They also reflect traditional values and serve as a means of achieving political and social control of the group opinion they represent (Ibid. 1987:70-71).

It can also be said that proverbs as part of the non-literary mode of thought cannot contribute to educational innovation because they pay attention to procedures and beliefs. Proverbs are also mainly connected to the ancestral spirits and other forms of magical religious life (Boateng 1983:331).

Imagination is also limited by the non-literary mode of thought because unlike the scientific thought the former thought offers very little opportunity for problem solving to exercise the power of imagination. Such an opportunity can best be offered through written records.
available on various topics. Thus by attempting to solve such problems imagination can be
developed, which in turn, if necessary, can aid towards educational innovation.

Another argument against the non-literary mode of thought is its lack of ability to stimulate
imagination. By comparison the literary mode allows the expression of ideas in writing which
when further read can activate further imagination and writing on a topic, say educational
innovation. Therefore, without written records the imagination is forced to develop very
inadequately because of relying on what can be said or told.

Initiative is also adversely affected by the non-literary mode of thought. This can be held
from the viewpoint that African custom is dogmatic and authoritarian, apart from being non-
literate. Such custom lacks freedom of enquiry, openness to criticism and has a great
veneration of authority. Because of being tyrannical, this custom emphasizes conformity to
social norms at the expense of initiative (Oladipo 1992:46). It needs thus to be indicated that
without the mind that is free to ask or rather enquire there will always be fear to be initiative.
And it is also important for the custom to promote initiative by being flexible. Initiative can
be regarded as very important to educational innovation for it allows innovators to develop
new ideas on a educational phenomenon, which can, so to say, improve it.

It is very essential to point out that the lack or absence of written records in the African
societies resulted in the non-literary mode of thought. According to this mode of thought,
the Africans believe in what they do though this does not appear in writing. And in dealing
with the reality they relied on mystical and religious beliefs. Because of their mode of
thought, the Africans are said to be unable to differentiate clearly between the rational and
the emotional etc. (Hallen & Sodipo 1986:6). Because of the previously explained literary
state of African societies, it can be argued that the main cause of such non-literary mode of
thought was the oral tradition which dominated the African societies over the past decades.
From the intellectual and educational innovation viewpoint, hardly any creativity, imagination
and initiative can develop from the said tradition and its way of thinking. Put differently, an
analysis of written information or records becomes very necessary to promote the said three
aspects of the human mind, because it allows further thinking which is so indispensable in the
educational innovation.
Another argument to illustrate the inhibiting influence of the non-literary mode of thought on intellectual and educational innovation is that it offers very little opportunity for creativity, imagination and initiation because of its emphasis on repetition of the orature.

It can also be added that because of the non-literary mode of thought, African cultures rely on folklore which is rich in folktales, proverbs, myths and legends which have so greatly infused the African literature with distinctive features, themes characters and techniques (Ojaide 1992:50). The main argument against folklore in educational innovation is that it restricts creativity, imagination and initiative. What all occurs under folklore is mainly a retelling of all its parts be it proverbs, myths and legends without exercising any of the three aspects of the human mind appropriately. These aspects are stifled because folk retelling involves little or no reasoning, analysis, questioning and drawing up conclusions.

By having an underdeveloped scientific enquiry the nation’s educational innovation may be seriously hampered. The aspects of this enquiry are discussed subsequently.

2.3.2 THE UNDERDEVELOPED CHARACTER OF ITS SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY RETARDS OBJECTIVE SCHOLARSHIP, EMPIRICAL VERIFICATION AND ANALYTICAL LOGIC

It has been indicated in the previous discussion that the non-literary mode of thought dominated the African cultures in the past. With this mode of thought, African cultures could not fully develop a system of scientific enquiry.

Besides being affected by the non-literary mode of thought, African cultures have an underdeveloped scientific enquiry originating from the authoritarian custom. This could be well understood in terms of the ethnosophy according to which eternal and intangible wisdom is dealt with in a closed system which allows no questioning or discussion. Because of ethnosophy, African cultures forbid questioning the elders, undervalue curiosity in the very young ages and independent thought in those who are a bit older. And in addition to this, the proverbs that are mainly followed in African cultures largely stress unchangeable authority and a few promote independent thinking which is so important for scientific enquiry (Owomoyela 1987:81).
Owing to the operation of ethnophilosophy, it therefore appears that enquiry, though not scientific is hampered in African cultures. Scientific enquiry which may be used together with ordinary enquiry is thus lacking in African culture. As a consequence intellectual and educational innovation cannot be promoted if the two types of enquiries are insufficient. Enquiry in itself in African cultures is also inhibited by heavy reliance on what was handed down from the ancestors without the need for questioning. Among the folk transmitters these statements may be found: ‘This is what our ancestors have reaffirmed’. Certain declarative statements are found in African cultures: ‘Our ancestors have always rejected this’. From such statements there are no basis of enquiry of whatever form except adoption. Living by what has been finalized by their ancestors is thus regarded as one of the norms in African cultures.

The underdeveloped nature of scientific enquiry in African cultures is also largely due to the fact that they possess certain culturally ingrained attitudes which make them refuse to adopt logical, mathematical, analytical, experimental or scientific procedures. Their refusal can be attributed to the fact that they lack a developed scientific method and therefore lack science (Ekechi 1987:83).

Rightly, it can be said that the lack of scientific method in African cultures resulted in the lack of scientific enquiry and the inability to arrive at the scientific knowledge which can be employed in intellectual and educational innovation.

The need for the scientific method in educational innovation can be to derive facts and information from experience and construct judgements which are in principle rejectable or otherwise confirmable through the use of observation, conceptual analysis and logical deduction. Hypothesized experimenting and observing can also be used together during the application of this method (Wiredu 1980:65, 144). What this implies is that educational innovation can proceed scientifically if the scientific method is followed and without it, it can proceed unsystematically and intuitively.

The scientific method just referred to includes, among others, objective scholarship, empirical verification and analytical logic, all of which are important in and also promote
educational innovation for in this process facts cannot be dealt with if they are not objectively viewed, empirically verified and logically analyzed.

It is important to point out that the underdeveloped scientific enquiry in African cultures presupposes inadequate rational enquiry which is very necessary to promote objective scholarship. The latter enquiry is inadequate due to the backwardness of African cultures because of superstition and belief-foundations (Wiredu 1979:122,139; Shimony 1993:301). The last two aspect of African culture are often practised without enquiry and are very subjective rather than objective. Since it is essential to determine the truth or falsity of innovative facts through objective scholarship it is, in African cultures, difficult to do so because of these aspects. Therefore, adequately developed objective scholarship is required to promote educational innovation for in this process true facts can be dealt with.

On account of retarded objectivity, it can be stated that the African cultures cannot arrive at explanations, predictions and control which are not influenced by either aims or aspirations (Horton 1993:379). As far as the process of educational innovation is concerned it implies that objectivity cannot be adequately achieved with regard to various explanations or predictions to be made in the process.

As part of the scientific enquiry, empirical verification assists to verify innovative facts by referring to the experience since such facts have been derived from it (Palmer 1988:177; Hamlyn 1970:36-37). This implies that facts that are dealt with in educational innovation should have direct relevance to the past and present educational experience. And most important, it should be ascertained if they are true through verification. Empirical verification in African culture cannot be properly carried out for it is underdeveloped because of being affected by the similar state of the scientific enquiry. It needs to be added that the innovative facts obtained through either induction or deduction can be poorly verified if empirical verification is underdeveloped.

Similarly, analytical logic in African culture is negatively affected by the underdeveloped scientific enquiry. The said logic cannot be sufficiently employed in educational innovation. Logic, on the one hand serves to evaluate arguments, notices relationships between statements and their conclusions and determining logical correctness rather than their truth
or falsity. On the other hand, analytical logic pays attention to a closer look at these and other aspects under review, depending on the circumstances (Facione & Sherer 1978:14; Shimony 1993:106). This, in other words, means that an inadequate analytical logic cannot be sufficiently used to assess facts necessary for an educational innovation and may thus inhibit the latter process.

In the following discussion the lack of scientific heroes or breakthroughs and absence of thinking models as an inhibiting factor are dealt with.

2.3.3 A CULTURE WITH NO SCIENTIFIC HEROES OR BREAKTHROUGHS. THE ABSENCE OF THINKING MODELS BECAUSE OF COMMUNALITY

Unlike the Western cultures, the African cultures have no scientific heroes or breakthroughs to turn to, so as to promote the intellectual and educational innovation. The former cultures have heroes like Plato, Aristotle, Locke and others who remain as their sources of scientific knowledge. But in the case of African cultures because of their underdeveloped nature, morals are more significant than scientific knowledge. And as a consequence in these cultures a talk is made of luminaries rather than scientific heroes (Sono 1994:xiv).

Of course, luminaries should be found in African cultures, for instead of being guided only scientifically, the need exists among the Africans to be guided morally, mentally and spiritually, that is, to be able to distinguish between good and bad, to have religion and also to have the general mental development. Without the luminaries these cannot be achieved. But looking at the educational innovation, the said people are of little significance, for this process is not concerned with the aforementioned aspects but rather with reasoning leading towards the improvement of the educational system as a whole. Thus their presence in large numbers in the society, instead of the scientific heroes, is regarded as a hindrance towards the process of educational innovation.

The reason for the lack of scientific heroes can be sought from the fact African cultures are non-literate or pre-scientific; in other words non-scientific (Horton 1993:222). This suggests that they cannot have scientific achievements to boast of and for these achievements they have to rely on Western cultures, which are more scientific. It can, from these premises, be
maintained that the scientific nature of a culture is a precondition for the development of scientific heroes. But though not a prerequisite, to have such heroes, the literary state of a culture is required. What all this means is that if a culture lacks science, and more especially the scientific knowledge and relies on superstition and beliefs as the African cultures do, it cannot turn out the said heroes whose functioning area is mostly the scientific field.

But, instead of having scientific heroes, African cultures abound in writers, that is, poets, novelists, essayists as luminaries. Through their writings, these people have been able to exercise intellectual, moral and spiritual influence. And through literature, especially a committed one, they have been in a position to educate their people and also serve as their spokesman (Lagneau-Kisteloot 1972:25). To explain this, writings in the form of literature, for example, can be given to maintain morals, to develop the intellect or even to influence the society spiritually. But, when it comes to educational innovation this has little significance and can correctly be of no use. This further supports the notion that scientific heroes, with their scientific knowledge, breakthroughs, methods, etc., rather than luminaries, can promote educational innovation.

The reasons for the existence of such luminaries are found in the way of life mostly adopted by Africans, namely, communalism, which is also the main cause of the absence of thinking models in this culture. With communality as a central concept in communalism, African cultures cannot have thinking models because the former concept emphasizes co-ownership and co-control of various possessions [including co-control of man’s thought] (Kotze 1983:51).

The latter control on man’s thought can be regarded as an impediment towards the mental activity for its operation has to wait for the approval of the community. In other words decision and action become a communal matter. Thus to become a thinking model can be frustrated by the community.

In the traditional African societies which were more simple than the modern ones, communalism was found to be a workable way of life. Living as such was carried on without money with people working all their lives in the same place and among the same close relatives. The feeling of familyhood could be sustained under this system. Communalism in
itself does not foster the spirit of competition among the members of the society but rather a feeling of familyhood, closeness and also encourages a sense of belonging (Bodunrin 1981:167). All these can be promoted by communalism, but as far as developing the thinking models is concerned this way of life seems inappropriate for its operation is linked to the closed or primitive people who had low literary, traditional and intellectual status. So to have the thinking models, the society should have literate and highly educated members as well as improved traditional status. The latter refers to the tradition which can accommodate itself to recent developments occurring in the educational, social and economic fields.

If the culture has no thinking models it can be said that it may lack the innovative thought to be provided by those regarded as such. Their thought is very indispensable for planning the new educational practices and related aspects during educational innovation. To phrase it differently, the absence of thinking models is a hindrance to educational innovation.

On account of communality, people in African cultures are not encouraged to stand out as models of thought for people in these cultures have to live for the common good, that is, live together, work together and try to reinforce each other against the difficulties and problems they might encounter (Nyerere 1975:534). Put differently, communality discourages the development of thinking models by stressing the need for sharing resources, human and physical.

And it can be added that due to communality, man’s existence is determined by the community which makes little room for initiative, spontaneity, responsibility, autonomy and so on (Okolo 1992:484). It can be argued that communality is inclined to suppress all the aspects necessary to develop the thinking models. Insofar as these aspects can promote thinking, African cultures need to break away from communal approach to life, and give more liberty and autonomy to exercise originality, independent decision, etc. By allowing this to take pace, the culture can have thinking models to aid in intellectual and educational innovation and rightly, the African communities should recognize man’s intrinsic dimension, rather than ignore and suppress it.

The fact that African cultures prefer and regard communal life as most significant shows that they lay emphasis on respect and obedience. It requires that the young respect and be guided
by the elderly. In addition to this they should show religious respect to the memories of their ancestors. Among others, communality stresses virtues such as participation in various life activities, perseverance, humbleness and peacemaking (Tedla 1995:160). A look at these virtues clearly indicates that communality is non-scientific and thus can in no way turn out either thinking models or scientific heroes which can participate in intellectual and educational innovation.

Intellectual and educational innovation may be inhibited by the absence of scientific thinking as it is discussed in the next paragraphs.

2.4 THE ABSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING

2.4.1 SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND AFRICAN TRADITIONAL THOUGHT

The scientific thinking in African cultures is mainly replaced by the African traditional thought which is largely non-scientific. This thought is, so to mention, made up of verbalized knowledge or beliefs that can be described as shapeless oral literature. This literature attempts to include everything belonging to the African cultures, namely, divination, verses, lyrics, myths, maxims, tales and proverbs. Some of these aspects, especially, proverbs and myths are regarded as unreasoned and uncritical and consequently cannot belong to the scientific field of knowledge (Hallen 1995b:69; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.1).

It is very possible that intellectual and educational innovation can proceed uncritically or without reasoning. Therefore, because of the African traditional thought and its aspects, educational innovation can be adversely hindered because it will be forced to carry on without sufficient reasoning. Educational innovation can be said to lag behind owing to this thought.

The absence of scientific thinking in the traditional African culture as one of the inhibiting factors in intellectual and educational innovation, has since the past, in African cultures been characterized by religious, mystical or magical thinking rather than by scientific thinking. This traditional mode of thought hardly contributes towards innovation, mainly because it cannot be based on empirical facts. This supposes that it is not based on empirical knowledge or facts which can be verified as is the case in scientific thinking.
In order to grasp fully the absence of scientific thinking it needs to be accepted that the African traditional thought is pre-eminently religious and that the Africans are commonly known as religious with religion permeating all their life to the extent that it becomes difficult to differentiate between those who are religious and those who are not. This, in fact, suggests that the African thought is dominated by beliefs about spiritual forces such as gods, fetishes, ancestors (Mafeje 1992:7-9). As far as the aforementioned forces are concerned, they tend to restrict the rational thinking required to bring about educational innovation because they are mystical or rather too abstract.

As an inhibiting factor in intellectual and educational innovation the traditional religious thought is more emotional, mystical, fantasy-oriented, supernaturally-oriented, non-empirical, concrete and non-analytical rather than intellectual, rational, reality-oriented, empirical, abstract and analytical respectively (Horton 1993:220). The latter aspects are more important in bringing about innovation and belong to the scientific outlook.

The traditional African cultures thus lack scientific thinking greatly and as such they are known as ‘closed’ rather than ‘open’ cultures. And as ‘closed’ cultures they further lack awareness of alternatives, sacredness of beliefs and anxiety about threats to them, all of which are in the researcher’s opinion very essential for promoting innovation. The opposite is true with ‘open’ or scientifically oriented cultures, which have a highly developed awareness of alternatives, decreased sacredness of beliefs and about threats to them (Ibid. 1993:223).

The argument concerning the two cultures in the educational innovation lies in the fact that innovators should as much as possible, belong to the ‘open’ cultures because such cultures offer opportunities to advance facts and to weigh alternatives with a view to making appropriate choice. And as they work through the innovation they cannot be guided by beliefs but rather by the available facts.

It is however, further necessary to indicate that the traditional thought is unreflective and that the traditional Africa has a poorly developed logic and philosophy.

The following discussion looks into the extent to which philosophy may serve as the source of solutions to current educational problems.
2.4.2 PHILOSOPHY CONTRIBUTES LITTLE TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

The contribution of philosophy, and in this regard African philosophy, to the contemporary problems can properly be realized if it is known that this philosophy is divided into ancient and modern African philosophy. Correctly, the two divisions limit its contribution considerably.

From the former division it can be learnt that African philosophy deals with doctrines and reflections taken from African philosophy as given in olden times. African elders as philosophers are occupied, in ancient philosophy, in thinking about the past mysteries of where they live, hostility of the surroundings, difficulties of living together between people themselves and animals, etc. They reflected on these and other aspects by asking questions and the answers they got satisfied them as ancient philosophy (Momoh 1985:79). But, the main question is whether this philosophy can contribute to the understanding of the contemporary problems. From what it pays attention to, it can with certainty be said it has a very limited contribution.

In the latter division of African philosophy which is termed modern, it can be maintained that, similar to its counterpart, its contribution to the understanding of current problems is minimal. It addresses the theories of professional philosophers on African philosophy. For example, William Abraham’s Theory of Cultural Essentialism and others. Hardly all contemporary problems require the said theories for their understanding. Instead they require reasoning based on the circumstances as they unfold themselves.

Philosophy and in particular African philosophy makes a limited contribution towards the understanding of the contemporary problems including those experienced in educational innovation. This can mainly be ascribed to its nature and the corps of African philosophers. Turning to its nature it can be pointed out that it is not scientific in its method of enquiry and that as a personal enterprise it is not concerned with consensus of opinions but rather with the critical deliberate thinking. And rather than be a body of doctrines, philosophy’s activities are limited to clarification and analysis of concepts and in some instances the removal of pretensions from the talks. Its contribution to the understanding of the contemporary
problems is further restricted by the lack of trained philosophers without whom it has to rely on wise men who together with a number of others such as the medicine men, priests, sages, rulers, etc. belong to the ancient African philosophy, thus far discussed. These thinkers do not have scientific knowledge which could be of assistance to intellectual and educational innovation (Oseghare 1992:37; Momoh 1985:75).

The fact that African philosophy lacks some of the qualities of the scientific method, namely, empirical verification or rationality can hardly contribute to the understanding of the modern problems which need it to go beyond the clarification of concepts and gives justification of positions (Udoidem 1987:102-103). Although it is important that through philosophy the concepts that relate to the problems may be clarified, it is, however, essential that before any problem could be understood its nature be investigated and by so doing its causes can be determined with a view to suggesting tentative solutions. African philosophy cannot go thus far for it stresses clarification and analysis of concept. It can therefore be regarded as inadequate in providing the understanding of the modern problems.

Understanding the problems goes, as much as possible, together with justifying them as real problems needing solutions. African philosophy has no provision for justifications.

African philosophy, very often called folk philosophy, is also considered to have little contribution to the understanding of the current problem on the grounds that it generally consists of what has been said or claimed to have been said by ‘our elders’. More often than not these refer to the argumentative reasons and elaborations of the past which currently have no justifications for they may not be clear to the present generations (Wiredu 1972:5).

From this it can be suggested that African philosophy can be useful for understanding current problems if it reflects more about what goes on currently and rather not be guided by what was said by the elderly people in the society it must be guided by the demands of the society. So the issue will be what do philosophers say about the present and future situations.

Another failure of African philosophy to provide the understanding of the present problems is principally the lack of the spirit of science. Such spirit allows this philosophy to be in touch with the content of what is currently happening in Africa (Ibid.1972:6). Having just indicated
that African philosophy is past oriented because of 'our elders’ it becomes reasonably clear that for the current problems, be it their understanding or solutions reference cannot be made to this philosophy.

It is also worth noting that the contribution of African philosophy towards understanding the current problems may be due to its spontaneous, unreflective and collective nature (Apter 1972:78). The three aspects can hardly be part of the educational innovation, more so, if it can be assumed that this process is not voluntary and it needs thorough planning, research and consultation. Added to this is the need to reflect on what is done, that is, pausing to see if innovation is proceeding according to schedule. Also, a single worldview rather than a multitude of them needs be accommodated in one innovation. There cannot, for instance, in one innovation be dealt with communist, socialist, and traditional views, etc. and it be expected that all these views should flourish in the new education system. Hence collective world views, in this sense are out of question in educational innovation.

It needs further be indicated that due to the fact that the African philosophy has its roots in Africa and that its focus on the issues, concerns and traditions of the Africans, its love and pursuit of old age traditional wisdom of African peoples with reflections on their values, ontology and method of understanding reality, cannot contribute to the understanding of the current problems (Etuk 1987:62). The intellectual and educational innovation problems hardly require such wisdom for their understanding and solutions. And more especially that such problems have to focus on future advancement and that they are radically different from what was experienced in the past.

Apart from its lack of methodology, as mentioned earlier, African philosophy is compelled to make a limited contribution towards gaining insight into the contemporary problems because of lack of its own logic and content. African philosophy can neither be used to help people conceptualize old problems nor present them with new ones (Pearce 1994:205). Put differently, philosophers cannot be relied upon to solve, among others, educational innovation problems emanating from the past and projecting towards the future.

Contemporary educational innovation which demands, among others, curricular, aims and instructional change and quality and uniform education cannot in the present and future be
adequately addressed by African philosophy owing to its content and method.

2.4.3 STATIC CULTURE

The study of African cultures revealed among others, the fact that they have tended to lag behind modern developments as far as their habits of thought and practice are concerned. The lives of the African people are as a result negatively affected. They experience *inter alia* ungrowth of science, technological sluggish as well as economic and socio-political dilemmas (Oke 1995:206). From this it can be understood that African cultures lack ability to deal with changing times. They hardly accommodate changes brought about by technological developments. In this matter the traditional thought and practice can be said to be constant which actually means it is static and the cultures in which it operates assume this state.

African philosophy is also considered to be one of the factors which contributes to the static nature of African cultures. From this philosophy, it can be learnt that its sub-section known as ethnophilosophy tends to regard beliefs as things that do not change or to put it differently, are somehow timeless (Hallen 1995:383). This gives an understanding that if African cultures are governed by beliefs, which is mostly the case, they are bound in one way or another to be static.

Looking further at ethnophilosophy, various practices from this philosophy support the static nature of African cultures, namely, the use of proverbs, myths and legends in the daily lives of the Africans. The three are adopted to regulate behaviour, morals and African life in general.

The argument is that African cultures are confronted with the problem of dealing with the changing world while they have to be bound to the African tradition with its aspects, namely, ancestral worship, belief in witchcraft, rituals, etc. And considered very closely, educational innovation contradicts the static nature of the African cultures for it is more dynamic rather than static.

Viewing it from the past, it is essential to indicate that the static nature of African culture, which is one of the major barriers to intellectual and educational innovation, is to a great
measure due to the British colonialists. With regard to the colonized African people, the British operated a static view of culture and froze the culture of this people at the point of colonization. They brought about disparity in development within the same colony with the result that further complications in connection with ethnic and cultural differences were experienced. Thus, attempts by different countries to close the development gap resulted in no development and hence the African culture remained static (Ayoade 1989:5). The progress in educational innovation was, definitely, affected by the given differences since they also permeated the educational field. Bridging the said differences in education cannot, certainly, be undertaken together with innovation since the two activities are diametrically opposed. The main danger remained, however, to neglect the latter activity.

It was not only the British, who as colonialists, brought about the static nature of African culture but also the French and the Portuguese. The French colonialists assumed that the African had no culture and they attempted to give culture to the African. By being interested in the endeavour, the Africans accepted it and were consequently assimilated into the French politics. This actually meant abandoning their own culture in return for the political and civic rights offered by the French (Ibid. 1989:2). Abandoning one's culture means leaving it to remain static for no one else can develop another person's culture appropriately. As it has already been said, the static culture cannot promote educational innovation. It can be added that such a culture is not open to new prospects or phrased the other way round, it does not plan and anticipate new developments.

Besides being caused by the British and the French to be static, the African culture was affected by negritude as an ideology. This ideology was of a specific African sense which embraced a certain knowledge and sensibility that could be considered false. The ideology is mainly criticized for not permitting the African culture to change in accordance with what is needed by varying political and technological realities (Keita 1985:109). From this it can be understood that because of the need to practice negritude as a means of affirming the value of African culture other developments in this culture are held constant or neglected or even regarded as meaningless. Educational innovation as one of the developments, can consequently under this ideology be treated in the like manner.

Also worthy of note about the static nature of African culture is the pagan groundmotive
accordingly to which the African is unwilling to be affected by change and wishes to remain uncivilized. Owing to this groundmotive the African’s life remains fixed to the traditional groundwork of his religion and ontology. This ontology, though static, is considered to guarantee the African a metaphysical security independent of any social conditions (Tempels 1959:26; Neugebauer 1990:50). The need to secure security by adhering to groundmotives is given prominence in the African culture for they control their thoughts and actions. The traditional African groundmotives as part of the static culture cannot promote educational innovation which is part of the dynamic culture. Educational innovation has little meaning for static culture and can hardly gain support from it.

The static nature of African culture can be said to hamper the intellectual and educational innovation. This is largely owing to the fact that African societies rely much on traditional ways of life which remain unchanging and with little or no individual originality. These societies rely on oral tradition which is handed down from one generation to the next. Such a tradition is transmitted through passive memorization done by uncreative bearers of tradition (Lloyd & Gay 1981:238-239). To explain the static nature of African culture further, it can be said that this culture very often repeats certain aspects found in its religious beliefs, superstitions, traditional activities and institutions. For instance, the African does not move away from ancestral worship, traditional dances, music, ceremonies, etc. And throughout the years these aspects of culture undergo very little or no change at all.

From the static nature of African culture it can be argued that innovation in general and educational innovation in particular receive less attention with the result that some years may elapse without attempts to innovate the education systems. This, in other words, presupposes that the culture needs to be dynamic in order to accommodate new developments, generate new activities and discard, if necessary, certain obsolete cultural norms and values. And by gradually becoming dynamic, the culture can have a positive attitude towards innovation.

The static nature of African culture as an inhibiting factor in educational innovation can further be noticed in the willingness to retain the same content and methods and aims of education. In its content the traditional African education does not move away from skills, intellectual and physical training as well as knowledge acquisition based on life in the family
and society. Usually included in the content of this education are local history, geography, astronomy, healing and preparation of medicine from animals, plants and insects, agricultural education, story-telling and story-relays, value transmission, etc. Various methods of education which are both oral and written, remain pragmatic and mainly include singing, stories, rituals, initiation, memorizing, observing, dramatizing, proverbs, recitation, demonstration and practicing social activities. Despite the fact that the aims of traditional African education were numerous and varied, they all focused on honesty, respect, skills acquisition, co-operation and conformity to the social order of the day. Attention was also paid to assisting the individual to live with minimum frustration and difficulties in his life (Fafunwa 1982:10; Ayisi 1972:48-49; Tedla 1995:125-126).

Turning to educational innovation, the three aspects, that is: aim, content and methods of education are subject to change according to the dictates of realities. They must always take into account the needs as well as the social and economic development of the society. If these aspects remain unchanged for years, they become outdated and as a result education fails in its duty of preparing the individual for economic and social life.

2.4.4 NON-EXISTENCE OF ETHICISTS

The non-existence of ethicists in the African culture is one of the inhibiting factors in the intellectual and educational innovation. Apart from providing security, stability and shelter to the society, ethics provide reasonable room for questioning and reflection on what is wrong and right (Marais 1972:12). The former two aspects, that is, questioning and reflection are essential for innovation because through them correct reasoning can be achieved to work out the most appropriate educational innovation.

Since ethics assist to focus on the wrong and the right side of things, without them it would be very hard to determine whether the steps taken to innovate the education system are correct or incorrect, for the judgement comes through the adoption of ethics.

Having indicated very briefly the importance of ethics in educational innovation, it becomes essential to view the position of ethics in African culture. As far as this culture is concerned, it can be maintained that it has no clear-cut lines of conduct which can have normal ethical
labels, that is, to be termed good or evil and right or wrong. Very often this culture discovers new dimensions which are not covered by the existing terms. This implies that the behaviour may be regarded as good if it fits into the natural order. If it does not it may be termed bad. Mostly, good behaviour is expected to produce favourable results. Another criterion used to determine the good or bad behaviour is pragmatic utilitarianism. In this way ethics tend to operate in a reversed order for they are limited by utilitarianism instead of being used openly to question and demand reflection about behaviour (Marias 1972:13-14). Correctly, ethics should be there regardless of utilitarianism, or whether behaviour yields any results. They could not be fixed by tradition but rather by ethicists. And since ethics are concerned with how to live, they should always be formulated before hand by ethicists so that all forms of behaviour could be judged against them. It can be argued that a culture without, ethics, and ethicists has nothing to guide how its people should live. Even the intellectuals in educational innovation may lack the necessary guidance.

The absence of clearly defined ethics in the African culture can also be supported by the fact that the Africans have only mass-consciousness with no sense of, among others, ethics, mores, future-planning etc. (Neugebauer 1990:43). This suggests that the Africans are just aware that things occur without any sense of whether they are good or bad and right or wrong. This again indicates the absence of ethicists in the African culture for if it has them there would be clear ethics rather than mass-consciousness. Of the two, that is, ethics and mass-consciousness, educational innovation can employ the first one because for its development there needs to be clarity concerning the right and wrong actions.

African culture has no ethics, that is, it has no moral philosophy and therefore no ethicists. But, instead this culture abounds in moralists because it strongly stresses the moral codes rather than ethics. Among others, there are the following moral codes: do not steal, do not kill another man (except in war), do not tell lies, etc. These are mere morality of conduct (Marais 1972:12; Mbiti 1969:208-209). And as such they do not show whether the conduct is right or wrong and whether good or bad but only forbid certain actions. The fact that moralists, rather than ethicists are not concerned with questioning the right and the wrong cannot, in this sense, contribute to educational innovation. As was said earlier, in this
innovation process, justificatioin through questioning rather than prescribing the action is absolutely necessary.

Due to the non-existence of ethicists in African culture, the ethical responsibility had been entrusted to the hands of the African societies mainly with the aim of projecting the individual member’s responsibility on the outside world, that is, rather than guiding him on what is wrong and right in his society (Marais 1972:13). The absence of ethics and ethicists also presupposes disorder in the society which in turn can affect the educational innovation. Ethicists may not only promote adherence to the ethics but also create a stable society in which order prevails for the sake of carrying out educational innovation properly.

And without ethics and ethicists it also means that the manner according to which the individual in the society is supposed to live his life, the values and ideals he should adopt and the rules he should observe, are not clearly given in the African culture (Brown 1986:11).

It can further be maintained that in the absence of ethicists intellectual and educational innovation may likely proceed without the idea as to whether it is properly and correctly carried out, or not, for the ethicists with their expertise of the wrong and the right cannot be available to guide in this regard.

It may, apart from ethicists, be necessary to consider the involvement of moralists in the intellectual and educational innovation. Their position in educational innovation is discussed next.

2.4.5 MORALISTS BUT WITH A USELESS AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY

Linked to the absence of scientific thinking already discussed, (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.1), is the existence of moralists in African culture. The said culture is dominated by morality rather than scientific thinking with the former mainly emphasizing behaviour according to custom. Moral codes are therefore, highly consistent in their context and they are usually maintained by society. Moral discipline and control are also basic to African society. It is also because of this reason that morality in the traditional Africa became a corporate affair with the community being responsible for the conduct of the individual member (Kamalu
From this emphasis on morality it is not by chance that this culture abounds in moralists rather than ethicists. And this again indicates that in African cultures morals are highly valued.

Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that moralists lack scientific knowledge to promote intellectual and educational innovation. For in this activity it is not just a matter of conduct, but rather the thinking, leading to new approaches and practices in education.

It is not only the lack of scientific knowledge which bars the moralists from participating in educational innovation, but rather mainly the possession of useless African philosophy.

Its uselessness largely stems from the fact that it is also a scholarly investigation of the supposed African belief systems initiated by missionaries (Pearce 1994:204). The knowledge of beliefs cannot promote educational innovation for it is not based on facts as to what improvements are desirable for this innovation.

African philosophy is further considered useless to aid moralists in intellectual and educational innovation as pre-philosophy it is the product of primitive man and primitive mentality. The latter is alien to reason, logic and different habits of scientific enquiry. In other words, pre-philosophy is pre-logical, pre-scientific, pre-literate, etc. (Odera-Oruka 1983:383; Asike 1992:25). It can thus be maintained that pre-philosophy cannot contribute towards educational innovation. This is owing to the fact that the said innovation ought to proceed logically, scientifically, and to a very large extent based on written records.

As ethnophilosophy, African philosophy is useless for the moralists as well as intellectual and educational innovation. Ethnophilosophy requires communal consensus which in turn implies its identification with the whole custom and common beliefs of a people. Named differently, it is folk philosophy. As such it focuses on recounting folk with no reasoning or logic. In addition to this it is impersonal and operates like taboo and superstition (Odera-Oruka 1983:383). Moralists with African philosophy thus lack reasoning and logic, the two of which are important for innovation. The moralists’ ability to promote intellectual and educational innovation is largely limited by customs and beliefs which they have to maintain.
Another reason why African philosophy is useless to moralists and hence their inability to contribute towards educational innovation, is the fact that its component, ethnophilosophy, cannot be separated from traditional African myths, proverbs, folklore and religious beliefs. All these aspects only promote cultural material rather than the qualities of self-reflective and systematic reasoning and argument (Birt 1991:97; Bodunrin 1981:170). Thus when confronted with educational innovation moralists are baffled by the lack of thoughtfulness and the systematic progress of innovation. On the other hand proverbs like folklore are there in African cultures to maintain certain cultural values. And folklore, apart from entertainment only expresses certain norms. It can thus be argued that educational innovation can hardly draw its facts from the given four African cultural aspects, that is, myths, proverbs, folklore and religious beliefs. And in turn they have little to offer for innovating the education system in question.

It can also added that with ethnophilosophy, moralists lack a body of logically argued ideas of individuals because this philosophy originates from communal thought (Birt 1991:97). Because of the need to accommodate this thought, valuable ideas which may aid towards educational innovation may not receive attention, mainly because they are not the products of communal thought. This bars moralists from promoting educational innovation. In addition to this, moralists may possess, because of myths and beliefs, illogical ideas from ethnophilsophy.

The moralists may possess philosphic sagacity as a trend in African philosophy. This trend is quite useless in educational innovation for it is non-scientific and unwritten, or correctly also pre-scientific. And it being a reflection of a person, this philosophical trend concentrates on wisdoms and traditions rather than educational innovation (Odera-Oruka 1983:386).

It can also be added that African philosophy is also useless in intellectual and educational innovation because apart from being narrative, it is neither critical nor scientific. The former aspect, that is, the narrative only pays attention to human dialogue and human life while it depresses man of questioning and criticism (Bell 1989:366). The lack of the latter aspects are a stumbling-block to educational innovation because without them there can be no innovation at all. It all starts from criticizing the existing educational system and questioning its various aspects that there could be an innovation. Moralists, because of the lack of the
two aspects, namely, questioning and criticizing, are not in a favourable position to promote educational innovation.

Educational innovation may be hampered by resistance to accept change. This becomes evident in the following discussions.

2.5 THE AFRICAN CULTURE EXHIBITS AN ABILITY TO RESIST CHANGE

2.5.1 CHANGE CLASHES WITH CONTINUITY (TRADITION)

Very closely connected to the African culture's ability to resist change are the traditional thought systems which place minimal emphasis on rigorous argumentation and criticism in search for truth required to reject the existing truth as old or to create the new one. In this regard the African tradition and for this matter, the African culture is inclined to resist change (Hallen 1995b:383).

Because of the inability to argue or to criticize what comes its way it becomes hard for the African culture to support what is true or to reject it and to come up with something new and truthful. If a change is presented to this culture it becomes a problem to accept it because of the tradition of non-argument and non-criticism. The middle course likely to be struck by African tradition is utter resistance.

Besides the traditional thought systems, values and attitudes in African cultures, just like in other cultures, can bring about resistance to change. New things and change may, for instance, be valued positively or negatively. Resistance is certainly associated with a negative attitude.

And change very often clashes with tradition because it might be in contrast with what has been fixed or established by custom and what people, are accustomed to. Apart from this the clash might arise because people are conditioned by custom to regard new things with doubt if they are uncertain. Resistance to change may not necessarily be there because new things do not fit into custom or are not good for life, but rather because of the trouble brought about
by their inconformity. Another reason is that people may not be willing to part with what they have long gone together and with which they have strong alliance (Foster 1973:83).

Anxiety brought about by change is also a reason for resistance to change. One way to avoid it, is often to maintain that what is old and known is worth more than something new and yet to be known and understood. People are also led by this notion to affirm conservatism culturally. This is not, in the true sense of the word, different from preserving folk wisdom whereby sayings and proverbs as given by the elders are used to guide the daily lives of people. These sayings and proverbs are repeated in African culture for adoption by people. Among others, there are the following to indicate resistance to change: ‘He who leaves the past gets lost’, ‘Follow the road of your father and your grandfather’, ‘Listen to old people, for they do not deceive you’ (Ibid.1973:84). As a means of resisting change these sayings or maxims tend to emphasize the good of the past. They further seem to rate the future very lowly and regard it as uncertain. According to them, educational innovation, because of its need to look into future improvements is not worthwhile. In other words, African maxims discourage experimentation which is very important to educational innovation. Through experimentation useful and new educational practices may be identified and thereafter reinforced.

Similar to other traditional cultures. African cultures may resist change principally because they are past oriented, conservative and have great respect for traditional values. Added to this is the inherent fear of experimenting with the proposed or introduced change. In the same sense, they prefer to live by the tried and the tested.

Conservatism as an aspect that shows resistance to change appears to be more conspicuous in African cultures. Through this tendency these cultures are not only able to preserve and maintain the social order, but also rather to acknowledge the previous experience and to focus on the past. Out of the past, the Africans obtain a pattern for living and a model for human action. Conservatism further provides a set of established values, skills and capabilities, truths and experience (Dobrowolski 1971:278). The acceptance and practice of conservatism by African cultures, and to resist change on its basis, denotes how content these cultures are with the past rather than the present new things with their perceived advantages. Expressed in a different manner, Africans prefer to lead repetitive lives based on the past.
Resistance to change in African cultures may also be ascribed to the fact that they do not regard it as a driving force for social progress but rather as a process of destabilizing the social order. Change is regarded as disruptive and it is thought that one change may lead to continual cultural change. Among the fears for change and hence resistance to it are uncertainty, anxiety, as mentioned earlier and social tensions. Such fears also bring the cultural drag of African traditions on modernisation of societies. And it is often maintained that they refuse to develop and that they need cultural adjustment. As mentioned earlier, African cultures have inherent conservatism in their tradition through which they attempt to maintain the socio-historic conditions which lead to formation of their communities (Landel-Mills 1992:547). The impression to be gained from such cultural resistance is that educational innovation may hardly find a proper place in these cultures for as a planned change it might create the given fears.

Their being past oriented also suggests that African cultures are much satisfied with what was planned in the past, to preserve it even though it might have little relevance to contemporary life. Actually, change which might in one way or another try to temper with their past and what it could preserve is utterly resisted. It therefore appears that Africans cannot easily be moved away from their tradition, for example, a stronghold of superstition, beliefs and witchcraft is always maintained in the African tradition.

Acceptance of change in African cultures is one of the preconditions to allow educational innovation to be implemented. Resistance to change, on the contrary, renders this innovation to be implemented with difficulties. Its way is supposed to be manipulated through the barriers placed by such resistance. The main difficulty, with such resistance, however, lies in the operation gap between the two that is, educational innovation and African culture. The former on the one hand, is more present and future oriented while on the other hand, the latter is more past oriented. An attempt to narrow the gap might lead to the reduction of resistance and increase acceptance of change which is needed to promote educational innovation.

From the innovation point of view, it can be argued that the unwillingness of the African culture to change its past restricts the educational innovation for it is very unlikely that this culture may seek ways to improve its education system. As it is dominated by the need to
conserve its past it may not opt for improving the said system, but rather to preserve it as it is.

It is not only change which is resisted by African cultures but also technological usherings. This is discussed subsequently.

2.5.2 TECHNOLOGICAL USHERINGS WERE OPPOSED BY TRADITION

Similar to other traditional cultures, the African culture was from the past characterized by the adoption of simple technologies and the lack of scientific knowledge. Its technologies though elementary could be relied upon for subsistence and were dominated by production depending largely on human labour rather than mechanisation, the use of primitive medical services rendered by traditional doctors, chronic illness, short life span, high birth and death rates, poor environmental sanitation, regarding illiteracy as a rule and restriction to new knowledge. These and other similar conditions have since the past years been accepted by the African people. And as a result thereof they have been left poor with few or no options (Foster 1973:Introduction).

The aforementioned conditions having become part and parcel of African tradition, any attempts to improve or eliminate them through the introductions of new technological development is greatly disapproved by this culture. For example, birth control measures, social ways of improving sanitation and medication etc. are hardly welcome in African cultures and outrightly opposed as those Western technologies.

Despite the lack of resources among the Africans to deal with the introduced technologies, the main difficulty in accepting them is the negative attitudes towards them and over-confidence in what is traditional to African culture.

Besides attitude, the fear to cope with the demands of the new technologies, certainly, cause them to be opposed. The lack of skills and knowledge is one of the demands that generate the greatest fear to accept them. Correctly, even if they could accept new technologies it would be useless because of this lack.
Thus, as far as educational innovation is concerned, it includes, among other things, new technologies and the use of scientific knowledge for its implementation. Therefore, if the African culture rejects the two aspects respectively it can be argued that the educational innovation is greatly hampered for it has to adopt and rely on the two aspects.

All the previously discussed inhibiting factors are briefly assessed in the subsequent paragraphs.

2.6 ASSESSMENT

The previous discussion of factors that inhibit the African intellectual and educational innovation revealed that there are certain inherent weaknesses in African cultures which if not attended to may hinder innovation continuously.

African cultures appear to lack the ideal intellectual environment most likely to promote the intellectual and educational innovation. Such an environment in the researcher’s view should be one that is not bound to the African tradition and not influenced by the Western tradition. But, existing on its own, it ought to generate sufficient and continuous knowledge and information necessary for educational innovation as well as other fields. Although it is claimed that documents as sources of knowledge provide in a certain sense dislocated knowledge, it is, however, necessary to refer to them for the further generation of knowledge. But, it is essential to limit their use to forming the basis for further knowledge and research. This in a manner can lead towards constituting the ideal and proper intellectual environment. And without an ideal intellectual environment it may be found that educational innovation is undertaken with loose, incomplete, insufficient and sometimes irrelevant knowledge.

The researcher finds it appropriate to regard the absence of sound intellectual tradition in African cultures as a major obstacle to the intellectual and educational innovation. Without this tradition any culture will remain without intellectuals. Intellectuals are occasionally drawn to the educational innovation through the well established intellectual tradition which is well supported by the universities and their surroundings. Through such a tradition new intellectuals should be able to draw from the cultural resources so as to perform their social, cultural and political role. It is, however, from such a tradition that the intellectuals can have
autonomy and independence of mind as well as to utter and investigate what they think is important, say to educational innovation (Eyerman 1994:16-17).

Of course, universities should be at the root of all intellectual tradition. But, their function in bringing about this tradition cannot be successfully achieved if the large portion of African culture remains pre-literate, non-scientific or, an oral culture with all the features of underdevelopment, that is, poverty, low education level, low per capita income etc. The result of such a culture is continued lack of intellectuals who in a way may inadequately attend to intellectual and educational innovation.

Due to a limited intellectual tradition, African cultures cannot fully utilize the benefit of literary experience and rational outlook in the educational innovation. For this, the absence of long-standing textual tradition is to blame (Gyekye & Stoller 1989:216; Wiredu 1980:46). The search into the past with a view to getting relevant aspects to innovate the existing education systems is, because of inadequate literary experience, limited. The lack of this experience could be said to restrict innovation because it could only properly start from where the texts have been available. In the same breath it is more difficult to be rational in cultures which are themselves irrational as it is with the primitive cultures because of the belief systems. And educational innovation is thus limited by the lack of rationality.

Although it is known that the intellectuals’ role is divided into political, social and cultural activities, a one-sided emphasis of their political role could be noticed (Vide Chapter 2. par. 2.2.1; 2.2.2). But, in actual fact to be more useful to educational innovation they have to redirect more of their intellectual energy towards education rather than politics. More so because the liberation struggles in a number of African countries have subsided. Furthermore, although their participation could, for one reason, be achieving liberation be appreciated, it has left educational innovation for a number of years improperly attended to. However, it needs to be argued that as part of their role they should, as much as possible, try to provide the knowledge-based advice on various ways and options to innovating the existing systems of education. Moreover, when the educational innovators are undecided, the intellectuals’ advice may bring about the opposite.
It is also worthwhile to note that political participation of the intellectuals in the liberation struggle due to the belief that the Marxism-Leninism is a catalyst of change (Goran 1991:10-11), is seriously criticized for encouraging alienation and radicalism for the two activities drain the educational field of a number of intellectuals. The perceived undesirable effect has been to leave the said field more or less static due to the lack of the intellectual and educational innovators most of whom are intellectuals.

Another point of criticism concerns the political imperatives (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.4), which, in the strife for independence and democracy happen to dominate African cultures for more than three decades. This domination resulted in the lack of co- and balanced existence between analytical reasoning and political imperatives. And educational innovation suffered because over the same period it had to be undertaken with little such reasoning. Actually, deductive and inductive reasoning could not be fully employed. And without the two types of reasoning there can be no satisfactory innovation at all.

Despite the need to achieve political independence, for the sake of educational innovation, it was, however, essential to conceive the destiny of man in educational terms rather than in political terms only (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.5). The need to do so is owing to the fact that political independence with little or no education means very little for human existence. And if man is conceived in educational terms, various ways to improve his educational status can be sought for consideration. Thus, the acceptable situation is to conceive man equally under the two terms, that is, politically and educationally. Because apart from being entitled to proper political rights man is also entitled to better education. The latter could be achieved if there is sufficient attention to its innovation.

Although African cultures rely on the oral tradition as their encyclopedia of African values, attitudes, history and ethical models (Obiechina 1992:18), this tradition cannot be relied upon for its non-literary thought for educational innovation purposes. This is because this mode of thought has a limited field of operation as far as this innovation is concerned. Regarding this tradition, all that can contribute to innovating the educational systems depends on what can be transmitted orally and the reliability of the oral transmitter. Innovation may thus be conducted on distorted information due to the inefficient transmitter. This mode of thought
is also largely criticized for its inability to develop adequate imagination, creativity and initiative because of its oppressive, custom which operates non-literarily.

And owing to the oppressive custom, African cultures cannot develop to a position where they can benefit adequately from the world of science and technology. Given this fact, it means that these cultures cannot conduct educational innovation in a scientific manner but rather intuitively and subjectively. This also supposes a lack of a number of scientific techniques and the scientific investigation required for innovation. For example, empirical verification in African cultures is difficult if not impossible because the custom thereof operates according to taboos, superstitions, etc. which must be adhered to (Agyakwa 1972: 11). Taboos and superstitions do not only impair empirical verification, but also objectivity and analytical logic. Unlike the former two aspects the latter two are of a more scientific field than the pre-scientific one.

Having said that African cultures are far from the world of science and technology it needs to be added that they also use taboos to attain scientific breakthroughs (Ibid. 1972:19). This is quite impossible for the two extremes with the former being pre-scientific and the latter scientific. Thus African cultures cannot derive advantage from such breakthroughs in their innovation and in the same way they cannot benefit from the innovative ideas of the thinking models because of their inability to develop them.

It is appropriate to indicate that cultural change and educational innovation cease to be components of the same reality that should work harmoniously in the African culture. But, in the said culture, the two tend to oppose each other with the result that the latter cannot be properly achieved. This means that the African culture is not dynamic and therefore inappropriate for educational innovation because it is against the attributes of change.

And in spite of significant material and sociological transformations, African cultures undergo no change (Okafor 1993:91). This certainly means that these cultures are not receptive to change including educational innovation.

Similar to other philosophies, African philosophy can above all be criticized for bias, that is, paying more attention to theoretical analysis and less to practical applications. In this case
contemporary problems, social and technical, as experienced by societies undergoing transformation may require solutions which have practical applications (Keita 1985:128). Apart from failing to provide solutions to problems African philosophy also fails to provide their understanding and practical solutions because this philosophy stresses the past of African tradition with little reference to its present and anticipated problems.

Because of being static, African cultures do not prefer change to their cultural beliefs, world views and attitudes to nature and environment. They are unlike technological societies which favour historical changes in these aspects (Makinde 1988:21). Willingness to retain the same beliefs, views, etc. are not only barriers to cultural change but also to educational innovation because the same attitude may also prevail in the educational field whereby, for example, the same educational views may be retained. It is also on the grounds of the same willingness that African cultures regard technological usherings as a threat to the African tradition.

In spite of the fact that the aforementioned factors represent barriers to educational innovation in Africa, attempts have been made by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere to bring about this innovation in Africa in the past. Their contributions are viewed accordingly in the subsequent chapters.
CHAPTER 3

3. BLYDEN'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA (1832-1912)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 the background relating to the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere towards educational change was fully presented. This included a detailed discussion of the reasons for their meaningful contributions. In this and the next two chapters the contributions of these three educational thinkers will receive attention respectively.

Edward Wilmot Blyden has been specifically chosen to form part of this thesis on educational innovation in Africa because of the relevance of his life and ideas to the fundamental problems of his race and those that still exist in West Africa and the rest of Africa today. He attended to the problems of race superiority which affected black education in Africa during the 19th and the early 20th centuries. The ideas he gave attempted to dispel the myth of the European people about the inferiority of the African. His attempt to advance ideas which could improve education for the African, made him respected and participant in the world of community of nations (Lynch 1971: Introduction).

He was further chosen on the grounds that among the many individuals in West Africa, he tried to solve the problem of the identity of the African. Blyden could be regarded as the most important person who caught the attention of the West Africans in an attempt to deal with this problem. He dealt with the problem as a citizen and public servant of the republic of Liberia. The problem arose because of the intrusion of Europeans in West Africa and it was dealt with throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in a variety of ways by the West Africans. They were dissatisfied with, among others, these matters: the intrusion of western ideas and institutions; the introduction of western cultures, religion, etc. (July 1968:209).

Blyden became the first personality to try and succeed in making a total philosophy of Africanness which re-established the psychic and emotional security of the African (Ibid. 1968:210).
He further emerged as a West African patriot with strong ideas which constituted an African reaction to European pressures. His educational ideas, therefore, also focused much on education as a way of dealing with these pressures. He wrote much on education and could be called one of the twentieth century educational thinkers (July 1968:210 & Akinpelu 1981:89).

The ideas of a personality like Blyden are worth reviewing in an educational innovation in Africa, more especially that they are concerned with the matters which need to be changed if there is educational innovation, namely, the aim, curriculum, methods of teaching and the type of education.

Edward Wilmot Blyden's contributions can be well understood if it is known to the readers that he was a litterateur, classist, theologian, politician, statesman, diplomat and explorer. All of his life Blyden was an educator. He was a brilliant influential and controversial West Indian born Liberian and he spent the whole of his life directing and justifying his race that is, Africans in West Africa (Lynch 1967:Preface).

During his time, Blyden realized the need for cultural reciprocity between Europe and Africa. This was non-existent and instead thereof there was the European political domination of the 19th century to which Blyden was opposed (Livingston 1975:Introduction).

To Blyden, one way of fighting against such domination was to write about Négritude, which was an intellectual revolt of the black, colonized people against European civilization. Through Négritude Blyden could indicate that the black race differs from other races and it is proud of its people's unique qualities including blackness. His educational ideas were thus meant to meet the needs of these people. He further saw the need for appropriate education in developing their qualities and a feeling of race pride which were largely undermined by the European civilization (Bennaars [et al.] 1994:17 & July 1964:71).

The discussion of Blyden's contributions will be preceded by his detailed biography and the discussion of his contact with the international world, in this order. His biography (1832-1912) is divided into three main life activities, namely, early childhood and educational career, occupational life, retirement and death. And his contact began in 1877 when he was appointed
the first black Liberia's ambassador to Britain, by President James S. Payne. His contact also involved political and educational activities. Politically he was an ambassador or Liberian Diplomat. He interacted between Liberia and Sierra Leone. Educationally, while doing diplomacy work he was still Principal of Alexander High School. Blyden also served as President of Liberia College. His contact with the international world came to an end when he retired and later died in 1912. His biography is discussed subsequently.

3.1.1 BLYDEN'S EARLY CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATIONAL CAREER, 1832-1850

Edward Wilmot Blyden was born on August 3, 1832 in Charlotte Amalie, the capital city of the Danish West Indies Island (Virgin Island) of St. Thomas. Both of Blyden's parents were literate and emancipated blacks. His father, Romeo, was a tailor and his mother, Judith, a school teacher. Blyden was the third of seven children in this family which lived in a predominantly Jewish and English-speaking community. His parents were of pure Negro (African) ancestry whose exact African ancestry was difficult to identify. This was due to the fact that people who lived in St. Thomas came from various tribes, namely, the Fula, Madeinga, Konga, Mangree, Amina, Akkim, Tambi, Sakko, Bibi, Loango, Mandongo and Congo. Blyden claimed to belong to the Ibo tribe in eastern Nigeria (Livingston 1975:15 & Lynch 1967:3; Jones 1964:56).

Blyden's family was affiliated to the Dutch Reformed Church. Although Blyden attended the local school, his mother offered him private tuition. When he was ten in 1842, their family left for Porto Bello in Venezuela. Within two years of the family's stay in this new environment, Blyden showed great linguistic skills by learning and speaking Spanish fluently. In 1844 the family returned home and Blyden observed that the majority of the Negroes (black people) were in slavery in St. Thomas and in Venezuela too, and that they lived exploited and degraded lives. On his return from Porto Bello, Blyden could only attend school in the morning since the afternoon was reserved for his five-year apprenticeship for tailorship with his father (Lynch 1967:4).

In 1845, Rev. John Pray Knox, a white American pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, who came to stay in St. Thomas for health reasons, greatly influenced Blyden's life. Knox chose to be Blyden's mentor for he was impressed by the fact that Blyden was studious and
pious. Knox also encouraged Blyden's natural ability for oratory and literature. Blyden decided to become a clergyman and this is probably due to close association with Knox. The decision was fully supported by his parents (Lynch 1967:4).

In May 1850, Blyden in company with Mrs Knox went to the United States where attempts were made to enrol him in Rutgers' Theological College, Knox's alma mater. He was turned down because he was a Negro. Further efforts to enrol him in two other theological colleges were also unsuccessful. This disappointed him greatly. In the same year the Fugitive Slave Law, which gave the Federate commissioners unrestricted powers to apprehend and return runaway slaves, came into operation. Because of this law Blyden lived in fear of being unscrupulously seized as a runaway slave (Ibid. 1967:5; Shepperson 1960:299; Sillah 1990: 1-5).

While still in the States, Blyden noticed the way in which the Negroes were politically, socially and economically discriminated against. He also saw that the status of blacks was lowly and uncertain (Lynch 1978:4).

During his stay in the United States, Blyden came into contact with the prominent Presbyterians such as John B. Pinny, Walter Lowrie and William Coopinger. These men were associated with the Negro emancipation movement. In collaboration with the Knoxes they assisted Blyden to plan his near future.

Two factors, namely, fear of being seized as a runaway slave and discrimination, caused Blyden to decide to return to St. Thomas. Since Blyden was sensitive and race proud, he could not bear such circumstances. Blyden's colonization friends also told him of Liberia's becoming independent in 1847 and they also argued that it needed persons like him to grow into a vigorous nation. This idea appealed to him very greatly and on 21 December 1850 he accepted an offer from the New York Colonization Society to return to Liberia. The acceptance was due to the fact that his opportunities to return home were very limited, for he would first emigrate to Canada and then waited for another best opportunity, that is free from arrest, made for him by the abolitionist to proceed further (Lynch 1967:6).
Back from the United States, Blyden continued his education at the Alexander High School in Monrovia, Liberia (Livingston 1975:22-23).

Blyden became concerned in politics as a West African Pan-Africanist. An explanation of his activities regarding this position, is given below.

3.1.2 BLYDEN AS WEST AFRICAN, PAN-AFRICANIST, 1851-1877

Over the period 1851-1877, Blyden established himself as the leading West African, Pan-African intellectual activist. Although Blyden lived in St. Thomas, in 1851 he fulfilled his desire to emigrate to Liberia. This country had by then become an independent state on 26 July 1847. Most of the American Negroes became interested in Liberia after its independence. As a consequence the number of emigrants increased drastically from 51 in 1847 to 441 in 1848. This rate was maintained even some ten years thereafter. The majority of the emigrants were illiterate, poverty-stricken, unskilled and ignorant of the government. Most of the emigrants were free Negroes. Amongst them there were educated men and artisans. A few emigrated with property (Livingston 1975:22-23).

In Liberia Blyden was involved in a number of activities which were meant to elevate the Negro nation from the status of illiteracy, poverty, lack of skill and ignorance mentioned in the previous paragraph. It was therefore Blyden's intention to enhance the prestige of these Negroes and to educate them. His stay in Liberia was thus also intended to assist in building the independent Negro nation which could be proud to demonstrate its capability.

Hereunder follows the discussions of his activities in Liberia as well as his position as a West African, Pan-African intellectual activist between 1851 and 1861.

- The period 1851-1861

On his arrival in Liberia in 1851, Blyden realized that he ought to prepare himself thoroughly for a leadership role in Liberia. According to him this was the task which required intensive intellectual training. In his preparation, Blyden carried out various activities. He read British and American newspapers and journals on current affairs
outside Liberia. He appealed to continue his study for a further two-year period at one of the theological colleges in the United States. This would make him a well qualified Presbyterian Minister. His appeal was turned down. The next step for Blyden was to seek interesting correspondents in England, namely, his ex-teacher and clergyman, Rev. Henry Melvill, a former Principal of East India College, Haileybury and Canon of St. Paul's. Blyden also contacted W.E. Gladstone who was the British Chancellor of the Exchequer with whom he shared the similar views of free trade and also had mutual interest in classical literature (Lynch 1967:14).

As a way of preparing himself for leadership, Blyden received training as a clergyman and school teacher at Alexander High School. Because of this in 1858 he was ordained a Presbyterian pastor and appointed principal of the Alexander High School where he served up to 1861 (Lynch 1978:5).

Furthermore from 1862 to 1870 as an educator and a state secretary, Blyden was involved in the following activities:

- The period 1862-1870

Over the period 1862-1870 Blyden occupied several positions in Liberia. He was elected Professor of Greek and Latin in the Liberia College, 1861-1871. This was indicated in his letter to the Right Honourable W.E. Gladstone, on 16 April 1862. Blyden also held the positions of Liberian Secretary of State, 1864-1866 and a Presbyterian clergyman at Monrovia and Junk.

It is important to note that Blyden as Professor of the College sought to make its curriculum relevant to the needs and circumstances of Africans. He also introduced the subject Arabic in the curriculum with the aim of facilitating communication between the Republic and the Muslim states of its hinterland. Blyden noticed the problem of lack of library facilities at the College and to solve this he ordered additional books of Gladstone and Brougham. He improved his knowledge of the Arabic language by studying further at the Syrian Protestant College in Lebanon in 1866 (Lynch 1978: 5, 54-57).
As Liberian Secretary of State in 1864-1866, Blyden sought without success to end the boundary dispute between Liberia and Sierra Leone and this led to the failure to attract Negro emigrants from America.

Blyden served in various positions simultaneously. This he did apparently for money and patriotic reasons. For instance, in 1866 he was Secretary, pastor and professor at the college (Ibid. 1978:54-55).

- The period 1871-1873

On 5 May 1871 Blyden was compelled to flee to Sierra Leone where he worked up to 1873. This was due to two reasons: Firstly, he was charged with adultery with the Liberia President's wife. Secondly, the published article "On Mixed Races" in Liberia in the 1870 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, made him unpopular with the Mulattoes [The coloured people in Liberia]. He criticized the latter race by stating their genetic inferiority, which resulted in a waste of funds on educating them because they died young. On the same day he was nearly killed when a mob of mulatto-incited, poverty stricken and ignorant blacks, dragged him through Monrovia streets with a rope around his neck and would have lynched him. He was saved by his old friend D.B. Warner, the ex-President (Livingston 1975:81).

While in Sierra Leone, Blyden advocated cultural nationalism in a number of ways. He strongly recommended the following to the Sierra Leone government: That peace in the unsettled hinterland be maintained; that the Christian missionary operations be extended to Sierra Leone; that Europeans open stations and establish schools among the needy and anxious people - though he was aware of the harmful effect of European sectarianism and arrogance on Africa. In 1872 Blyden launched and edited a newspaper called "Negro" which was meant to lead the people of Sierra Leone (a colony) towards understanding their mission (Lynch 1978:82-83).

- The period 1873-1877
During the period 1873-1877, Blyden concentrated on educational work in the interior of Liberia. He was reappointed as principal of Alexander High School which was then relocated at Harrisburg on the St. Paul river. On his resettling in 1874, he was disappointed with the state of the education system which could be described as "falling into decay". For this he blamed the Liberian government which was stupid and inefficient (Lynch 1978:148).

Over the same period, Blyden was critical about foreign missionary and educational work. He would like, for instance, the Presbyterian Church to pay more attention to the educational work. He further started to review the idea of foreign and female education. The former was regarded as unnecessary if local institutions could be available and for the latter it was sought to attach it to Alexander High School (Ibid. 1978:149-160).

3.1.3 BLYDEN IN CONTACT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD, 1877-1910

In addition to what has already been stated regarding Blyden's contacts with the international world, it can be said below that his travels which were mainly from Liberia to the United States and Britain were for economic and social reasons.

3.1.3.1 BLYDEN AS LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN, 1877-1879

Blyden as Ambassador of Liberia was requested by the President, J.S. Payne to sail to England in July 1877. He stayed there for a year and his diplomatic goals were to settle the boundary dispute between Liberia and Sierra Leone and persuade the British capitalists to invest in a railway from Monrovia to the inside of Liberia and to support the coffee agricultural scheme he intended to establish (Livingston 1978:110; Lynch 1967:177). The decision to establish a coffee scheme came as one of the means to develop Liberia economically and educationally. Such a scheme would serve as a source of employment and income for the country. Poverty could also be reduced and the people be able to receive education. The scheme could also permit indigenization of the Liberian education since such education would originate from the local conditions rather than be inherited and imposed from overseas. Blyden hoped that economic growth would in turn support educational growth.
Due to regular flights to England and United States, Blyden was away from Alexander High School most of the time. It was suspected, though incorrectly, to be the main cause for the school's inability to flourish. This could further be proved incorrect by the fact that the school collapsed after Blyden's resignation in 1878 (Livingston 1978:111).

Blyden again served for the second time as Liberian Ambassador to Britain in 1892. This lasted for five months. In 1905 he was again ambassador to Britain and this time also to France for another five months (Lynch 1978:8).

3.1.3.2

PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA COLLEGE, 1880-1884

In January 1880 the Liberian Board of Trustees offered Blyden positions of Presidency of Liberia College and Minister of the Interior and Secretary of Education. In May 1880 the Boston and New York Board of Trustees approved his appointment. Blyden served as educator and politician. Since early 1874, he had longed for the Presidency of the College. His plans for the college were, amongst others, to publish a History and prospectus of the College; to enter into rapport within some literary institutions in England and America, to bring students from the other places such as Boporo, Sierra Leone, Musardu and Lagos. Blyden wanted to convert Liberia College into a place of learning suited for the needs of Africa and race (Blyden 1967:72 & Lynch 1967:147). Blyden wanted the College to be known locally and abroad and also to serve a wider community of the African race. His plans further showed a great deal of innovative strategies for the college.

In 1880, Liberia College could be described as a regrettable failure. It had ceased to be centre for academic learning and became a battle ground for the Negro-Mulatto conflict in Liberia. This was worsened by an inept Presidency and learning deteriorated greatly. It became a great task for Blyden to reorganize this College towards recovery.

Blyden in himself was controversial and to a very large extent innovative. This could be noticed in his inaugural address as President of the College on 5 February 1881. He indicted that he expected the College to play a large and important role not only in Liberia but also on behalf of the entire Negro race. According to Blyden the College
ought to assist to carry out functions which include intellectual development, social purposes, religious duty, achieving patriotic aims and racial development. To carry out all its functions, he said that the College ought to be stimulated and that should the College fail, it should cease to exist (Blyden 1967:71; Lynch 1967:149).

Other changes which he would like to bring about on the College were to remove the bad influence of European ideas and teachings on the Negro; to correct misrepresentation of Africa and Negro and the College to play a leading role in interpreting Africa to the rest of the world. As President, Blyden advocated the relocation of the College to the banks of St. Paul's river for reasons of securing a healthy mind and body, allowing students to participate in agriculture, the produce of which could be used to pay college expenses and accessibility to students (Blyden 1967:73).

Blyden intended to modify the curriculum of Liberia College by increasing the disciplinary agencies and reducing to a minimum the distracting influences which inhibited the proper growth of the Negro race. He further intended to include more and more subjects that are purely African in nature. He did not like the idea that Liberia College had the curriculum which was typical of an American-inspired college of the mid 19th century whose subjects were: Intellectual and moral philosophy, Natural philosophy, Greek and Latin languages, Literature, Mathematics and Law (Livingston 1975:57; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Blyden 1967:80; Lynch 1967:51).

These subjects were not purely African and could be strange for the Negro, hence a strong need for curriculum innovation by Blyden. In modifying the curriculum Blyden was aware of the basic subjects which would remain in the College curriculum, for instance, Mathematics. Subjects that were meant to degrade and reject the Negro were to be excluded from the curriculum, for example, History that covers the modern period, especially the slave trade period.

As president of the College, Blyden failed to receive proper co-operation from Liberian Board of Trustees and the College staff. Because of the growing opposition to his presidency, Blyden decided to leave for Sierra Leone for a few weeks early in 1884. He
resigned in September 1884 after failing to regain full control of the College (Lynch 1978:288).

3.1.3.3 BLYDEN IN SIERRA LEONE AND LIBERIA, 1885-1889

Despite the fact that Blyden lost the Presidency of Liberia College and that he was then staying in Sierra Leone, he wished to serve Liberia as its President. He therefore decided to contest for this position. Apart from the need to serve the Republic towards success, the Liberian presidency would allow Blyden the opportunity to put education matters on a more solid footing by planning to introduce a comprehensive educational programme. After failing to win the elections, his educational plans and others failed to materialize (Lynch 1967:161-162).

3.1.3.4 BLYDEN AS WEST AFRICAN ITINERANT: IN LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE AND LAGOS, 1890-1899

Several factors drove Blyden to become an itinerant. After losing the presidency of Liberia College and later could not be elected as President of Liberia, Blyden was without formal appointment. He sought without success to be reinstated as President of Liberia College. As an itinerant, Blyden alternated between Liberia, Sierra Leone and Lagos. Since he held no other positions except that of Liberia's ambassador to Britain in 1892, he spent much of his time in Sierra Leone writing A History of Liberia. To earn a living, Blyden taught Arabic and other subjects privately (Lynch 1978:408).

3.1.3.5 ELDER STATESMAN, RETIREMENT AND DEATH, 1900-1912

As an elder statesman, Blyden stayed in Sierra Leone during his last years of life. From January 1900 to March 1901, he accepted an invitation to become the professor of Arabic at Liberia College. Due to conflict which arose because of his advocacy of Islam and polygamy, he resigned in 1901. Between 1901 and 1906 he was appointed Director of Mohammedan Education in Sierra Leone (Lynch 1978:459; Stewart 1986:205).
Blyden further served the republic of Liberia as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to London and Paris in 1905, from June to September. The rest of the years from 1906 to 1912 were spent in Sierra Leone in retirement. Most of his last days were spent with books and correspondence. For example, a book known as "African Life and Customs" was thus written in 1908.

By 1909 Blyden could be described as old, ill, weak and poor. He also led a lonely life. The Sierra Leonians then rejected him. His guidance was no longer accepted although he pointed out a way of life which could lead to prosperity. Blyden died on February 7, 1912 (Lynch 1967:245; Livingston 1975:206-208).

3.1.4 CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that he was from a free society, Blyden did not neglect the fundamental problems of the Negro race, namely, illiteracy, poverty, lack of skills and discrimination. This could be noticed from his early school going age when he made a comparison of slavery both in St. Thomas and Venezuela. To his dismay the Negro slaves were found in large numbers. At that age he could do nothing except to wait for the later years in his life.

Discrimination against the Negroes by the Europeans, Americans and Coloureds worried Blyden most for he became part of this problem as a scholar and educator. The two problems, namely, slavery and discrimination were very harmful to the Negro race in particular and the Africans in general. From his biography it can be noticed that Blyden was prepared to deal with the two problems, because they resulted in the other fundamental problems. It was quite in order for Blyden to spend all his life seeking ways to eliminate these problems. And to fight against the two problems, Blyden served in various positions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Through his eloquent writing and speeches he could justify the Negro race and also put their education matters correct.

It could be accepted that to justify and also uplift the Negro race was not an easy task for the scope of activities was very wide. With all his brilliant ideas to do this, some of the activities were unsuccessful more so because of the opposition from the Coloured race and
that he served in more than one position simultaneously, for example, as a principal of school and clergymen, educator and State Secretary.

From his biography, it appears that Blyden rejected the European education system which was meant to make the Negro inferior (Blyden 1967:93). The European education systems failed to address the race problems and instead it worsened them. In order to effect a change in the education system, Blyden suggested and implemented his new ideas which, among others, included curricular change, establishment of schools among the needy, establishment of coffee scheme to indigenize education, etc.

Because of the fact that he was brilliant and controversial, Blyden was in a better position to acquire better qualifications for leadership, which enabled him to occupy higher positions in schools, colleges and Government Departments. From such positions he could influence a change of attitude towards the Negroes and it was therefore easy for him to implement his innovative ideas.

His contributions towards education innovations will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

3.2 BLYDEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL MATTERS

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

From his biographical history presented previously, it became certain that Blyden served as an educator and administrator in the colonies of Sierra Leone and Liberia (Vide Chapter 1 par. 3.1.2 & 3.1.3).

The two colonies in which Blyden worked, were established for the purpose of resettling emancipated blacks and also for serving as centres for spreading Western education and Christian civilization to other West African countries (Akinpelu 1981:88). This suggests that traditional education and its culture were undermined to a very large extent in the two colonies in particular and in the West African countries in general.
The Negro race was regarded by the Europeans as inferior and the type of education offered to them was meant to promote white superiority. Blyden reacted strongly against this. Again, he was concerned with irrelevant education offered to the Negroes (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1.1 & 3.1.2).

Before discussing his contributions to educational innovation, the following summary of the positions Blyden held as an educator, is absolutely necessary: Between 1858-61 and 1874-77 he was Principal of Alexander High School in Liberia, and became Professor of Liberia College between 1880-84. While in Lagos he served as an Agent for Native Affairs, (1896-97) and in Sierra Leone as a Director of Muslin Education, (1901-06) (Lynch 1971:217). Blyden's innovative ideas were thus based on practical experience rather than theories. He was in a favourable position to follow and question the relevance of European and American curricula. By questioning the curriculum it further suggested that Blyden had a different view of the aim of education as well as other aspects to be discussed in this section of the Chapter.

Blyden's contribution to educational innovation will thus, in the following paragraphs, be analysed in the context of Western education and Christian civilization followed in the two colonies under these aspects: aim of education, methods of liberal education, curriculum, higher education, secular education and education of women. They will be discussed in this order under his educational ideas.

3.2.2 BLYDEN'S VIEWS OF THE AIM OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

Blyden was opposed to Christian education whose main aim was to Christianize Africans. From the beginning of the 19th century such education was aimed at turning out catechists in Liberia. The main emphasis of this education was, therefore, to read and write for the purpose of becoming a Christian. It was for this reason that by 1827, the Fourah Bay College was established by the missionaries in Liberia. In accordance with the Christian aim of education, numerous churches were organized to provide Christian education to thousands of children in schools under the Christian teachers (Blyden 1967:47; Livingston 1975:90).
Due to the evangelization aim, Blyden felt that the African was deprived of the fair opportunity in education which could develop his peculiar gifts so as to enable him to occupy a place in the society (Blyden 1967:278). Education was therefore provided for evangelization of the population. Blyden did not regard this as a comprehensive aim of African education. He thus formulated the aim as follows:

"The object of all education is to secure growth and efficiency, to make a man all that his natural gifts will allow him to become; to produce self-respect, a proper appreciation of our own powers and of the powers of other people; to beget a fitness for one's sphere of life and action, and ability to discharge the duties it imposes" (Blyden 1967:73).

Although he was also a clergyman, Blyden looked deeply into the aim of education and ruled out temporarily his Christian view. His definition of the aim of education mainly referred to the position of the Negroes at that time. Most of the aspects included in his definition were not provided for by the Christian education, namely, growth, efficiency, development of man's natural ability, self-respect, appreciation, fitness and ability.

According to Blyden, Christian education due to its aim was not adapted to the mentality, aptitude, occupations and traditions of various people. Christian education also missed its task of raising the standard of character and efficiency of many people alike. Among other things, it ought to provide training of civil servants and chiefs (Gifford 1971:688; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 5, par. 5.1). The evangelistic aim of education could, thus among others be criticized by Blyden for this. It had a very limited scope which could not allow the development of all the faculties of man.

Blyden's aim of education indicates that he had developed a strong dislike of Christianity for the missionaries attempted to Europeanize the Africans. In their effort to do this they neglected the Negroes' race peculiarities or the climatic conditions of the country. Worse of all they replaced many customs and habits which were very necessary and useful in the climate and for the people (Blyden 1967:64; Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2 & 5.4).
In his rejection of the missionary aim of education it can be observed that Blyden, an exponent of African personality was aware that Africa had its own culture which needed to be maintained and developed rather than accepting Western culture. Although Blyden himself mastered the European culture he did not abandon his own. (Van Aswegen 1980:376; Gifford 1971:688). This suggested that he was against the Europeanization of Africans.

Christian education could, on the above grounds be regarded by Blyden as disastrous. To support his dislike of Christian educational aim Blyden referred to Rev. James Johnson who once said:

"...foreign teachers have ... proceeded with their work on the assumption that the Negro or African is .... an inferior race and ... it is needful to give him a foreign model to copy; no account has been made of our peculiarities - our languages, ... parables ... own tales ... social habits and our climate... God does not intend to have races confounded but the Negro or African should be raised upon his own idiosyncrasies. The result ... we think more of everything that is foreign and less of that which is purely native; have lost our self-respect ... love for our race, ... become nondescript people... " (Blyden 1967:64).

From the above quotation it can be said that foreign missionaries were criticized for undermining the most essential aspects of African culture. Missionary education, as it was ascertained, did not consider peculiarities of African culture which has its own parables, languages, modes of thought, poetry, social habits, etc. Apart from undermining these aspects, missionaries expected Africans to copy European culture (Lynch 1964:405).

Another criticism against the missionaries was that in their education they failed to recognize that physical characteristics which differed from theirs had their own mental

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1 From a letter addressed by Rev. James Johnson, native pastor of Sierra Leone (then of Lagos) to Governor Pope Hennessy, dated December 24th, 1872 and published in the Negro newspaper, January 1, 1873.
peculiarities which required special study. Blyden argued that as unthinking whites they rushed to conclude that the difference of outside appearance meant not only a physical difference but an inferior mental constitution. It was therefore for this reason thought that missionary teachers should raise Africans to the culture of Europeans (Blyden 1903:363). This fully supports the reason why Christian Education had been unable to consider peculiarities of Africans and why its aim was not geared to the development of the African mentality correctly.

Blyden sought, as a consequence, to restore what was distorted by the Christian education, namely, loss of customs, habits, self-respect, etc.

Christian education was regarded by Blyden as having intellectual retardation on the Negro, he wrote:

"He [the Negro] must be an imitator, and imitators see only results - they never learn processes ... come into contact with accomplished facts, without knowing how they were accomplished ... never get within, so as to see how a thing originates or develops." (Blyden 1967:351).

Blyden considered such a limit to mental development as a fatal drawback. It was one of the serious dangers of Christian education which made it unpopular during Blyden's time.

The Negro (African) could, therefore, in no way become efficient in performing various life activities for he had little insight as to how to do things from the beginning. Blyden asserts that because of emphasis on imitation, when requested to do something, the Negro tended to start at the end (Ibid. 1967:65-351).

Although he was opposed to European influences in education, Blyden incorporated them in an attempt to achieve his aim of education. He prescribed limits within which they could be accepted and how they should affect the African, he put it:
"We want him [Negro/African] to be surrounded by influences from abroad to promote the development of his latent powers, and bring the personality of his being into practical or actual operation. He has capacities and aptitude which the world needs ... which it never enjoys until he is fairly and normally trained" (Blyden 1967:277).

This indicates that Blyden did not wholly condemn the European influence on African education but rather that it should be beneficial to the African. He also expected such influence to render the African useful to his own country and the rest of the world.

Although Blyden disapproved the attempts to Europeanize Africans, he admitted that a modern African State could not exist and function successfully without the defusion of Western education. But, what he disliked was complete destruction of African customs and institutions (Lynch 1965:251; Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.4). Because of this in his attempt to achieve an educational aim, mentioned earlier, was made taking into account the interaction between the two cultures rather than the domination of one culture by the other.

By not utterly rejecting European influence, Blyden seemed aware that besides destroying some of the African values, the Europeans also brought values which African cultures lacked, namely, technical skills and method. This implies that he regarded African and European cultures as complementary to a certain extent (Senghor 1962:189).

However, Blyden did not expect foreign influences to change the African's nature but rather to improve his capacity. His argument was based on the fact that hereditary qualities are fundamental and need not be created or replaced by human methods (Blyden 1967:277).

In criticizing the aim of Christian education, Blyden went on to say that it took almost two hundred years for the Negroes to receive correct education. He also said this was evident in their inability to deal with responsibilities given to them and they were not fit for political and important church positions (Blyden 1967:74).
Since he should like to see liberal education, that is, education which could turn out a free and natural man, provided for the Africans, Blyden reviewed the methods applied to train them at Liberia College. Formerly the methods at the College were based on Western and especially Christian education.

Blyden did not accept the European methods of training Africans because they did not produce good results for the Africans. Firstly, such methods made Negroes unqualified for life in civilized countries like Europe and America. Secondly, since they were applied by European teachers, they served as means of transmitting foreign culture which, to Blyden, was aimless and purposeless for the Negroes. Thirdly, they placed Africans at a disadvantage for they emphasized route learning of formulas and expression. When trained by such methods, Africans were neither suitable for work at home nor in foreign countries (Blyden 1967:75).

Although Blyden did not accept the European methods fully he suggested that the methods of training at Liberia College should not be solely African as he intended to develop an advanced synthesis of African and Western Cultures. He thus preferred that the College be oriented to African culture and Western learning, the idea being to attract Africans from USA, Canada, and West Indies (Harris 1972:109).

Blyden further criticized the European methods of training for their inability to produce self-respect, self-confidence and efficiency in work. According to him these methods turned out less capable men and many of book-learning. He argued on that these methods affected Africans very unfavourably since they were meant for Europeans and not Africans. He also criticized direct application of European methods on Africans without prior modification or adaptation to suit their culture. To Blyden, different races need different methods. He suggested that the methods should help man to develop his positive aspects, that is, develop him where he is strong and effective so as to make him a free and natural man (Blyden 1967:75).
In actual fact, Blyden was against the missionaries transferring to Africa methods and curricula (the latter to be referred to later) which were meant for the British working class. According to such methods learning took place through imitations as the missions believed the African would be familiarized with what they wanted them to know (Curtin 1964:264). As already shown, this differed from Blyden’s idea of developing a free and natural man.

Blyden was also against the training of Africans through reading and studying foreign books. According to Blyden, this hampered man's originality or initiative as he put it,

"... they still read and study the books of foreigners, and form their idea of everything that man may do, or ought to do, according to the standard held up in those teachings. Hence without the physical or mental aptitude ... they copy and imitate them ... they acquire and retain a practical inferiority, transcribing, very often the faults rather than the virtues of their models" (Blyden 1967:76).

From what Blyden said it can be deduced that the methods were far less than adequate for they promoted imitating and inferiority. Certainly, the Negroes were treated as slaves formerly, so to secure the supply of a slave corps the methods were to be such that they prevent all initiative on their part. And to make it worse to let them remain inferior.

Direct teachings as methods were rejected by Blyden since they were not suitable for and also destroyed, self-respect for the Negroes. Description of the Negro race in books on geography, travels and history were pure caricatures and misrepresentations which were relearned by and retaught to this race until they were accepted. In other words they were taught to look down upon themselves (Ibid. 1967:76). Blyden regarded this inappropriate for it made the Negroes to work hard to achieve respectable manhood whereas it was unnecessary to do so.

Despite the attempt of the European methods to strip the Negro of self-respect, Blyden claimed a particle of this still remained. And to retain this further, he stressed the need
to make a selective and careful use of European methods. In addition to this he preferred the African to advance by his own methods; to advance alone and always to remember that the Anglo-Saxon methods were not final (Blyden 1967:77).

In further discouraging the use of foreign methods in educating the African, Blyden stated in his own words that:

"What is needed in the education of the Negro on this continent is not so much a change in the subjects ... but a change in the whole method is required. In our contact with Christian world our teachers have of necessity been Europeans and have taught us books too much, and things too little - forms of expression, and very little the importance of thought" (Blyden 1967:220).

This again proved the one-sidedness of the European methods in imparting knowledge to the Africans. They lay heavy emphasis on book knowledge rather than practical knowledge and thinking. The danger of this, Blyden once said, was,

"... some of us are found repeating against ourselves, which are thoroughly false and injurious to us, and only because we read them in books or have heard them from foreign teachers" (Ibid. 1967:220).

As said in the previous paragraphs, the methods applied distracted the Negro's attention to study matters at home and their emphasis on books was aimed at making the Negro feel inferior. He was taught from the books that he is a heathen and worse than this, also a fool, but he was taught everything excellent and praise worthy of the foreigners.

Blyden further opposed the European methods for their inability to develop self-education in man. This was again due to the fact that they were based on books, and he said:

"His [the Negro's] knowledge when brought to the test, often fails him.

And why? Because he is taught from the beginning to the end of his
book-training - from the illustrated primer to the illustrated scientific treatise - not to be himself, but somebody else" (Blyden 1967:37).

Here Blyden implied that the European methods failed to make man independent and capable. Besides this they made him an imitator of the European by trying to copy his outward appearance. Even the most clever Christian Negroes [Africans] were inclined to resemble the Europeans in a variety of ways, for instance, their peculiarities, manners, etc. This was regarded by Blyden as absurd.

Blyden strongly objected to the European methods of teaching for he was convinced that they could not work for the Africans properly, since they were not meant for them, he thus wrote:

"... they [Europeans] have, by a course of reasoning natural to them, concluded that certain methods ... which have been successful among themselves must be successful among Africans ... on general consideration, came to a certain conclusion as to what ought to apply to us" (Blyden 1967:72).

In other words, Blyden suggested that the European methods should be put on trial before they could be wholly implemented in Africa. And on account of this only those which suit the needs of the Africans could be accepted.

Blyden did not only view the methods differently but also the curriculum. His view of the curriculum is presented hereunder.

3.2.4 BLYDEN'S VIEW OF THE CURRICULUM

Prior to looking into his contribution to curriculum innovation, it is of utmost importance to know some of the curricula under which Blyden received his education and also taught.
At Alexander High school, a Presbyterian institution, the curriculum followed included the following subjects: Theology, Classics, Geography, Mathematics, English Education, Arithmetic and English grammar. The curriculum was meant to cater for ministry work and state positions (Lynch 1967:13; Livingston 1975:31; Gwam 1963:8).

As shown earlier, while at Liberia College, Blyden taught under the curriculum which included, among others the following: Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Greek and Latin languages, Literature, Mathematics and Law. Such a curriculum was typical of an American College in the mid-19th century (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1.3.2).

The curricula of the aforementioned institutions catered mainly for the Western and Christian education. It could thus be noticed that there were no African subjects, for example African languages. It was therefore from this fact that Blyden rejected these curricula and made contributions.

Blyden's ideas of curricular innovation were presented in an inaugural address while he was President of Liberia College (Blyden 1967:71). His ideas for innovation, though based on education at the College, referred to education for all Africans.

In order for Blyden to bring about further innovation in the College curriculum as given above, he proposed the establishment of The Lagos Training College and Institute. An important innovation in this institution proposed by Blyden was that it was to have two departments offering, namely, a ‘literary’ and an ‘industrial’ curricula. The former curriculum would include: Ancient and modern Languages, Mathematics, History, Mental and Moral philosophy, and Natural Science. The latter would include different handicrafts and scientific and practical Agriculture. But the lack of interest from Lagos Africans prevented the implementation of these ideas (Lynch 1966:203, Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5).
Since he was mainly concerned with the irrelevancy of the curricula offered in African education, Blyden introduced curricular reforms which could make those curricula more relevant in order to meet the needs of African education.

The European curricula which dominated African education during Blyden's time, were unacceptable, mainly because of their European influence. Blyden sought to remove such influence. He achieved this by adding and removing some of the subjects. This means that some of the subjects were of value that they could remain in the curricula while others were totally eliminated.

In proposing curricular innovation, Blyden indicated that it was unnecessary to discard European curricula altogether, he put it thus:

"We have in our curriculum, adopted some years ago, a course of study, to some extent, to that pursued in European and American colleges. To this we shall adhere as nearly as possible; but experience has already suggested, and will, no doubt from time to time suggest such modifications as were required by our peculiar circumstances" (Blyden 1967:73).

Blyden did not commit himself to certain general principles to carry out modifications since it would depend on circumstances.

Apart from changing all the curricula, Blyden was also concerned with altering the content of subjects in the curriculum.

In modifying the African curriculum, Blyden had good reasons to have certain subjects included and others excluded. Blyden also reviewed the content of various subjects as included in the curriculum.

According to Blyden, the African curriculum should have History and Geography that contain information on African personalities and places. He regarded it as disgraceful,
disadvantageous, short-sightedness and unpatriotic to know more of foreign history and geography while little of this is known in the home country (Blyden 1967:88).

He introduced Arabic and principal African languages in the curriculum for the purpose of communication in the accessible areas of the country. He pointed out that this would enable the Africans to learn more about Africa.

Blyden found the inclusion of ancient or the so-called dead languages (Greek and Latin) in the curriculum essential for apart from imparting knowledge these languages strengthen and discipline the mind more than the modern languages can do.

Blyden recommended the study of Classics and Mathematics. The former subject, he stated, stimulates the mind and arouses interest for science and the latter with its components, namely, Algebra, Geometry and Higher Mathematics, similar to Classics, was an instrument of culture and it was needed anywhere (Ibid. 1967:83, 87).

Blyden also proposed the introduction of Agriculture in the curriculum for economic reasons. For this subject he argued that students could spend part of their time in cultivating the land, the proceeds of which could be used to pay their college expenses and to meet other needs of education (Blyden 1967:73; Bennaars [et al.] 1994:19).

He further proposed that African folklore and culture should be given the rightful place in the curriculum. Blyden was therefore against foreign songs and their content and he stated that it would be acceptable to hear African history sung for it told of African traditions, tribal and national life, superstitions, etc. Blyden also preferred that African composition be read (Blyden 1967:91-92).

A typical African curriculum was therefore expected to have subjects with content having a bearing on African culture, custom, religion, institutions, history, geography, mythology, languages, music, traditions, etc.

From the inclusion of all the African orientated subjects, Blyden's view of the curriculum can be described as one meant to indigenise it as making it own to Africa.
It can also be deduced from his view of the curriculum that Blyden sought to eliminate the curriculum that was European centred and also dominated by white educators. Further, he would like to prove that the African environment was rich in subject matter which could be included in the subjects found in the curriculum.

It can, however, further be noted that Blyden's ideas for curricular innovation took into account the need to develop the Negro race properly. He therefore regarded it appropriate to have more, purely academic subjects and to reduce those that could influence the mind of the learner badly (Blyden 1967:80).

Besides this, Blyden proposed to have curricula which could have a correct balance of subjects. He maintained that this could be a suitable way to develop a true mental culture. Blyden claimed this to be important, and he wrote:

"The true principle of mental culture is ... to preserve an accurate balance between the studies which carry the mind out of itself and those which recall it home again. When we receive impressions from without we must bring from our own consciousness the idea that gives them shape ... mould them by our own individuality" (Blyden 1967:80).

All that Blyden meant was to include in the curricula the subjects that stimulate thinking and recalling. And that facts as they are assimilated should be given meaning. In other words, Blyden stressed the principle of perception in the curricula.

His argument in proposing this principle was that it was non-existent in European curricula, and he further wrote,

"... in looking over the whole civilized world I see no place where this sort of culture for the Negro can be better secured than in Liberia - where he [the Negro] ... finds out his place ... his work ... develop his peculiar gifts and powers..." (Ibid. 1967:80).
In this manner, Blyden claimed that the European curricula lacked this culture. And it was an inhibiting factor as far as preparing the learners for life in their own country, Liberia. This was, among other reasons, why curricular innovation was inevitable. The lack of this culture also led to neglecting the development of the Negroes' talents.

In his curricular innovation, Blyden pointed out the need to have curricula with practical applications. To stress this he wrote:

"But we need a practical education in Liberia... It aims at practical results of a more important character ... at imparting not simply skill in keeping accounts ... but skill in exercising the intellect accurately and readily, upon any subject..." (Blyden 1971a:222).

The emphasis on curricula should be the correct application of skills acquired on a variety of fields. It could be inferred from Blyden's words that European curricula were more theoretical.

The importance of practical curricula was further indicated by Blyden when he said in his own words:

"... What we need is applicability to our surroundings. There is much that is superfluous in the foreign ideas that we have imbibed, much that is deficient, much that is injurious. Hence the necessity of the means through culture at home to produce, not the European scholar ... but the Liberian scholar" (Blyden 1971a:265).

All that Blyden implied was that the European curricula included subjects which had very little benefit for the African. And through African orientated curricula the learner could become a good and efficient worker for all the aspects of culture necessary, for his training could be incorporated in his education. The learner could therefore be suited for work in his own country.
Blyden also recommended to have workshops introduced in curricula. This was again Blyden's way to stress the need for a practical component in curricula. He put it:

"We ought to have a workshop connected with the college in which knowledge of the use of carpenter's and other tools may be acquired, especially for the training of youth... I should consider this ... as by no means an unprofitable distraction from the bookwork of the place" (Blyden 1971b:250).

If it is taken into account that Liberia was then an independent country since 1847, workshops could be regarded as an important part of education curricula for citizens were to be prepared for meaningful roles which could contribute directly to the economy (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1.1). The advantages attached to the workshops was to minimize reading and memorizing facts from books during learning, and the main danger being to memorize facts which could not be applied.

Higher education as viewed by Blyden is discussed hereunder.

3.2.5 HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

As far as higher education was concerned it needs to be noted that Blyden’s suggestion to establish a secular West African University was linked with the idea of promoting ethnocentrism. He was, in this regard, certain that the Negro had special attributes and that African customs and institutions represented an important aspect of the nation which could not be overlooked (Lynch 1965:382).

Because of this he criticized foreign missionaries for failing to develop African customs and institutions. This could be seen in the attempt to Europeanize Africans, frustrate the development of African personality, destroy and depreciate African customs as well as mystifications. By establishing a West African University which could be controlled by Negroes themselves, Blyden hoped to secure the proper development of Africans and promotion of their unity (Ibid 1965:382; Fyfe 1962:389).
Blyden's view of higher education could be manifested in his objective to establish at least a single centre of higher learning for West Africa; recommendation for the development of a university in Sierra Leone in 1872 and the founding of a training college at Lagos in 1896. Blyden maintained that through these institutions correct education could be provided through the application of the principles of education for Africans. Such education, to Blyden, was free from European ideas and values which promoted inferiority of the African. In his own words Blyden said:

"The precise problem of education of the African is to develop his powers as an African ... The method which has been generally pursued ... has been absurd ... because it has been carried on without the study of the man and his intellectual possibilities ... producing, as a rule, only caricatures of alien manners, who copy the most obvious peculiarities of their teachers, with all their drawbacks and defects" (Blyden 1967:82-92; Blyden 1971e:329 & July 1964:83).

Blyden thought that the European education was unable to develop the qualities of an African. This was mainly due to the strange methods of teaching used and such methods could not take into account man's intellectual level. As a consequence education failed to turn out a rational person with a good sense of judgement.

His idea to have at least one institution for higher learning as mentioned earlier, came about as a means to discourage parents from sending their children abroad with the hope of receiving better education. A single institution known as "The West African University" was to be conducted by trained and experienced Negroes to provide education adapted to the peculiar needs of the country and people. He argued that overseas education could not meet the needs of his country and that foreign education forced the Negro's mental and moral peculiarities out of their rational and normal actions (Blyden 1967:223). This implies that when receiving his education abroad, the Negro had to adapt his thinking and moral behaviour so as to cope with the demands of foreign education. Blyden sought to avoid this situation by advocating the establishment of institutions of higher education which were own to Africa.
Regarding his opinion of higher education given above, it can be said that Blyden preferred that this education ought to serve as a means of integrating African values. This opinion was so important that in 1911, J.E. Casely Hayford, a third African advocate, reiterated Blyden’s idea for an indigenous university. Blyden proposed that such an institution carried out teaching in vernacular and that it ought to serve as a centre of national conservancy and evaluation. Such a university was supposed to be linked with other universities and to be in working correspondence with other best teaching institutions in countries like Japan, England, Germany and America. Blyden also thought a University of West Africa would release the entire education system from the hold of tyrannic European influences which misdirected and destroyed the Negro mind (Curtin 1978:538; Ashby 1964:13; Yousif 1976:64).

Through indigenous higher education, Blyden wanted to restore cultural respect among the Africans and this could not be achieved immediately but throughout the years. He, actually wished to return to uncontaminated African origin and to eliminate what he believed to be race poisoning from European education. And the curriculum for such higher education ought to include African languages, songs, oral tradition and a form of Christianity adapted to suit the needs of the African (Ashby 1964:13; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4).

Blyden further discouraged a study abroad because it was the main course of foreign influence which destroys man's race feeling, distorts his tastes and also confuses him. Contrary to this, education in the home country could have the advantages that it is without foreign influences; has no limits of investigation, experimentation and expression and man could never be subjected to unfounded beliefs and false ideas which may destroy his race peculiarities (Blyden 1971:224; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.7).

And by proposing the establishment of a truly African university Blyden explicitly urged his fellow Africans to preserve the basics of the African society and culture against the disruptive European influence. He encouraged the African to be themselves and to respect and love their race. In other words an African university could be a means of promoting Africanism (Hartell 1974: 349-350).
It was further argued by Blyden that a completely good training institution such as The Lagos Training College and Industrial Institute for Africans in Africa could make it unnecessary to train the African away from his country and his fellow countrymen. He was thus against the idea of studying in Europe, and he put it:

"He finds himself ... alienated from himself and his countrymen. He is neither African in feeling nor in aim. He does not breath African air through any of the lessons he has imbibed. The smell of African ground is not in them, but everything in Europe and European ..." (Blyden 1971c:256).

This suggests that the danger of a study abroad lay in destroying the relationship between the African and his fellow man and with himself for he would partly like to be European and partly African.

Blyden's argument to establish the West African University was based on the logic that this institution could offer opportunity and power to develop the Africans freely. Such an institution could employ able African teachers and in the case of a shortage, those from other countries outside Africa. Another purpose of the West African University could be to expose and rectify the errors, misunderstanding and contempt of character by foreign teachers (Blyden 1971c:227).

The next discussion focuses on Blyden's view of secular education.

3.2.6 SECULAR EDUCATION

It has been indicated earlier that Blyden recommended the Africanization of curriculum and the establishment of educational institutions which belonged to Africa. Such curriculum and institutions were to be free from the influence of Western and Christian ideas (Vide Chapter 3 par. 3.1.3.2 & 3.2.4). From this it could be inferred that such

2The Lagos Training College and Industrial Institute, Correspondence between Dr Blyden and the Governor Sir Gilbert T. Carter, Lagos, 21 May 1896.
were steps taken towards secularisation of African education which would serve the peculiar needs of Africans.

Owing to his decline of interest in education as a means of spreading the Gospel, Blyden recommended in 1887 that the private school he organized for the Muslims, provides secular education (Livingston 1975:160-161).

His idea to secularize education was in agreement with the notion that religion such as Islam was as destructive and as dangerous as "heathenism" for through this religion, he argued, winning converts from the followers of Allah (a god) was more difficult than from the followers of the local gods (Livingston 1975:160). This suggests that Christianity and education related to it was no longer desirable. As a consequence it ought to give room to secular education.

To add to what has been said previously it can be indicated that Christianity and therefore its education was disliked and criticized by Blyden because he saw it as an evangelical urgency which was irrelevant to Africa’s needs and which persistently occupied the mind of Africans. His argument was further that it impacted on tribal societies for it prevented the conservation of the traditional custom. This, he asserted, prevented Africa from making a special contribution to world civilization. In addition to this he regarded Christianity as a consolation for Africa’s oppression (Wilson 1960:64). It can thus be argued that Blyden’s introduction of secular education was a way of eliminating whatever influence Christianity might have on African lives.

Blyden supported the idea of secular education despite the fact that he was a trained Christian Minister. And at Liberia College he regarded the Bible, without note or comment, as the main textbook for religious education (Blyden 1967:89). In addition to this he had respect for other religions, including Islam. So his proposal to provide secular education was much contradictory to his religious status and views. But it can further be pointed out that such education was, according to him, meant to solve the problem of religious differences for such education would cater for all religious interest. People of differing religion could therefore learn together (Bennaars [et al] 1994:18).
It is necessary to indicate that Blyden's recommendation of secular education was not incidental. This was owing to the fact that from his sound knowledge of the Negro, a Christian Negro was less self-reliant and independent than a Muslim Negro. The former was taught by European teachers while the latter by Mohammedan teachers. Race integrity received less attention of the former white teachers (Livingston 1975:84). From this comparison it could further be argued that Blyden was against Christian education and that he justified the provision of secular education on the grounds of its benefits. Secular education could, among other things, promote race integrity, maintain African personality, etc. Blyden, certainly disliked Christian education for civilizing the African along the European lines.

By advocating secular education, Blyden demonstrated his changed attitude towards Christianity for he maintained that it was the main tool used to create inferiority and servility among Africans. He also held that Christian education caricatured the African, ridiculed his personal peculiarities and impressed him with a continuous and hopeless inferiority (Blyden 1971e:272).

Below is a discussion of Blyden's views of education of women:

3.2.7 EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Since in the 1850's there were no girls in Liberia high schools, Blyden proposed that they should be admitted at Liberia College to receive education. His argument was that without education, girls would not share the same general culture as men. They would not contribute towards the rapid and permanent progress of the country if they were not as equally trained as boys. Admission of women at the College would assist them to share intellectual ideas with others. He also maintained that education would not change their behaviour to, say, becoming less graceful, less natural or less womanly. Blyden argued that the opposite would be true for they would become more appreciative, wiser mothers and above all more affectionate. He also pointed out that such education could be offered properly by fellow females one of which at that time came from America (Blyden 1967:89).
It is necessary to add that Blyden’s suggestion to provide higher education for females had a wide support of among others, Ladies Reading Association at Monrovia and other citizens in that country. The said association, similar to Blyden’s view, intended to improve female conversation from just being ordinary and the citizens considered education for females indispensable for the country’s success. In order to make the introduction of this education possible admission requirements at Liberia College were worked out and were to be adhered to. It is, however, essential to point out that this effort on female education would not be carried out during his day. This might have been due to delayed governmental planning (Holden 1966: 160).

Again, most significant was Blyden's intention to improve womanhood through education in Liberia for without it the country would not prosper. To achieve his intention he employed self-instruction, weekly reading and meetings, competitions and mostly encouragement to get women involved in this education (Livingston 1975:38).

Blyden was in support of James E. Kwegjir that in educating a man you educate an individual while in educating a woman you educate a nation (Livingston 1975:228). This view supported to a very large extent the need for female education.

His success to provide education was largely due to the principle that encouragement is the best stimulus to perseverance. From this principle Blyden could encourage women that knowledge is power and it makes a person happy, allows a person to command respect from the society, renders a person useful and efficient in church and makes a person become an ornament to the country. This could appeal to women to pursue female education. He encouraged them to beautify their minds rather than their outward appearance since, to Blyden, it was important to acquire knowledge (Livingston 1975:39).

Although he advocated that women be admitted in colleges, Blyden did not neglect the traditional female institutions which existed from the past. Such institutions were important because, he wrote:

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3James E. Kwegjir was the famous Gold Coast educator and vice principal of Achimota College.
"Instruction is given in everything which prepares a woman to act well her part in the existing social order - everything necessary to enable the young mother to perform the function which her position involves" (Blyden 1908:13).

The traditional female institutions were to exist alongside the African colleges and both ought to have the same purpose, that of preparing the African women for life and moulding their character.

It is noteworthy that instructions in those female institutions were much varied to include a number of aspects, Blyden put it,

"...instruction is given in all the normal and abnormal complaints and diseases to which women are liable, especially as wives and mothers ... so that when a girl has passed through the prescribed course of training, she is prepared ... everywhere and at all times ... to take care of herself in emergencies" (Blyden 1908:14).

The nature of instruction indicates that a number of problems encountered by mothers could be eliminated by virtue of having been educated correctly. It can be pointed out that after this course girls were expected, on reaching maturity, to receive another course of instruction similar to circumcision which was as important as the first general instruction mentioned previously, Blyden wrote,

"...they are subjected before they leave the secret grove to the rite analogous to circumcision, which in tropical countries has an important bearing upon the welfare of mothers and their offspring" (Blyden 1908:17).

With regard to the welfare of mothers and offsprings, Blyden sought to reinforce, through their education, the regulation found among the Africans that the rest and reserve period should be observed or otherwise, he maintained, tired mothers could give birth to tired children (Dennet 1968:156). The period referred to is characteristic of
African married life whereby giving birth to children is interrupted by a break of at least three years.

It can be argued, as already said earlier, that a thorough preparation for married and social life for girls could be made in the traditional female institution. It could be inferred that this could not be offered at ordinary colleges owing to its special nature.

It is important to indicate that certain female practices which were regarded as a creation of the West were rejected as unacceptable to the African conditions. Blyden put it:

"Compulsory spinsterhood is unknown under the African system ... Its existence here is abnormal, anticlimatic, and considered a monstrosity"

(Blyden 1908:11).

Blyden rejected spinsterhood on the grounds that it contradicted his notion of the function to be performed by mothers, namely, the continuance of human race; and that it was strange to African women.

3.3 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF BLYDEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt fully with the factors that inhibited the intellectual and educational innovation. These factors will now be referred to for critically reviewing the contribution of Blyden towards educational innovation in Africa. Firstly, it needs to be shown that the intellectual environment in West Africa, during Blyden’s time, was deformed. This had been largely due to factors like discrimination, missionary education control, superstition, etc. Discrimination backed by British Law was, for example, enforced against the Western educated elite. The control of education by missions could be illustrated by the establishment of a Grammar school for boys and girls secondary education in Freetown in 1845. Secondly, West Africa lacked the intellectual tradition because of the absence of universities. Blyden’s recommendation for the establishment
of a West African University serves to prove this point. Thirdly, West Africa had not a fully developed written tradition (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1, Webster 1974:570; Fyfe 1974:50; Horton 1971:73). When viewed together it can be argued that Blyden's educational innovation lacked the support of West African society and therefore to a certain extent constricted.

3.3.2 THE LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED AND POLITICS OF FEAR OR CONFORMISM

3.3.2.1 INTELLECTUAL ENERGY AND POLITICS

Having realized that people of West Africa were not as free as they ought to, Blyden, apart from being an educator, participated in politics in an attempt to liberate them from European influence and domination. He became engaged in political activities such as praising the African culture and urging those who were educated to leave the European values and go back to their own culture. He articulated the Pan-Africanist concept; struggled for a separate African personality etc. (Akintoye 1976:98; Hull 1980:83). These political activities demanded him to channel his intellectual energy into politics and thus limiting his involvement in educational innovation.

Although his participation in politics served to liberate the Africans from ignorance about their culture, identity, etc. it deprived him of the necessary attention required in the intellectual and educational innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1).

3.3.2.2 ALIENATION OR RADICALISM

Blyden could not avoid the two activities in his liberation of the oppressed. This was due to the fact that as an educator he sometimes served in the bureaucratic positions as a Liberian Diplomat. Alienation from his educational innovation often occurred when he was called to occupy the said position. And this undoubtedly affected the innovation process. He could not, as a result thereof, pay sufficient attention to it (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.2; Chapter 3, par. 3.1.3.1 & 3.1.3.5).
It can rightly be inferred that Blyden was not seriously affected by intellectual radicalism as he was not completely excluded from political events in Liberia. He could both from within and outside the government, to a limited degree, shape the educational innovation the way in which he wanted it to proceed. This limited radicalism (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.2).

3.3.2.3 PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION/ANALYTICAL REASONING BECAME A FOREIGN CONCEPT- POLITICAL IMPERATIVES BECAME DOMINANT

Due to Pan-Africanism as a political imperative which became dominant during Blyden's time, philosophical speculation or analytical reasoning received less attention. Intellectuals became preoccupied with Pan-Africanism with the result that they could not exercise the necessary analytical reasoning which could aid in the promotion of Blyden's educational innovation. Therefore his innovation was hampered by this political imperative (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.4).

3.3.2.4 THE DESTINY OF MAN BECAME CONCEIVED IN POLITICAL TERMS

Blyden's educational innovation was to a large extent influenced by conceiving the destiny of man in political terms. Central to his political activity, namely, Pan-Africanism, was the consideration of man's future, that is, maintaining his culture, identity and personality as said earlier.

Blyden focused attention on Pan-Africanism to project the African personality (Azikiwe 1962:4). His preoccupation in this political activity limited his engagement in educational innovation. He could not have sufficient time to consider man in educational terms, that is, including innovation (Azikiwe 1962:4; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.5).

3.3.3 THE TYRANNICAL CUSTOM OF AFRICAN CULTURE

In spite of the fact that African cultures are tyrannical in nature, this did not affect Blyden's educational innovation much as instead of obeying and not questioning authority he proceeded as far as questioning and challenging the relevance of Western
education provided by the Liberian government and missionaries. Had the tyrannical custom of African culture oppressed him much, he would not have been able to innovate education as he did (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3; Chapter 3, par. 3.2).

3.3.3.1

THE NON-LITERARY MODE OF THOUGHT STIFLED CREATIVITY, IMAGINATION AND INITIATIVE

This factor appears to have negatively affected Blyden's educational innovation because the non-literary mode prevented the Liberian people to exercise their imagination creativity and initiative in adopting and implementing his educational innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.1). The information below illustrates this.

Forty four years after Blyden's death, that is, in 1956, census in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, showed that a large section of the population was illiterate with 80% of children without Std. 6 while 70% of them could neither read nor write English (Fraenkel 1964:47; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1.2). An inference can be made that during Blyden's time the situation was far below this. This could be ascribed to the oral tradition which dominates Liberia.

3.3.3.2

THE UNDERDEVELOPED CHARACTER OF ITS SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY RETARDS OBJECTIVE SCHOLARSHIP, EMPIRICAL VERIFICATION AND ANALYTICAL LOGIC

From the foregoing discussion it goes without saying that the African culture in Liberia could not conduct scientific enquiry into educational innovation. This was due to the fact that besides being non-literary the culture lacked science. As a result Blyden's educational innovation was, to a great measure, constricted because his facts could not be verified for application, rejection and even improvement. Analytical logic which accompanies empirical verification could neither be exercised (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).
A CULTURE WITH NO SCIENTIFIC HEROES OR BREAKTHROUGHS. THE ABSENCE OF THINKING MODELS BECAUSE OF COMMUNALITY

In so far as communality restricts the freedom of an individual in African society, it can be said that Blyden’s educational innovation was hampered by this aspect. Communality prevented the development of scientific heroes, and thinking models who could otherwise assist towards the promotion of Blyden’s educational innovation. His innovation could not make use of scientific achievements from African cultures as they were non-existent (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.3; Abraham 1962:66).

THE ABSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING

SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND AFRICAN TRADITIONAL THOUGHT

Although scientific thinking is replaced by the traditional thought in African cultures, this did not adversely affect Blyden in his educational innovation. This has been due to the fact that Blyden did not derive his facts for innovation from folk, proverbs, myths, etc. of the traditional thought. He was, in other words exceptional in thinking scientifically in an attempt to innovate education in Africa. He was critical about missionary education and influence in Africa. This further means he adopted an ‘open’ culture attitude which is more characteristic of scientific thinking than of traditional thought of the ‘closed’ culture (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.1).

It can further be shown that Blyden was less affected by the traditional thought according to which knowledge is conveyed by word of mouth because his facts for innovation were given in writing and scientifically presented, that is presented in a verifiable manner, as said earlier (Abraham 1962:93; Freud 1984:1).

PHILOSOPHY CONTRIBUTES LITTLE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

The presence of African philosophy with its reliance on folk, myth and proverbs did not affect Blyden’s educational innovations. Instead of such philosophy he felt negritude
was better than African philosophy in addressing the problems of race and relevance of education in Africa. In a sense, contemporary problems in West Africa could, in Blyden's opinion be understood through the adoption of négritude as an ideology (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.2; Chapter 3, par. 3.1).

3.3.4.3 STATIC CULTURE

Owing to the static nature of African culture in West Africa, some of Blyden's educational innovation ideas could not be supported for they were opposed to an unchanging nature of African culture. For example, due to unchanging nature of African culture his ideas of a West African University did not materialize during his time as the West African community might have been unwilling to change to higher education.

Therefore the aspects of static culture that is myths, ancestral worship, superstition might have inhibited Blyden's innovative ideas (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.3)

3.3.4.4 THE NON-EXISTENCE OF ETHICISTS

The absence of ethicists in African culture can be said to have influenced Blyden's educational innovation because what was regarded as bad could not be condemned while that which was good could neither be reinforced also. This means that in the absence of ethics from ethicists the idea of wrong and right concerning Blyden's educational innovation was, correctly not regarded as important (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.4).

3.3.4.5 MORALISTS BUT WITH A USELESS AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY

The presence of moralists in African culture does not seem to have affected Blyden's innovation because they could not in any way become part of his educational innovation. In the same way African philosophy as folk philosophy was divorced from Blyden's educational innovation. It can therefore be argued that his educational innovation could not emphasize moral ideas which is the domain of moralists (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.5).
3.3.5 THE AFRICAN CULTURE EXHIBITS AN ABILITY TO RESIST CHANGE

3.3.5.1 CHANGE CLASHES WITH CONTINUITY (TRADITION)

This factor has affected Blyden’s educational innovation as certain practices were already fixed by tradition and the West African community accustomed to them. For instance by the time Blyden came with his ideas of new educational practices certain missionary practices were already fixed by tradition and also hard to change. Therefore Blyden’s innovation was not free from clashing with continuity. His innovation could be feared because it was new, untested and untried and therefore could be resisted (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.5.1).

3.3.5.2 TECHNOLOGICAL USHERINGS WERE OPPOSED BY TRADITION

In as far as Blyden’s innovation included the use of workshops to render the curriculum practical, this being part of technological usherings in a small scale, was an area of resistance. This could be claimed because African cultures are sensitive to accepting whatever belongs to technology as these cultures are non-scientific, (Vide Chapter 2, par 2.5.2).

3.4 RESUMÉ

From the previous discussions it can be pointed out that Blyden's policy of liberal education could be characterized by the following principles and ideologies:

• Education shall develop man according to his natural ability (Blyden 1967:73)

Blyden believed that the failure of an African in various life activities was due to the fact that he was not developed according to his natural gifts. And he believed this was due to Christian education which ignored man's peculiarities. Blyden claimed that this education was incorrect (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2).
Curricula shall be more African in content (Blyden 1971a:241 & 1967:88)

Blyden's idea behind this was to eliminate the domineering European influence on curricula thereby attempting to make it more relevant to the African circumstances and needs. His main argument was to develop curricula which are own to Africa and therefore suitable for Africans. The subjects in the curricula could deal with Native aspects, for instance, Native Law, customs, traditions, etc. instead of foreign ideas. His main argument for such content was that apart from being natural and superstitious, it was educative and appropriate for living in this country (Ibid. 1971a:266 Vide Chapter 3, par 3.2.4)

Higher education [university education] shall be provided locally in African institutions [in Africa]

Blyden was thus convinced that studies abroad were irrelevant for the African. This was owing to the fact that it could not be adapted to suit his needs. He further disapproved the studies abroad as they neglected race instincts; attempts to Europeanize the African, confuse his instincts and hamper his mental development. And by being abroad for studies the African could not generate patriotism, which Blyden claimed was important (Blyden 1971c & e:223-224 & 226, 227; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5). He asserted that the latter aspects were important for the African. By having local university education, Blyden hoped it would allow the people the opportunity and power of a free and healthy development. In his opinion such education, when provided locally, would promote individuality and originality of character as the results of advancing civilization and culture.

Locally provided higher education was also accepted by Blyden as a means of allowing the clever and studious Natives the opportunity to receive instruction in the higher branches of learning. It was for this reason that he preferred a thorough and permanent reform in higher education to enhance development and growth (Blyden 1971c:226).
• **Methods of instruction shall suit the needs of the African**

Blyden's reason to have all methods of instruction adapted to the learner's needs was an attempt to eliminate European influences on teaching. With methods that have been adapted to African circumstances, Blyden believed that learning could promote self-respect, self-education, self-reliance, independent thinking, etc.

Having been designed in foreign countries without the consideration of the nature and background of the African, European methods were regarded as irrelevant. It was thus Blyden's wish that they be changed to meet the particular needs of the learners in Africa. Blyden was further convinced that what may be of advantage to Europe may work ruin in Africa (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.3).

• **Education shall be secular in nature**

Blyden's reason behind advocating the provision of secular education in Africa was, among others, to eliminate the harmful effects of Christian education. Besides this he favoured the idea that secular knowledge be spread among a large sector of the population. And for free and progressive institutions, instead of Christian education, he proposed that a system of education shall prepare the cultivated youth for the responsibilities which devolve upon them. Such a system demanded more than the Christian education of the time could offer, namely evangelization with its denominational rivalry and conflicting dogmatic creeds from the missionaries (Blyden 1971:226; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.6).

• **Education shall be provided to both male and female sexes on equal basis**

By advocating equal education for both sexes, Blyden sought to involve the females in the economic development and to improve their status as wives through education. Again, in this regard Blyden intended to maintain the work carried out in traditional female schools [circumcision] where the young girls are prepared for future, family and general life activities (Blyden 1967:89 & 1908:16; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.7).
The foregoing discussions on Blyden's ideas reveal the fact that he strongly reacted against various educational matters pertaining to western education. This could be called a reaction relevant to his time, for he, as an educational thinker, had to establish a new education system appropriate for a transition from western to African education systems. It was therefore essential during his time to reject all forms of European influence on education in order to make his proposed reform acceptable.

But a closer look at the western education indicates that it was not as bad as labelled by Blyden. It had its bad as well as good sides. For its good side, the curricular composition could be relied upon for the subjects such as Mathematics, Arithmetic, Geography, History and Classics. And for its bad side it could not be adopted because of excluding African orientated subjects especially Agriculture and African languages. Worse of all western education had strange subject matter (Lynch 1967:13 & Blyden 1967:88).

Blyden's Africanization of education cannot be regarded as complete for he still included Greek and Latin in his innovated curricula. These subjects were still strange to the Africans (Blyden 1967:83).

The innovation of education in Liberia as proposed by Blyden cannot be transferred as it is for use in South Africa. This is mainly because these two countries do not share the same social and economic conditions. Let alone their educational problems. On one hand South African education is not dominated by European influence but rather by lack of equal but separate education for its multi-cultural society. This indicates that Blyden's educational innovation was to some extent only appropriate during his time and has little application for the present conditions in South Africa.

Complete indigenization of education in Liberia as advocated by Blyden cannot properly be applied in South Africa if it is accepted that this country does exist in isolation from the rest of the world. Such an indigenized education if not properly structured would fail the African in his contact with the international world. A combination of indigenous and universal [international] education is more appropriate for South Africa's educational innovation.
The provision of higher education cannot be limited to South African institutions as it would have been the case in Liberia during Blyden's time. The provision thereof can still be linked to foreign countries mainly for the purpose of enrichment rather than for the initial higher education. Certainly, a limit such as this would prevent the acquisition of irrelevant foreign education which is lowly rated in South Africa. Different from Blyden's views, higher education institutions found locally and abroad need to cooperate with a view to offering acceptable education.

The continued existence of traditional female institutions alongside western education in South Africa can be maintained but not in a disorganized manner as in Blyden's times. Special curricula needs to be adopted in these institutions to be run side by side with the western curricula for proper training of girls and boys in African traditional family manners.

Education of women as proposed by Blyden can, therefore, be criticized for the lack of specific curricula. Instead thereof Blyden stated the activities of this education in general terms. It can be inferred that had there been a properly developed curriculum it might to have included subjects meant to meet the needs of women for economics and budgeting, balanced diet, nutrition, good health, hygienic conditions, simple home management, and responsible and civic awareness (Igoche 1980:3; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.7).

Blyden's innovation of female education is not consistent with the desired innovation of women's education in South Africa (S.A.). And as a consequence cannot be applied in this country. The main reason for rejecting it is because of its elementary and unsystematic nature. Instead thereof appropriate innovation of female education in S.A. can include orientating more women in the technological and managerial sciences. This would entail ensuring that they receive education in the following subjects: Mathematics, Computer Science and pure science. In other words their education should focus attention on the so-called 'hard' rather than 'soft' subjects.

His idea to secularize education thereby attempting to solve religious problems (Bennaars [et al.] 1994:18), could not be done without suppressing the religious convictions of the people served by the education systems concerned. This innovation could not therefore be accepted as suitable. Alternatively, what could also sound logical and acceptable would
have been to categorize schools according to religious groupings and to allocate religious hours in a particular school. Because of this, various religions namely, Christianity, Islam, Paganism, etc. could be accorded the rightful place in education. The religious needs of the people could thus be served.

3.5 ASSESSMENT

Since the contributions of Blyden and Nyerere came about as a reaction against western education, it was not unlikely that the two educational thinkers shared more or less the same views in this contribution towards educational innovation in Africa.

On the one hand the major similarity stemmed from the fact that both Blyden and Nyerere sought to go back to their African traditional values with a view to restoring them. On the other hand Carr differed from the two mainly because he was impressed by the introduction of the western education in Africa and was ready to substitute the African traditional values with the western ones (Akinpelu 1981:113).

Because of this the following similarities and differences were found between the three educational thinkers.

Blyden, Carr and Nyerere shared these similarities:

- They proposed that the curricula be African in content and be derived from the African environment (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

- They opted for practical curricula to be used in Africa. Blyden preferred the use of workshops while Nyerere the use of school farms to carry out such curricula (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

- They preferred curricula which could contribute towards the payment of school expenses and also partly finance students (Blyden 1967:73 & Nyerere 1968:283; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3). This was due to poor social and economic conditions prevailing during their times.
They were opposed to book-learning as a sound method of instruction (Blyden 1967:37, 220 & Nyerere 1968:277; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.4). They both believed that this could inhibit thinking to a very large extent.

Nyerere and Carr had similar views that the primary school phase should be complete in itself and not a preparation for further education (Carr 1969:14 & Nyerere 1968:280; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7). This was mainly meant to assist school leavers so that they could be ready to join the labour force.

Between Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's ideas on educational innovation, the following differences could be noticed:

Blyden's aim of education emphasized growth, efficiency, development of man's abilities, self-respect, fitness and ability. Nyerere emphasized the need to attain socialism through the provision of education, hence his aim stressed the principles of socialism. And unlike Blyden, he stressed the transmission of values (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2).

Blyden and Nyerere differed greatly with respect to the way in which they designed curricula. This was due to their ideologies, namely, liberalism and socialism. Blyden promoted liberal views while Nyerere encouraged socialist views. Because of this, Blyden designed curricula which could free the man, mentally and physically. Blyden therefore valued the use of mental disciplines and acquisition of skills to free man rather than to serve the state. And Nyerere's curricula were designed to allow more skills training so as to enable the learner to work for the socialist state he headed (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

Blyden's contribution towards innovating higher education [university] differed from that of Nyerere for he proposed for the establishment of the indigenous institutions of higher education which could offer education which has been adapted for the African's peculiar needs. He was further against foreign higher education, mainly because of its irrelevance to African circumstances. Nyerere's contribution towards higher education
was concerned about reorganizing the role of the universities in terms of the socialist goals and the need to serve the developing country (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10).

• Unlike Blyden, Carr did not object to studies overseas for further education, for he found it necessary to increase the learner's knowledge and experience of the work done in his home country (Africa). Because of this Carr also set the pre-conditions for scholarship overseas to be met by a learner, namely, that he should have excellent character; be fit to fulfil functions with intelligence, judgement and honesty and be ready to direct the community on his return from abroad.

Due to the fact that he accepted the western education he did not see the need to have well equipped African institutions to carry out further education. Besides this he did not realize the irrelevance of foreign education as noticed by Blyden. He further did not consider the limitations imposed by the high cost and lack of funds to pursue studies abroad. The disastrous effect of having a limited few highly educated people at the expense of the poor Africans was not given due consideration, for scholarships from public funds were to be used for such studies. (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.7).

• Although Blyden and Carr focused attention on women's education their views diverged in structuring and implementing this education. Blyden saw the need to make women literate, participate in the economy, become good mothers and wives, etc. while Carr paid less attention to literacy and calculating and emphasized the need to receive practical education and religious training (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.7; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.8).

As it will be seen in the next chapter, Carr held certain views on educational innovation.
CHAPTER 4

4. CARR'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA (1863-1945)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused attention on the contribution of Blyden towards educational innovation in Africa. This chapter, however, carries the discussion further by looking into the contribution of Dr Henry Rawlinson Carr towards educational innovation in the same country.

The reason why Carr has been part of this thesis is not far fetched as he is one of the earliest African educators and the first African inspector whose contribution towards educational innovation in Africa is worth reviewing. And through the analysis of his contribution it can certainly become clear that education can be innovated by supporting the existing educational system rather than acting to the contrary (Fafunwa 1974:95).

The reader can once more be reminded that Carr was one of the twentieth century educational thinkers. Before analysing his contribution, it will, however, be essential to indicate to the reader that Carr was a school teacher, inspector and government officer among other positions he held in the Nigerian education.

Because of these positions he was in a better position to work within the education system to change and improve it. His intention was therefore not to overthrow the Nigerian education system but rather to work with it and to innovate it (Akinpelu 1981:100).

His contributions towards educational change and his view of education were greatly influenced by his Christian philosophy of life. Carr could thus be described as a Christian humanist rather than a Christian fanatic. On account of the former description he regarded religion as very useful for life on earth rather than an abstract loyalty to a divine being (Ibid. 1981:101-102).
Other descriptions of Carr indicated that he was a conservative nationalist, a bibliophile, an omnivorous, and catholic reader and a man of moral strength (July 1968:415).

Carr, though a contemporary of Blyden, made a significant contribution towards various educational matters, of which prior to analysis it is essential to present his biographical survey from 1863 to 1945. At this stage it is quite necessary to state that various aspects of his life which do not form part of his educational life will receive, less attention if any, in the discussion of his biography. This is mainly due to the fact that his biography as presented in this thesis should as much as possible indicate the relationship between his educational life and his contribution towards educational innovation in Africa.

It will therefore be essential to refer to his biography over the period 1863-1945 under the following aspects. Early childhood and educational career, teaching profession, civil service and church services.

4.1.1 HIS EARLY CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATIONAL CAREER 1863-1882

Dr Henry Rawlinson Carr was born on 15 August 1863 in Lagos. He was the only son in a family of three children. His father Mr Amuwo Carr, a native of Abeokuta, was popularly known as Daddy Shop-pe, a Sierra Leone repatriate of Egba descent. His mother was Rebecca Carr. The Carr family resettled in Yorubaland. Carr's father died in 1870 when he was aged seven and his mother became responsible for the children's education. Rebecca Carr could be described as a genuine Christian mother, highly intelligent and industrious (Gwam 1963:3; Burns 1963:63; July 1968:415).

In 1869 when Carr was aged six, she took him to St, Paul's School (Breadfruit) in Lagos and in 1871, she transferred him to a neighbouring elementary school, a Wesleyan School in Olowogbowo where he furthered his studies until 1873. In these years Carr demonstrated that he had surprising qualities which made him an outstanding pupil at the Wesleyan school. This was recognized by his school headmaster Rev. J.B. Thomas. Because of this he arranged to stay with Carr, educating, supervising and advising him on his educational future (Gwam 1963:4).
Part of Rev. Thomas’ advice was that Carr be taken to Sierra Leone in 1874 to become a foundation student in the Wesleyan High School which was newly opened in Freetown.

In 1878 he became the top student of all the candidates who wrote the London Matriculation Examination in West Africa. This performance gained him the Fourah Bay College scholarship. Carr obtained very good results in Matriculation Mathematics. And in his first year examination at the college, because of this, his request to take Mathematics and Physical Science special courses could not be turned down. In 1882, at the age of nineteen he obtained a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) with honours in Mathematics and Physical Science from the same College and Durham University (Gwam 1963:4; July 1968:416; Akinpelu 1981:100).

4.1.2 CARR AS TEACHER AT FOURAH BAY COLLEGE AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1882-1889

After graduating from Fourah Bay College Carr most probably taught there during the period 1882-1885. He however, returned to Lagos in 1885 when he assumed the appointment of Assistant Master in Christian Missionary Society Grammar School. This school was under the principalship of Bishop (Rev.) Isaac Oluole. Carr served in this school for almost five years, that is, up to 1889, when he rose to the position of Senior Assistant Master.

During his yearly years of teaching, Carr’s first important contribution, though not towards educational change was to write a Key to Lock’s Trigonometry which was published in 1889 by Macmillian. The book was greatly approved in England. The second one was to work through the Womall’s Arithmetic. In doing so he discovered and corrected the errors in this work. The publishers were grateful for this. These encouraged him to publish other mathematical textbooks (Gwam 1963:4).

For these contributions Carr was regarded by publishers as a distinguished school teacher. Besides the pupils respected him and Gwam wrote,

"The characteristic devotion and extraordinary interest in all things concerning the advancement of education and the welfare of the children"
This shows that he dedicated himself fully to serving the children since he was interested in promoting their education. This could further be noticed when he also conducted, without any charge, special courses in Mathematics, Science and Classics after school hours and also at times visiting the homes and investigated the home background of children who were more backward so as to get ways to assist them. It can be emphasized that this could only be done by devoted teachers.

Carr’s greatest services as teacher, educationist and administrator in Nigeria could be appreciated by his students in 1924 when they presented him with an illuminated address (Ibid. 1963:5).

4.1.3 CARR AS TEACHER AND CIVIL SERVANT 1888-

- The period 1888-1899

In 1888 after the governor of Lagos had conducted the formal inspection at the C.M.S. Grammar school, where Carr was a teacher, he was so impressed by his good school work that he invited him to the Government House with a view to offering him an appointment in the colonial service. The necessary arrangements were made to release him from the said school. (Ayandele 1966:288; Gwam 1963:5; Akinpelu 1981:101). This indicates that Carr’s educational excellence was not only recognized and appreciated by his pupils, as just mentioned previously, but also by the Nigerian community at large. It could also be pointed out that he was an important personality in the educational field and civil service.

As a consequence in 1889, Carr occupied two posts simultaneously, as chief clerk in the Colonial Secretariat and Her Majesty’s Sub-Inspector of schools of the Colony of Lagos. Due to his satisfactory service, in 1891 he was promoted Deputy Inspector and the year thereafter, that is, 1892 he became Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools of the same colony.

On two occasions, that is, in 1895 and 1896, Carr widened his knowledge and scope of school inspectorate by attending courses at St. Mark College. In 1899 he served temporarily,
the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria for the purpose of giving the report on the schools in that area. He completed a very useful report which was later, in 1903, used by Sir Ralf Moor for drafting the first education Proclamation of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (Gwam 1963:5). This proved that Carr had innovative ideas which could be relied upon for further planning. It could further be said that he was an indispensable figure in the civil service.

- The period 1901-1906

During 1901 and 1903-1906 respectively, he was again needed to serve in the Government Service as the Colonial Secretary for Native Affairs and as Third Colonial Secretary. But he had always wished to go back to his post in the Department of Education. After the amalgamation of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate and the colony and Protectorate of Lagos (Crowder 1962:19), Carr returned to the Department of Education as Provincial Inspector of Schools in 1906. During the same period he served under the three Directors of Education, firstly under Mr J.A. Douglas and secondly under Messrs E.G. Rawden and Henry Hyden Johnson (Gwam 1963:5). This again shows that his interaction between the two occupational field was desirable for progress and development. He was needed to contribute in the educational field as well as in the country. As a civil servant Carr would like to be treated fairly in the job situation, he did not accept to be superseded by less qualified and younger Europeans. This having occurred caused him to abandon the civil service in 1903 and enter the legal profession. Because he was brilliant he passed the B.C.L. degree of Durham in 1906. But due to the fact that Carr wanted to serve the country as an educationist he reconsidered his prospects as Advocate and Solicitor and later discontinued to practice law and refused to be called the Bar (Gwam 1963:6; July 1968:417). Similar to other Black educational thinkers discussed in this thesis, such as Blyden and Nyerere Carr was against discrimination. In his own words Carr put it:

"I am as it were a permanent understanding and have the mortification of seeing younger men with defective knowledge of local conditions constantly placed over me to disparage me, depreciate my labours .... This places me
at a great disadvantage .... wounding .... my own self-respect” (Carr).

By this Carr implied that he was greatly undermined despite his high qualifications and knowledge of the local conditions to perform the duties effectively. But, the Europeans without these qualifies were made his superiors. This caused Carr great hurt.

- The period 1906-1919

Apart from serving in Education and Colonial administration, in 1906 he was Chancellor of the Anglican Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa, the positions he held up to 1919 and because of this position it was therefore reasonable to be influenced by Christianity in his educational ideas. He was pious (Akinpelu 1981:101).

Between 1906 and 1919 he served as an acting Director of Education of the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. And in 1915 he was then the Chief Inspector of Schools. (Gwam 1963:5; Akinpelu 1981:101). Since he was a man of capability he could serve in the two posts.

- The period 1918-1924

In 1918 the then Governor General of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Sir (later Lord), Frederick Lugurd, appointed him Commissioner (later renamed Resident) of the Colony. He retired from this post and from the Civil Service of Nigeria on August 1, 1924 when he was 51 years of age.

During the years 1934-1941 he was a member of the Nigerian Legislative Council. (Gwam 1963:5; Akinpelu 1981:101).

- The period 1920 - 1945

Before he died on March 4, 1945 at his home - 'The Haven' no. 6 Tinubu Square in Lagos he was a Chancellor of the Lagos Diocese over the period 1920-1945. Besides being a church official he spent the remaining twenty one years of his life studying and meditating in his huge Library which was thought to have 30 000 volumes which were ultimately bequeathed to the University College, Ibadan, when it commenced in 1948. In his retirement Carr devoted himself to the works of church and state which demanded his qualifications and experience. The fact that he had his own library with so many books shows that he was an omnivorous reader. His library became a major contribution to the university of his country (Gwam 1963:5-6; Akinpelu 1981:101).

4.1.4 CONCLUSION

Carr’s biography revealed clearly that he was a highly talented scholar who also identified his capabilities in Mathematics and Physical Science. Because of this he pursued relevant studies in the two fields and also managed to obtain high suitable qualifications. From his early teaching career, Carr demonstrated his ability to contribute much in the field of Mathematics by writing an acceptable answer book and various textbooks in this subject. This greatly showed his talent in Mathematics.

Carr also wanted pupils to benefit much from his knowledge of Mathematics. It was because of this fact that he had very keen interest in assisting them even after working hours. To help the pupils better, he found it necessary to know the case histories of pupils who experienced difficulties in understanding Mathematics. This meant he was much concerned with pupils who failed to comprehend Mathematical concepts. For his serious effort to help pupils he could later be remembered as an able and devoted teacher.

Because of his capabilities in teaching he became a wanted person in the civil service. Again in this field he demonstrated greatest efficiency. As a result the government was glad to have Carr as an excellent liaison with the local people and the community was also gratified to have him as part of the administration. This increased the government efficiency and also allowed the local people to submit their grievances to the authorities (July 1968:417). It was, therefore on some of these ground that Carr continued to interact between the Department of Education and the civil service.
His long service as teacher, inspector and government official placed him in a favourable position to identify the weak points of the existing education system within which he worked. From such weak points he worked out ways to improve it. The fact that he worked in the top positions in the Department of Education and the civil service, made him to have an overall information on the deficiency in education so as to make a meaningful contribution towards educational innovation.

Carr’s contribution towards educational innovation in Africa, is presented in the following paragraphs.

4.2 CARR’S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL MATTERS

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Before analysing Carr’s contribution towards various educational matter it is much appropriate to indicate that his innovative ideas had to find their way in the Nigerian education which then could not be easily adapted to local conditions because of the British sponsored examinations, especially the Cambridge School Certificate external examination. Because of this examination, the British educational ideas and practices which were a hindrance to the development of the Nigerian education, were imposed on this education. And education had charges made against it that it lacked adaptation (Ashby 1964:56; Okongwu 1946:2). In other words the Nigerian education was static and therefore hard to adapt. This therefore in a sense attempts to justify Carr’s contribution which was a strife towards relevant education in the said country.

Carr’s contribution towards educational innovation was backed by his many years of experience as a teacher, inspector of schools, civil servant and churchman as already mentioned (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.1.3).

It is important to note in the subsequent discussions that Carr’s educational ideas were to a great extent, influenced by his religious and liberal views. In Carr’s opinion religion was the basis of education and he also stressed the possession of liberal education (Carr 1969: Introduction, 7).
It must, however, be remembered that this educational ideas were not meant to eliminate the then existing Nigerian education system as was done by Blyden and Nyerere in their respective countries, but rather to support and improve it for the benefit of the Nigerians (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1; Chapter 4, par. 4.1; Chapter 5, par. 5.1).

In spite of the fact that Carr contributed widely to educational innovation in Africa, his contribution in the subsequent discussion will be confined to these matters: Aim of education, curriculum, primary education, secondary education, supplementary (adult) education, higher education in Africa, education of women and improvement of educational standards.

The aforementioned matters will now be discussed in the same order.

4.2.2 CARR’S VIEW OF THE AIM OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Before turning to analysing Carr’s aim of education it is of vital importance to indicate that earlier aims of Western education systems in Africa were not much varied and were made by private persons with dual purposes in mind, namely, evangelization and training the local workers. Because of the former aim, missionaries chiefly taught people to read the Bible with a view to presenting the word of God to them. And owing to the latter aim, people were taught to read and write as well as keeping accounts because missionaries, traders and government wanted officials. Due to the two aims learning became bookish (Lewis 1962:85). And it was against this bookishness and clerical profession that Carr reacted in his differentiated aims.

Carr therefore did not formulate a single aim of education but rather various aims in accordance with his view of education as well as various educational levels. Thus, his educational aim could be differentiated into the main, primary, secondary and higher educational aims (Carr 1969:14, 15, 17; Akinpelu 1981:106, 108-109).

In his view of education, Carr linked experience with education and to illustrate this he referred to the life of a farmer as he put it:
"The most uninstructed farmer possesses some knowledge of moral and physical facts of life and to that end he is an educated man. We call the natural training of the farmer experience but if an artificial training is introduced to carry over a wider field, we call it education. Education therefore is really an abridged experience ..." (Carr 1969d:13).

What all this implies is that experience becomes education after it has been combined with artificial training. Apart from this view of education, Carr also maintains that education was a wider concept with many sides and different aspects, but most conceived as secular learning at school. And from this latter view, Carr gave his main aim of education. He wrote:

"It [Education] aims not at the amount of knowledge [of reading, writing and arithmetic, the 3 R's] which the pupils ultimately possess, but at the sort of man they eventually become. Its final result is a certain type of character, a certain type of habit of mind ... Education must be incomplete which does not concern itself with the preparation for the sphere of the work which the pupil is to enter ... what are practical considerations are not on this account to be lightly spoken of" (Carr 1969d:11).

This suggests that in an effort to provide education, the emphasis should not only be on the acquisition of knowledge, but rather also on the moulding of the learner’s character, training his mind and preparing him for a certain occupation. Although Carr was a devout Christian he recognized the significance of secular educational aspects in preparing the learner for life. In Carr’s opinion the provision of education should, of necessity, consider various aspects which are essential for daily lives. Expressed differently, Carr saw the need to relate education to practical life.

The aforementioned aim of education could be extended to reflect Carr’s liberal education views when in his own word he maintained that:

"We have to prepare the pupil to perform his share of labour in life ... to live the life of a good and useful citizen of his country and of the world. These two considerations lead up to the commercial and professional, and the liberal
Thus, according to Carr, liberal education also aimed at the preparation of the learner for various life activities as well as enabling him to become a citizen who can render the services to his country and other parts of the universe.

Together with the aforementioned view of the aim of education, Carr indicated his rejection of the bookish education whose aim is to give information. He said:

“Our true aim in education is not to produce a stock of facts, but to develop a certain habit of mind and a certain type of character” (Carr 1969:45).

Carr criticized bookish education which, because of its emphasis on memorising contents of textbooks, neglected reasoning as the habit of mind and character training. It is, however, essential to point out that Carr’s view of the aim of education as just given did not differ much from that of the missionaries whose emphasis was on two aspects, namely, knowledge and virtue together. While the former concept included general knowledge, the latter referred to the practice of religion, knowledge of man and his relations with fellow man. Carr to a great extent supported the two concepts in his educational ideas. This was due to the fact that he considered education without knowledge acquisition as incomplete, and that, to him, at the basis of all education there ought to be religion. The missionaries sought to train the educated Christians and members of the society. And through school instruction they imparted knowledge which could also frame the African character (Ibid. 1969:5, 6, 67). It can be added than an emphasis on two aspects, namely, knowledge and virtue was, certainly, to Carr and the missionaries meant to turn out good and useful citizens. And from Carr’s aim of education it becomes apparent that the development of character and mind was to him more important than the mere accumulation of factual knowledge.

As mentioned earlier, the main aim exists alongside other aims, like the primary education aim. The latter aim as formulated by Carr was closely related to his proposed primary curriculum to be discussed later (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3). The aim thus took into consideration the instrumental nature of subjects followed in the primary school phase. And also reflected in the aim is Carr’s liberal view of education. He gave it thus:
"The liberal education of the primary school must, therefore, largely depend on the training of the senses and feelings and very little on the training of the power of reflection which are very weak at that stage" (Carr 1969:14).

The aim suggests that sense perception is the basis of further learning since the senses have to be trained first before proceeding to mental training. Actually before the child could read, write an spell, his senses, according to Carr, must be trained. Of course, it would sound illogical to start the learning by training to think because what to think about should first be received by the senses and then internalised. Therefore the senses are very important and according to Carr less attention is very often paid to training the thought process which further implies more emphasis on rote learning in primary education.

In an effort to achieve the primary education aim, Carr sought the support of home training which was at that time inadequate due to the lack of educated parents and leisure time at their disposal. To Carr, this hampered school training because the child spent fewer hours with teachers than with parents. As a result the liberal element of his education was frustrated (Carr 1969:14).

Similarly, Carr linked the secondary education aim with the secondary school curriculum. But to arrive at the aim he criticized the home environment for its lack of contribution towards school progress. And to Carr, secondary and higher education had one and the same aim which he gave in this manner.

"The home circle is in general accessible to a narrow range of ideas, and the object in sending a boy to a secondary school is seldom for the purpose of enlarging his mind but rather from the notion that an acquaintance with the studies of the secondary school is translatable into more shillings and pounds per month ..." (Carr 1969:15).

The argument regarding this aim of education is that in a secondary school and higher education institutions the child becomes exposed to a wide range of ideas which can properly enlarge his mind. Put differently, the child becomes broad minded by attending the aforementioned institutions.
From Carr's aim of secondary education it can be realised that he was critical about the aims of the parent in sending their children to a secondary school (Taiwo 1972:30-31).

His curricular views are presented subsequently.

4.2.3 CARR'S VIEW OF THE CURRICULUM

The missionary education curriculum against which Carr reacted was characterized by, among other things, an emphasis on religion. And in the 1840's in Nigeria such curriculum included singing, scripture, prayer, reading, spelling, writing, ciphering, catechism and the four R's, namely, reading, religion, 'riting, 'rithmetic. The missionaries regarded education without religion as valueless. Through the curriculum, the missionary education could stress the spiritual value of hard work and tenets of evangelical Christianity. There was also little room for secular subjects in the curriculum (Berman 1975:xii, 8).

It is also worthwhile to note that the Africans of the time, just like Carr, asked for the inclusion of more utilitarian subjects in the curriculum. Such subjects, it was believed would enable them to move into European economy rather than to become catechists whose duty is to spread the Gospel. To explain the need for curricular innovation, further, it can be stated that in 1842 in West Africa the Royal Commission from London pointed out that missionaries wasted their time by trying to offer abstract subjects to the Africans whose intellect could not cope with abstract thinking. And on this ground this commission recommended the abolishing of the then existing theoretical curriculum and the introduction of the practical, secular curriculum. The commission's argument was that the child should be taught to work. Missionary education could therefore be criticized for the lack of inculcating the work habit besides being aimed too much at Christian dogma (Ibid. 1975:xii, 8).

Thus, through his analysis of the missionary education curriculum, Carr realized it's goals, advantages and disadvantages. It's main goal was to gain as many converts to Christianity as possible. To achieve this goal it focused all teaching on reading and writing to enable the natives to read the Bible and other religious literature. Carr, however also observed that its advantage was to instil certain social and moral standards which were meant to establish a
new and improved order. But he considered its greatest weak point to be an inability to relate to the daily life activities, in other words it lacked utility (July 1968:422; Nduka 1964:35).

From the foregoing analysis and observation, Carr criticized the missionary curriculum for its continued evangelistic motive and lack of utility, he thus wrote:

"It [the curriculum] is also objected to our school course that it is purely literary, and that better results could be produced if provisions were made for teaching of trades and for industrial occupations. The literary curriculum was introduced by our earliest instructors who established schools for the purpose of furthering their evangelistic work as missionaries, and curriculum has thus become traditional" (Carr 1969:46).

This indicates that Carr strongly objected to the missionary curriculum on the grounds that it was irrelevant for their schools and also outdated. It could then not keep pace with the economic and social development of Nigeria. This was owing to the fact that it excluded trade and industrial skills training and emphasized scripture knowledge, books and other written work.

Instead of the missionary curriculum Carr further proposed the introduction of a new curriculum without useless and premature studies in the Nigerian education. His argument for such a new curriculum was to enable schools to train the mind and the body properly because it would concentrate on practical utility. He, however, observed that a new curriculum needed the missionaries to collaborate with the Government in the establishment of the schools. The former body could copy the new ways of education from the latter and thus abandon the traditional curriculum (Taiwo 1975:36).

Apart from an overall criticism and rejection of the missionary curriculum, Carr held separate liberal views concerning the primary, and secondary school curricula. As far as the former curriculum was concerned he proposed that it included the knowledge of the letters, science, art and manners rather than the scripture teaching of the missionaries in those days. Thus for the liberal primary curriculum Carr wrote:
"A boy [pupil] who possessed the fifth or sixth standard ought to be able to read with intelligence, to write a good hand with faultless spelling, to draw fairly, to have some notion of grammatical construction and of functions in sentences, and to show a fair knowledge of history and geography in addition to the study of the Bible" (Carr 1969h:7).

The liberal curriculum thus aimed at equipping the learner in the foregoing skills and knowledge. This curriculum therefore went far beyond scripture teaching.

Carr's main argument in favour of the liberal curriculum was that it lay the background for earning a livelihood, and he put it:

"Such a child has sufficient stock in trade to start with ... to overcome his inborn hatred of drudgery, to employ and interest his mind while his hands are active ..." (Carr 1969h:7).

What all this implies is that the liberal curriculum assisted the learner to develop a love for work because all learning was made interesting and called for the full participation of the learner. He further suggest that there ought to be a link between the primary and the secondary curriculum content. In this regard he wrote:

"In primary education the main subjects of instruction are instrumental, that is, they are the keys to what is to follow. These subjects are the mechanical processes of reading, spelling and the elements of calculation" (Carr 1969d:13).

By implication Carr held the view that the primary school curriculum should develop proper writing skills, ability to spell correctly and simple Arithmetic. The emphasis should, according to him, be placed on the building of the foundation for the secondary subjects.

The then existing curriculum in primary schools was criticized by Carr for being too theoretical and separated from the child's environment. And because of this he opposed the inclusion of English history and foreign geography. Carr thus wrote.
"... it did not seem to me that the children took any intelligent interest in the history of the early British Kingdom. If history should be taught at all it should begin with the history of old Calabar, the Protectorate and the West Africa ... The same lines should be followed in geography. The pupils should first be taught to observe what is around them ... the aim being to bring them into contact with nature and the life they have to live" (Carr).

Thus Carr suggested that African history and geography be given first preference in the curriculum. According to him this would enable the curriculum to be more relevant and also focus attention on the learner’s environment.

It can be argued that the irrelevance of the primary education curriculum was due to the fact that it was similar to that adopted in British primary schools. And because of this it was meant to meet the requirements of the educational code of Britain. The curriculum, therefore included English reading, English writing, Arithmetic, English history, Bible history, Geography, African Language [reading and composition] and Needlework for girls. The African subject matter was limited to the African language and the rest of it was foreign in various subjects. The curriculum was modelled after British education (Taiwo 1975:4-5; Nduka 1964:36-37).

He also advocated the inclusion of utilitarian subjects in the primary education curriculum to make it more practical and relevant. These subjects were thus important: Commercial Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Drafting, Shorthand and French (July 1968:423; Bennaars [et al.] 1994:20).

As far as the secondary school curriculum was concerned, Carr recommended that it emphasized the cultivation of more general aptitude and to deal with the field of knowledge concerned with man as man. He thus suggested that Mathematics, Languages and similar subjects be included in the curriculum (Carr 1969d:13).

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The secondary school curriculum was criticized by Carr for being overloaded with higher studies which could not train boys properly. He maintained that such studies ignored the basic primary subjects which focus attention on reading, writing and Arithmetic or the three R's. Another criticism was that the secondary curriculum together with the organisation of the secondary schools were defective since the two could not develop the learner's manliness and self-reliance. And the discipline was also imperfect (Taiwo 1975:37).

It is important at this point to indicate from Carr's religious viewpoint that there was the need to mould the learner's moral character. He held the view that the true moral character was the result of religious training. He wrote:

"That is the reason why I have for many years held the view that religious teaching should form an important part of the curriculum of our schools, indeed, that the whole atmosphere of the schools must be religious" (Carr 1969b:61).

This suggests that for both the primary and secondary curriculum, religious instruction was the basis for character formation rather than the acquisition of only factual knowledge.

Insofar as the secondary school curriculum was concerned, it can be inferred that Carr attempted to move away from the tight, inelastic and classical type of curriculum designed by the British Administration. This curriculum's weak point was an inability to cater for the changing Nigerian society and the needs of learners because, among others, it focused attention on knowledge of school subjects (Osuala 1985:96).

Primary education as viewed by Carr is investigated next.

4.2.4 PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

According to Carr, a period of seven to fourteen years was meant for primary education. And for this education he held the view that it should be elementary since it affected the
beginner learner more differently to other forms of further learning. In his own words Carr wrote:

"Primary education consists of communication of simple knowledge; it does not touch the mind; the learner is a passive recipient; he is sent to be taught; he learns by mechanical habit; he gives back nothing of his own except so far as attention, memory and application are active powers" (Carr 1969:12).

Although Carr recognized that there were active powers involved in learning he did not expect the beginner learner to use them hence he suggested that all primary education be made simple to understand. He also deemed the pupil in the primary school incapable of active learning. And he, therefore considered mechanical learning suitable.

From the foregoing view of primary education it can be added that this education represents a period of initiation to education. As a consequence it consists mainly of drill based on memory and imitation. Much thinking is thus not involved during this period. Elementary knowledge is, however, as already indicated, acquired through drill. Although reading might be undertaken at this phase, it is solely meant to teach recognition of words and expressing them rather than to generate thought (Ikejiani 1964:89).

Apart from looking at only its commencement, Carr was also concerned with the usefulness of primary education to school leavers, that is, pupils who ended their school career after completing the primary education or those, who, because of lack of funds were unable to proceed to secondary or other levels of education. For these pupils it was not to be end of the world for they had to earn a living. An appropriate primary education was essential. Carr thus indicated:

"For it must not be forgotten that in a certain sense, the primary school is complete in itself, and not merely a rung on the educational ladder. A boy leaving the primary school and seeking employment is expected to possess a certain amount of knowledge and character" (Carr 1969:15).

Because of the problem of school leavers, Carr found it necessary to have a primary education which was to a great measure terminal for most of the pupils (Ozigi & Ocho
In the true sense of the word this suggested that vocational training was to be part of primary education and that the acquisition of enough and practical knowledge was also essential in this educational phase. Carr, however, placed emphasis on good character in this education.

Noteworthy also is the fact that the proposal of the British Colonial Government Memorandum on Education in 1925 indicated the need for a ‘complete’ education system which would include, *inter alia*, vocational and technical schools (Peretomode & Maigari 1985:15). This proposal satisfactorily supported Carr’s suggestion made earlier in 1902 that primary education should be complete in itself.

By advocating a complete primary school phase, it can correctly be argued that Carr attempted to move away from the Colonial theoretical education system which planted serious unemployment in the labour market. Expressed differently, a complete school phase could promote self-employment and ensured employment, and it was a way of reducing unemployment among young school leavers (Akpan 1989:34).

It goes without saying that to have a primary education which is complete, a demand is placed on the qualification and training of teachers. Carr, therefore, recommend that the teachers in the primary schools ought to be ‘cultivated and highly trained’ (Carr 1969:15).

But, obtaining such teachers during Carr’s time was not an easy task. This was due to the fact that between 1842 and 1914 the Government in Nigeria had no training institutions, while Missions had nine of them which turned out teachers without standard qualifications (Adesina 1988:14).

Over and above the state of curriculum and pupils themselves in primary schools, it can thus be argued that Carr was further concerned with the professional qualifications and personality of teachers in these schools. For instance, by 1938 (36 years after the conference referred to in the next paragraph), the supply of qualified teachers in primary schools was very unsatisfactory. Out of the total of 10,443, there were 1,792 trained and 8,651 untrained teachers. In addition to this, it became a practice in Western Nigeria during the colonial era to allow primary graduates to become primary teachers (Ogunyemi 1974:11; Hilliard
In this respect Carr criticized the primary school teacher for having neither sufficient qualifications nor training to deliver the primary school curriculum. In a paper at the conference at Lagos on 22 January 1902 Carr read:

"Whatever the pupils of this grade [primary school] gain in this respect comes to them from the training and personality of their teachers and not from their studies. The primary school teacher is called upon to do in a woefully short time, and with makeshift curriculum, work which is often beyond the efforts and energies of secondary school teachers who have time, environment, and other powerful agencies as their natural allies" (Carr 1965:14).

What Carr all suggested was that properly trained teachers ought to be employed in primary schools and that the nature of the curriculum and the shortness of the primary education phase required qualified teachers.

Next is the discussion of Carr's view of secondary education.

4.2.5 SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

Although Carr did not fully resolve the problem of poor quality secondary education, he managed to draw the attention of the Christian Missionary Society (C.M.S.) of the time to this fact. The problem was due to the fact that children who were inadequately taught could be admitted to secondary school. Because of this Carr, asserted that secondary schools were thus 'in reality higher primary schools'. The problem of falling general standards of secondary education has been a life long problem in Nigerian education for even today it still exists. And similar to Carr's view this problem is ascribed to teacher shortage, professional incompetence, general indiscipline, poor quality of intake, insufficient educational facilities, inadequate home support, etc. (Ozigi & Ocho 1981:81).

According to Carr, another problem regarding secondary education was the lack of
knowledge about the significance of this education. And as a consequence it received very poor support from parents and pupils and Carr asserted:

"Both parent and children thus look upon the wage-earning as the most alluring of conditions, and the latter are kept in school only until there is an opportunity for getting what is considered a suitable employment" (Carr 1969:15).

This actually shows that parents and pupils did not regard secondary schools as learning centres but rather as 'waiting places' for employment and neither did they consider them necessary to prepare the learners for future life.

And although there were no post primary schools and higher educational opportunities, as it will further on be indicated, the Nigerian parents, during Carr’s time were not all totally ignorant about the proper attendance of pupils in secondary schools. Instead of approaching the government about their concern on this issue they turned to Carr who then said:

"Again and again, parents have approached me and asked me to speak with their sons, specially boys who have been attending secondary schools for but one or two years with a view to dissuading them from carrying out their intention to leave school" (Carr 1969:48).

This indicates genuine readiness on the part of parents to support education rather than only by paying school fees. Irregular attendance was to Carr an educational problem because pupils left school with an inadequate knowledge.

As has just been mentioned before the parent and pupils were to blame for an inadequate support of secondary education but, the government and the business sector would further be criticized in this regard for their inappropriate attitude. And Carr had to draw the merchants to the school governance. He indicated thus:

"In pursuance of this object it would appear desirable that some efforts should be made in order to bring the body of merchants to be present on the
governing bodies of these schools [secondary]. They will ... be helpful in various ways ...” (Carr 1969d:15).

Thus apart from ensuring that pupils stay at school and later be appropriately selected for various training either by the government or merchants, the business sector would assist in curriculum development in secondary schools. In other words, curricular relevance could be achieved because this sector would indicate what was required in the practical world. To stress this need Carr said the schools could be in ‘contact with the living forces of the community’ (Ibid 1969d:15).

The foregoing contact referred to by Carr, in fact implies an inter-relation between the school and the community. Actually, schools ought to be closely related to the institutions and traditions of societies of which they are part and the moral forces which operate in them (Memorandum 1935:102-103).

Just like parents, Carr was further concerned about boys most of whom did not bother to stay long enough to complete their secondary education phase. He noted:

“A few boys are found to continue long in school and to be so sufficiently advanced in their studies as to pass the Senior Certificate Examination ... The vast majority of our boys do not stay sufficiently long in school to come up to that standard ... Some of them attend school for only one year and others for only eighteen months” (Carr 1969d:15).

For an inadequate stay at school the government and the businessmen were to blame. Their practice was to keep boys in the office and business for a year or two and later to make a selection out of them for apprenticeship purposes (Ibid. 1969:15). Therefore, a period of two years in secondary school came to be regarded as long enough for studies. Obtaining Senior Certificate was one of the objectives of keeping them in school.

As it appears, secondary education was insufficiently supported. And this could be ascribed to the fact that initially there were no post-primary schools and higher educational opportunities in Nigeria and that the British government and the C.M.S. did not place a high
premium on this education except to emphasize it for the service of the state and the church respectively (Anowi 1964:44). From the little primary education obtained by boys the two bodies could get their servants.

Apart from the need for proper support of secondary school previously discussed, Carr sought to promote religious and moral training of the youths in these schools. He thus advocated, the establishment of boarding schools as an extension of the secondary schools. Such training, he maintained, could be undertaken together with general training. Carr expressed it thus:

“I should like to refer to the great importance to a school of a well organised boarding department. An indispensable element in the building of character is the discipline of obedience to social rules because they are rules imposed by lawful authority” (Carr 1969d:16).

According to Carr, boarding schools, more than day schools, were the rightful place for building the learner’s character and training him to obey the rules under the guidance of the teacher as an authority. Carr’s reasoning behind the use of the boarding schools was further that pupils in these schools could from the early age be subjected to discipline of obedience, respect and true religious influence. The three aspects as Carr argued could be found in certain families but, to the pupils from families that lack these aspects, Christian boarding schools were necessary.

From Carr’s argument and reasoning it can be inferred that through Christian boarding schools, the moral training and well-being of the learners could be ensured. And that for religious influence such schools offer opportunities for evening devotions and worship on Sundays (Report 1963:82, 84).

Carr also considered the need to innovate adult education which he termed supplementary. His views follow.
4.2.6 SUPPLEMENTARY (ADULT) EDUCATION IN AFRICA

According to Carr education which normally follows after primary and secondary education respectively, is regarded as supplementary education because it occurs outside the school curriculum of the latter types of education. In his opinion supplementary education was supposed to focus attention on the industrial and technical aspects of education. To indicate the importance of this education Carr put it this way:

"There is a very proper feeling abroad against more book-learning as a complete course of school education. This is felt to be an inadequate preparation for the work of life, because it tends to produce a superabundant supply of an indifferent clerkly class and to create and foster a distaste for agriculture and the handicrafts which are more indispensable to the country and are better calculated to promote independence of character ... The three R's if no industrial training has gone along with them are apt to produce rascaldom" (Carr 1962:17).

What all this implies is the fact that supplementary education, more different from the primary and secondary education, should as much as possible be practical in preparing the learner for real life. And also more importantly supplementary education should look at agriculture and art in order to develop the economy of the country. It can, however, also be noted that Carr regarded the formation of character as part of the role of supplementary education. Carr was against the teaching of reading, writing and Arithmetic alone for according to him they turned out rascals. To make them useful, he suggested that they be combined with skills training for industrial purposes. Carr was in a way opposed to book-learning which was mainly used to prepare pupils for clerical occupations because it hampered technical and industrial training.

Carr's view of supplementary education indicates that he was not only concerned with education which could lead to speaking and writing English, but rather with education which could promote economic development. This was contrary to the government's intention of using education to turn out clerks to fill the government's offices in order to carry out administration duties (Abernethy 1966a:3; Abernethy 1966b:201).
From Carr's criticism of book-learning it could be inferred that he was aware of the education problem faced by the administration in West Africa in the past, namely, that pupils did not remain long enough at school to attain more than superficial learning. It was a practice that the average learner left school after passing the second and third standards. Such pupils became frustrated by the Nigerian government whose educational aim was mainly to obtain clerks. And they could not pass the clerical entrance examination for government services. Apart from this they might have been lazy or too proud to work on the village farms. An attempt to address this problem supported Carr's view of supplementary education for there was an increase in the number of technical and industrial schools. These schools were considered the best way to alleviate the pupil's problem (Talbot 1969:124).

The notion of industrial and technical education became so important during Carr's time that it gained fame and support between 1900 and 1919 in Lagos, that is, Southern Nigeria. And Carr was Inspector in that area. Despite the fact that there was less Government activity there existed a Government technical school, a Technical school instructor and a clerk. And Southern Nigeria with no secondary schools had one primary school which combined primary and industrial training (Graham 1966:5).

Furthermore, the relevance of Carr's idea of supplementary, industrial and technical education can be determined by looking at Northern Nigeria where existed a number of openings for technical education over the same period referred to just previously. They were provided by the Department of Public Works and Departments of Telegraphs, Printing and Marine. Young apprentices could be accepted for training in these departments (Ibid. 1966:20). Although this education was more elaborate than that of Carr, but the fact remains that it was important to such an extent that it was to be provided largely by the Government.

In his view of technical and industrial education Carr cautioned against the domination of industrial training over mental and moral culture. And he also suggested that this training ought to create a better and noble person. He remarked:

"It would ... be undesirable to subordinate mental and moral culture to industrial training ... even though a subordination may, to a great extent be diminished by the interaction of the different processes of training ... the
difficulty in education is not an intellectual but a moral one ... Industrial education is sometimes confined to the idea of making of the native a mere machine for commercial purposes, thus excluding any endeavour to make of him a better or nobler man” (Carr 1969: 18).

According to Carr, industrial education should not hamper moralisation for otherwise without morals the skills acquired by the learner through this education could not be used by the society or the learner himself. The provision of industrial education ought to consider the need to develop a better person rather than reduce man to a mere object like a machine. This in other words, implies that it was important to combine moral with industrial training.

Higher education at its infancy in Nigeria also received Carr’s attention as presented in the next few paragraphs.

4.2.1 HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Receiving higher education overseas by Nigerian students before and until 1930 was not by coincidence but was rather due to the fact that in Nigeria nothing in the nature of this education was started before this period. This was because the supply of students capable of benefiting from this education was inadequate and that there was insufficient staff capable of teaching. In other words the two, that is, supply of staff and students did not justify the establishment of an indigenous university. As far as the staff was concerned there ought to be real scholars and research workers. And their existence depends on the adequate intellectual environment which was, correctly, lacking in those days in Nigeria (Wise 1956: 112-115).

It is, however, necessary to add that apart from the aforementioned factors that prevented the establishment of a West African university, there were factors such as the demand for graduates and African opinion. In the 1930's the British government did not consider the demand for graduates to justify a university nor was African opinion supportive of the idea. The government's argument was further that the establishment of a university was a long-term objective the progress of which depended on the adequate demand for graduates and an enough supply of students. It was on these grounds that it regarded as a priority to
expand secondary education rather than to establish a university (Whitehead 1987:122). Thus receiving higher education abroad was not a matter of choice for Nigerian students and Carr had to find ways to support this activity in order to assist those who liked to achieve this education.

The fact that Carr also appreciated and understood the British traditions (Lewis 1962:84), he did not object to the youth receiving higher education abroad especially in Britain. And in the 19th century it was a practice in West Africa to send the youth abroad to acquire technical training and scientific knowledge in railway engineering and agriculture respectively. Apart from this, professional clerks could be trained overseas. But according to Carr studies abroad were determined mainly by character and maturity. He said this in 1935:

"We are apt to make too much of intellectual proficiency and to forget that character is the most important human attribute. We do not apprehend that a good intellect set in a bad character is a danger to society ... youth who have not yet attained maturity to be sent abroad for further education ... are exposed to divers temptation and will not be under the wholesome discipline and restrictions of youth living in their country ... The strongest views on this subject are those of Dr E.W. Blyden ..." (Carr 1969:77).

Although Carr supported the notion of studies overseas he cautioned against the youth acquiring bad behaviour due to the lack of parental supervision. In this regard he showed great respect to Blyden’s ideas on the subject of youth being taught in foreign countries (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5). Hence he maintained that character and not intellect alone was important in society and without the two aspects properly developed together, the youth could be useless members of society. Despite the fact that later during Carr’s life in 1934 the High College at Yaba was actually opened, after having started to offer courses temporarily since 1931 (Wise 1956:113), Carr recommended studies overseas, he said:

"My own view is that young men who have gone through the full courses at these or similar institutions and who have given definite promise of usefulness to the country should be sent abroad at public expense to acquire increased
knowledge and gain wider experience of their work; but such a privilege should be granted only to persons of unexceptionable character …” (Carr 1969c:78).

Actually, Carr was concerned about increased knowledge and wider experience of the various professions. He therefore found it necessary that studies abroad ought to supplement indigenous studies. However, the usefulness of the students to the community after completion of their studies was an important factor, hence he stressed the need for such students to have good character. In fact, Carr indicated the need for further education which due to the lack of institutions of higher education could not be undertaken locally.

Carr did not neglect the education of women as will be looked at next.

4.2.8 EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Similar to the British government of the time, Carr was a proponent of the idea that girls and women should receive education. The former supported this idea on the ground that if boys were given a good education so were the girls to receive the same. Other reasons to support the need for women’s education were that girls as mothers should be taught how to look after the sick, how to deal with babies and young children, how to make their homes better and how to behave in every way as better partners to their husbands. It was also desired by the British government that girls be taught by girls and therefore the training of female teachers had to be undertaken. It was also preferred by the government that classes be conducted for older women. Another government’s reason behind providing women’s education was the belief that by educating a man an individual is educated while educating a woman was equal to educating a family. Carr, however supported the need for women's education from the point of view of the influence of the Christian missions and civilisation which affected the lives and characters of girls and young women (Harman 1953:227-228; Carr 1969a:33; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.7).

Because of the change brought about by Christian missions, it was essential that girls as well as young women in the communities receive education. Carr said:
“The character and standard of morality in such communities in their changed and changing conditions depended largely on the training of the girls and women ... it was not to be forgotten that the introduction of the agencies of civilisation had a tendency to abridge the sphere of women’s labours as understood under the old conditions. The petty trading and housework and other occupations, by means of which they had been able to provide for themselves in the former day eventually passed into the hands of men who had, in addition, had available such new occupations as those of ... school teacher” (Carr 1969a:33).

This actually implies that Carr perceived the changed role of women as brought about by Christianity and civilization. And having abandoned their traditional roles his proposed women's education would prepare them for civilized life. And by receiving education women would be able to deal with changes in the economic conditions of native communities in which they belonged.

The traditional roles just referred to and some of which have been gradually abandoned by African culture include, among others, fetching wood, preparation of food, drawing water, tending certain crops etc. (Wilson 1966:16).

In his education of women Carr stressed the role of women in the changed and changing order. Assuming modern democracy as one of the changed order it would mean that through women's education, women would assume responsibilities together with their new rights. Education could thus, among others, provide them with new skills and occupational training required in the economic development and for the material well-being of their families. Besides these women can through education acquire more skills, knowledge and the understanding necessary to be good homemakers in a quickly changing environment. Such homemakers can provide a healthy physical, intellectual and emotional home for children. Furthermore women as homemakers may allow the home to share with the school the difficulties encountered in education (Hanson 1964:32).

To be more useful, Carr propose that women's education be made as practical as possible and that a suitable structure for this purpose was essential. As a pious man, Carr did not neglect
to propose the offering of religious training in such an institution because he regarded religion as an *indispensable foundation of education*. In this regard he said:

"On this foundation must be erected a suitable structure in the form of the training of hand and head; in a word a practical education, a training in domestic science as far as it would be possible to go, and in keeping with the development actually proceeding in the several communities" (Carr 1969a:34).

According to Carr, women's education ought to focus attention on the domestic aspects necessary to prepare women for family and community responsibilities.

To explain such responsibilities further, it can be indicated that the African native women had to be taught to prepare better food, to be gardeners and field workers who cultivate the soil, to care for their own children, (that is, to provide moral training for children), to provide habitation (that is, care of decencies and sleeping facilities as well as guaranteeing comfort in the house) and clothing (that is, sewing, washing and mending clothes) (Lewis 1962b:191-193).

In accordance with his idea of women's education, Carr gave the aim of this education in a manner that was very distinct from that of a normal school education, that is, different from primary and secondary education. He put it as:

"The sufficient aim is to train the native young women for the practical duties of life to enable her to get her livelihood and to qualify her to enter into her husband’s life and take the position of the most agreeable and sympathetic of his opinions and most intimate of his friends." (Carr 1969a:34).

Carr held that as preparation towards married life, training provided by women's education had to be practical and by all means attempt to equip the young women for life in general and to be acceptable partners to their husband as well as to be able to get along well with other members of the society such as friends. Hence Carr regarded it as insufficient to teach
them only to read, write and calculate. Another importance attached by Carr to women’s education was to enable the women to share in the development of communities (Carr 1969:34; Kaita 1972:145; Omololu 1972:137).

Besides determining the previous aim of women education Carr further set out how he preferred this education to be provided. He stated in his words:

“The education of girls will run on parallel lines with that of boys, and hence, I trust will ensure security against want of sympathy in family life, that entire separation in everything, which is a great evil” (Carr 1969:9).

Since Carr preferred that schools should resemble the family unit, he was against separating the education of girls from that of boys. In his opinion it was bad to do so. And it can also be added that he did not support the missionaries’ view of ‘girls’ schools and ‘boys’ schools separately.

It can correctly be inferred that Carr’s women’s education mainly meant to assist the African girls and women as they started with the social order so that they could resume life in their new families with minimum disruptions and personal disaster (Lewis 1962:192).

Apart from women’s education as found in the normal school phases, that is from primary up to secondary school, Carr advocated women’s adult education. He explained thus:

“One of them is the adult education of our young women. Those who attend to the matter are all agreed that it would be a great blessing if careers were opened for young women, so as to enable them to obtain their livelihood by working for it. It is desired that they should have the opportunity of employment in government and mercantile offices as clerks, typists, bookkeepers and accountants... arrangements... should be made for their employment in industrial occupations” (Carr 1969e:49).

In advocating this education Carr sought to open up career opportunities for young women in the government, business and industrial sectors. He argued that young women could be
employed in these sectors so as to earn a living and that this would reduce their exposure to temptations. And to provide such education Carr recommended a joint effort of the government and business sectors.

When analyzed further, it implies that women’s education as suggested by Carr changed the Nigerian idea that women belong to the kitchen and that they are inferior to their counterparts in the rest of the world (Kaita 1972:146).

Actually, the foregoing ideas on women’s education can be taken to imply activating women to improve their lives while also preparing themselves for employment which is directed to their region as well as to local needs (Igoche 1980:115).

The manner in which Carr attempted to improve educational standards receives attention below.

4.2.9 IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

In spite of the fact that in 1889 Carr became a sub-inspector of schools he also served in the post of Chief clerk in the Colonial Secretariat. His duties as school inspector included, among others, the examination of pupils and teachers’ character as well as the general inspection of school buildings, sanitation discipline, etc. He was however also expected to interpret the education Boards’ policy into rules of action. But owing to the fact that some of the rules were oppressive and inadequate and with undesirable results, Carr had to seek reasonable ways to apply them (Taiwo 1975:14-15)

Despite the undesirable nature of the rules, Carr strove to achieve success by carefully carrying out the inspector’s cuties the way he felt might be accepted. He maintained thus:

“...The duties of the school inspector are not those of an Inquisitor or Policeman. It calls for sympathy with school managers [Principals] and tact and prudence to impress them with the idea that a school Inspector is not the official censor but rather co-worker...” (Carr).

6Quoted by C.O. Taiwo from diaries and notebooks of Henry Carr, vol. 5.
It appears that Carr would like to promote a sound relation between school inspectors and school principals for he regarded the two as co-workers with neither the former serving like an investigator or dominating the other.

As a school Inspector, Carr introduced a new idea on school inspection reports. Rather than be kept confidential, Carr suggested that these reports be published in order to benefit the public life, the State and the Church. And, by so doing, such reports could enable communities to become aware of the character of discipline and instruction of the school reported on. In a speech he maintained:

"By the publication of the inspector's report, the master [Principal] of a school is protected from being the victim of the whim or caprice of an inspector. He can challenge any statement in the report on his school which he considers to be untrue, unjust or misleading; he has a right to appeal to the Governor-in-Council against an adverse report" (Carr 1969:43).

The publication of reports, as Carr claimed, had the advantage that the Principal could not be unfavourably reported on or unnecessarily suffer the Inspector's unaccountable change of mind. Put differently, unreasonably high demands could not be made by the Inspector in order to report badly if they were not met.

Because of its nature, Carr's inspection of schools encouraged co-operation between schools as inferior schools had to work hand in hand with excellent schools. He said:

"It would be in the interest of education if it were possible to arrange for the teacher of a school not favourably reported upon with regard to any subject to pay visits to another school doing good work in the subject and watch the teacher at work. He would have an opportunity of observing for himself the difference between the results he obtained in his school and the results obtained in the other school" (Carr 1969:43).
In Carr’s opinion the emphasis on this co-operation lay in self-criticism based on practical comparison with a view to improving the poor performance of the teacher. And from his observation the teacher can improve on the use of aids, methods and other teaching skills.

It is, however, further essential to indicate that Carr’s attempt to raise the educational standards was not only based on his inspection report but rather also on the Phelps-Stokes Commission report of 1922. Such a report, Carr claimed, could on its publication be made available to teachers for study. And on its basis teachers could criticize their own work by referring to actual examples.

An outline of this report reveals that the Phelp-Stokes Commission investigated the state of education in Africa with a view to making recommendations towards its adaptation to suit the needs of both the African individual and the community. The countries included in the survey of this Commission were Nigeria, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Angola, Congo, and Liberia (Phelps-Stokes 1964:51-52; Wilson 1966:28). From the Commission’s report teachers could gather useful information which could improve their methods of teaching, schemes of work, time tables as well as other schedules.

In referring to the Commission’s report to raise the educational standards, Carr in his own words stated:

“The next best thing is for the teachers to make a careful study of the reports on the school under inspection when such reports are available... I hope the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on education in West Africa when published will be widely circulated and thus we may be afforded an opportunity of criticism by actual examples, by comparing our system of education with the systems adopted in other West African colonies...” (Carr 1969e:44).

The Phelp-Stokes Commission report had, most certainly, been regarded by Carr as useful to teachers because, in its attempt to focus on the adaptations of education in Africa, it gives very valuable information on teaching techniques of various subjects. Subjects dealt with in this report include: Health, Gardening, Conventional subjects, for example the 3 R’s, literature etc. (Jones 1922:17-26).
Also worthy of note in Carr’s attempt, as an Inspector of schools, to raise the educational standards was his appeal to the British government for more generous support of education. He based his appeal on the observation that the voluntary agencies, that is, the missions, were incapable of providing quality education mainly because of the lack of financial means. Carr was in a way suggesting that the provision of education had to be the responsibility of the government. His argument was further that a suitable system of education was expensive and therefore was the government unwilling to support it fully (Hilliard 1957:123; Adesina 1988:13).

The forthcoming discussion will look into Carr’s contribution in terms of factors inhibiting intellectual and educational innovation.

4.3 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF CARR’S CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Carr’s contribution towards educational innovation will now be reviewed in terms of the factors that inhibit intellectual and educational innovation as previously discussed. But prior to doing so it is, however, essential to indicate that Carr operated in an intellectual environment which was largely deformed because of the mission educational control. Together with this, his contribution took place in an African culture which lacked an intellectual tradition because of the non-existence of universities in Nigeria (Vide Chapter 2; par. 2.1; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.7). From this background it can then be proceeded to the said review in terms of factors.

4.3.2 LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED AND POLITICS OF FEAR OR CONFORMISM

4.3.2.1 INTELLECTUAL ENERGY AND POLITICS

Because of being under the colonial government and mission control in the past, Blacks in West Africa could be said to have been politically and educationally oppressed. The said oppression was largely due to the imposition of colonial rule as well as missionary education
Hence, liberation through independence in 1960 and the call to pursue relevant education later became inevitable. Carr’s educational innovation was thus greatly affected by activities in the political and educational fields.

In spite of the fact that Carr was an educationist his intellectual energy could not solely be focused on education but rather also on politics as a civil servant. This further meant that he channelled his intellectual energy into both politics and education. Channelling intellectual energy in this manner was a limiting factor to Carr’s educational innovation because he could not devote his full intellectual attention to his educational innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.1; Chapter 4, par. 4.1.3).

And it needs to be noted that conformity in the Nigerian education system is highly stressed. On this ground it can be argued that Carr’s educational innovation was limited by conformism. Carr had to conform to the British government and the missionaries while pursuing his innovation. This tended to limit his scope of innovation. Thus his innovation did not deviate much from the educational demands of the two bodies. For instance, Carr’s character training conformed to that of the missionaries while his higher education conformed to that of the British government (Vide Chapter 4, par 4.2.2 & par. 4.2.7; Bloom & Woodhouse 1988:12).

4.3.2.2 ALIENATION OR RADICALISM

Alienation or radicalism affected Carr’s innovation to a very large extent because despite being an educator he was desperately needed to serve the government. Therefore, his departure from the teaching field was an alienation which, so to speak, hindered his educational innovation for he had to forsake it. And by being attracted to the government service he could not act radically against the government so as to force his innovation to advance the way he preferred. Rather, his educational innovation was limited to what could be accepted by the government (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.2).
4.3.2.3 PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION/ANALYTICAL REASONING BECAME A FOREIGN CONCEPT - POLITICAL IMPERATIVES BECAME DOMINANT

It can be indicated that since the 1890's the early African nationalism became dominant in Lagos for the mission-educated Nigerians insisted on their rights, claims and aspirations. Owing to this it can be supposed that a number of intellectuals who ought to have supported Carr's educational innovation could not be available for analytical reasoning pertaining to the educational innovation process. Correctly, it can be said that Carr's innovation was hampered by the lack of this reasoning (Abernethy 1969:50, Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.4).

4.3.2.4 THE DESTINY OF MAN BECAME CONCEIVED IN POLITICAL TERMS

Although conceiving the destiny of man in political terms is a limiting factor in educational innovation, this did not affect Carr much. This might have been because the need for a transition from colonial to independent rule was not to strongly felt unlike in the 1960's (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.5).

4.3.3 THE TYRANNICAL CUSTOM OF AFRICAN CULTURE

It is essential to point out that traditional African cultures are tyrannical and stress unquestioning obedience to authority and discourage curiosity and independent thought. Owing to this it can be argued that Carr was slightly affected by the tyrannical custom of African culture because he had the courage to question the relevance of missionary education which had then existed for 40 years, that is, from, 1842 the year of arrival of the missionaries to 1882 when he became a teacher. In other words he transcended the traditional African culture in order to carry out his educational innovation which otherwise might not have occurred had he stuck to the African custom (Bloom & Woodhouse 1988:12, Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.1.2).

4.3.3.1 THE NON-LITERARY MODE OF THOUGHT STIFLED CREATIVITY, IMAGINATION AND INITIATIVE

Oral tradition of which there were no written records (Anwana 1987:19), existed alongside
the non-literary mode of thought which was dominant in African cultures. From this premise it can be argued that Carr's educational innovation was limited by the unavailability of written records from African cultures and traditional education system. What he could use for his educational innovation were the limited records of the missionaries. Therefore, the non-literary mode of thought can be said to have inhibited Carr's educational innovation by not providing the necessary written facts for exercising the imagination, creativity and initiative related to educational innovation. And Carr could not, from the African culture refer to proverbs, folklore and similar aspects of African culture, to enrich his educational innovation.

4.3.3.2 THE UNDERDEVELOPED CHARACTER OF ITS SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY RETARDS OBJECTIVE SCHOLARSHIP, EMPIRICAL VERIFICATION AND ANALYTICAL LOGIC

The lack of scientific enquiry as well as the non-literary mode of thought in African cultures presuppose that Carr's educational innovation could not be subjected by these cultures to objective scholarship, empirical verification and logical analysis. Innovative facts from Carr's educational innovation were thus hard to verify by the African cultures. In so far as this could not be done, innovation in such cultures is inhibited. And tools of the scientific enquiry cannot be used to verify and use facts (Ibid. Chapter 2, par. 2.3.1 & 2.3.2)

4.3.3.3 A CULTURE WITH NO SCIENTIFIC HEROES OR BREAKTHROUGHS. THE ABSENCE OF THINKING MODELS BECAUSE OF COMMUNALITY

Owing to the absence of thinking models, scientific heroes and achievements due to communality, African cultures cannot support the educational innovation meant for them. In this regard Carr's educational innovation can be said to have been inhibited by this absence. And had such personalities and achievements been present in African cultures they would lay the basis on which Carr could build his educational innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.3).
4.3.4 THE ABSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING

4.3.4.1 SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND AFRICAN TRADITIONAL THOUGHT

As far as this factor is concerned, the contrast existing between the two modes of thought, namely, the scientific and the traditional, cannot be regarded as a hindrance to Carr's educational innovation. It is, however, essential to point out that his educational innovation did not relate to the traditional thought. Thus, Carr's innovation was more of scientific thinking than of traditional thinking because rather than be based on beliefs, myths, proverbs, etc. of the traditional thought it was based on verifiable facts. In other words it excluded the unreasoned and the uncritical (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.2).

Since Carr appeared to belong to the 'open' cultures, his innovation was not affected by the unreflective nature of the traditional thought. And such cultures allowed him to weigh alternatives, hence his ability to choose between the good and the bad aspects of missionary education.

4.3.4.2 PHILOSOPHY CONTRIBUTES LITTLE TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

As in the foregoing factor, Carr's educational innovation was not hampered by African philosophy and its limited contribution to the current problems. This is evident by the fact that his innovation did not draw facts from this philosophy, and as stated earlier, his innovation was more concerned with empirical knowledge (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.2).

4.3.4.3 STATIC CULTURE

Quite a considerable number of aspects belonging to the static nature of African cultures can be deemed to have inhibited Carr's educational innovation. A few of these aspects are, namely, beliefs, superstitions, inability to anticipate new things, pagan groundmotive, etc. And owing to their static nature, these aspects might have offered little if any support to Carr's education innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.3).
namely, beliefs, superstitions, inability to anticipate new things, pagan groundmotive, etc. And owing to their static nature, these aspects might have offered little if any support to Carr’s educational innovation (Vide, Chapter 2, par. 2.4.3).

Since the African society is a static unit which is truly incapable of adapting to altered outside circumstances (Bude 1983:353), its aspects as just mentioned, cannot promote educational innovation. Thus, Carr’s educational innovation had to contend with these aspects for its success.

And after independence hardly a change could be noticed in the Nigerian educational system (Andero 1994:68). This was due the British Philosophy of education which was fixed in the Nigerian static society. This serves to indicate how difficult educational innovation can take place in static African cultures.

4.3.4.4 NON-EXISTENCE OF ETHICISTS

The fact that in Southern Nigeria, where Carr served, there was no system of ethics and no principles of conduct was indicated by the intensified missionary activity in this area (Anuoha 1975:441-442). This absence could be regarded as a hindrance to Carr’s educational innovation for it suggested the absence of ethicists who were to aid in promoting educational innovation through their judgement of right and wrong. Their role in innovation would thus be to encourage right ideas and discourage wrong ones.

4.3.4.5 MORALISTS BUT WITH A USELESS AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY

As far as the existence of moralists with a useless African philosophy can inhibit intellectual and educational innovation, it can be argued that Carr’s innovation was not influenced by this factor. Moralists with African philosophy but without scientific knowledge had not been part of Carr’s educational innovation. This was largely because of their possession of the said philosophy and the lack of science. And his educational innovation cannot be linked with African philosophy which is pre-literate, pre-logical, pre-scientific etc. (Vide Chapter 2, par, 2.4.5).
4.3.5 THE AFRICAN CULTURE EXHIBITS AN ABILITY TO RESIST CHANGE

4.3.5.1 CHANGE CLASHES WITH CONTINUITY (TRADITION)

Carr’s educational innovation cannot be said to have been free from resistance from African cultures due to clashes occurring between change and tradition. This is mainly so because of the fact that his innovation did not reinforce all that was fixed by African cultures. But rather, his innovation was a change to what was accustomed to in African cultures, for example, a change from indigenous and missionary education.

Indigenous education has aspects which were not much emphasized in Carr’s innovation of the aim of education. Such aspects were, among others, the developing of understanding, appreciation and promoting the cultural heritage of the community; developing a sense of belonging and participation in family and community affairs (Akinbote 1995:30). An omission of these cannot be without resistance.

By the time Carr introduced his innovation, the Africans were already accustomed to missionary education. A number of aspects in African cultures might have led to resistance to his innovation, namely, fear of experimentation, conservatism, lack of criticism and argumentation etc. (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.5.1).

4.3.5.2 TECHNOLOGICAL USHERINGS WERE OPPOSED BY TRADITION

Unlike Western cultures, tradition oriented cultures such as African cultures, are largely agrarian, leisurely and much devoted to gods or spirits and other supernatural powers. These cultures are not scientifically and technologically based (Haglund 1982:364). Because of their tradition African cultures are susceptible to resisting technological usherings.

On the foregoing grounds it can be argued that the technological usherings related to Carr’s innovation of industrial and technical education were not free from resistance. More so because the missionaries adopted the literary curricula earlier (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6).

A résumé of Carr’s contribution is presented subsequently.
4.4 RESUMÉ

From the previous discussion of Carr’s contribution towards educational innovation in Africa, certain educational principles and ideologies can be identified as follows:

- **EDUCATION SHALL BE LIBERAL IN NATURE (CARR 1969:7)**

  In his educational philosophy Carr emphasized the liberal view of education. It is certainly for this reason that for primary education he spoke of avoiding to frustrate the liberal elements of the child and liberal education. As far as secondary education was concerned, Carr indicated a number of things that were to be satisfied before this education could be termed liberal. Among others, there ought to be good reading, writing, spelling and drawing by the learner besides a fair knowledge of History, Geography and the Bible (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3).

- **RELIGION SHALL BE THE BASIS OF EDUCATION (CARR 1969:30-31, 61, 67; VIDE CHAPTER 4, PAR. 4.2.2)**

  Since Carr wished to regard religion as the basis of education, he advocated that religious instruction be given a dominant place in the curricula of Nigerian schools. And as a consequence sufficient time ought to be allocated to this subject in schools. He also suggested that all morality be based on religion, that a religious school atmosphere be created and that religiously inclined teachers be employed. Carr further believed that through religious teaching and training, moral character, which included noble deeds, could be developed. His view of religion as the basis of education could be contained and summarised in the statement: ‘But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you’. It was translated to mean that if efforts are made to maintain Christian schools, intellectual proficiency will naturally follow.

- **PRIMARY SCHOOL SUBJECTS SHALL BE BOTH ELEMENTAL AND INSTRUMENTAL (CARR 1969d:13).**
Carr’s argument in this respect reveals that all learning should as far as possible be made simple to understand. In other words, simplified knowledge as found in various subjects should be transmitted to the learner. And since learning starts from the primary education, the subjects offered at this level should ensure continuity.

Expressed differently, they should be presented in a manner which can enable a child to proceed to secondary, higher and other levels of education (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3).

TECHNICAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION SHALL BE UNDERTAKEN TOGETHER WITH THE THREE R’S (CARR 1969d:17)

The three R’s have been the emphasis of the bookish curriculum which promoted book-learning. And the introduction of technical and industrial education was to Carr a means of supplementing rather than eliminating the 3 R’s. Carr however regarded this education as a way of opening up careers in the two fields rather than confining employment opportunities to clerical jobs (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6).

PRIMARY EDUCATION SHALL BE COMPLETE IN ITSELF (1969:15)

A complete primary education phase as advocated by Carr did not only address the problem of school leavers but also that of the bookish curricula. This was owing to the fact, that in order to have such a phase, all education should be more vocationally oriented, that is, includes more skills training and less theoretical knowledge. (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4).

THE CONTENT FOR HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY SHALL BE AFRICAN (VIDE CHAPTER 4, PAR. 4.2.3)

In this manner Carr sought to Africanize the curricula, initially with emphasis on the two subjects. Such a step was taken to create interest in the learner so as to promote learning. And Africanizing these subjects actually implied for example, that the
learners would no longer study European history or geography but rather the two in an African content (Greenough 1966a:49).

- EDUCATION OF GIRLS SHALL BE OF A SPECIAL PRACTICAL CHARACTER (CARR 1969:34)

According to Carr, the education of girls, including that of women, ought to proceed beyond the bookish curriculum with its emphasis on three R's. The main reason was simply to make this education more practical since the family life itself was and considered as such. Domestic science as the main field of this education had always been more practical and less theoretical (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.8).

- BOARDING SCHOOLS SHALL BE AN EXTENSION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS (CARR 1969:16)

Carr's motive in advocating the establishment of such schools was closely linked with his concern for moral and character training chiefly through obedience. And through such schools he hoped to supplement such training as offered by the home (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.5).

- SCHOOLS INSPECTION REPORTS SHALL BE PUBLISHED (CARR 1996:42-43)

Having been an Inspector of schools for almost thirty years, Carr preferred that his and other inspection reports be used by the schools jointly. This could be possible if such reports were published for study by the teachers for self-appraisal with a view to self-improvement in teaching (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.9).

In addition to the aforementioned principles and ideologies, there were new educational ideas that emerged under Carr's educational philosophy. And it is however also essential to indicate that Carr's significant educational innovation occurred largely as a reaction against Western or rather missionary education in an attempt to structure the various levels of
education, that is, from primary through to secondary, supplementary, higher and women's education. Of another significance in his structuring was the co-ordination in various educational aspects, that is, the aim could be related to the curriculum and the latter to the level and type of education being innovated.

Carr though a proponent of Western education (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2), had in his view of the primary education an aim that differed greatly from that of the missionaries and the government in emphasis. Unlike the two bodies respectively, Carr did not use the latter education to turn out pious Christians or serviceable subordinates but rather used primary education to lay the background for secondary and vocational education. This presupposes that he was against total Europeanization of Africans or turning out imitation Europeans. And to him, preparation for life and character training at an early age seemed important (Nduka 1964:35; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4).

And as far as the primary education aim was concerned it can be argued that Carr attempted to project a liberal view because he wanted this education to be so. Therefore, among others, he stressed what he deemed may appropriately lead to such education, namely, the training of senses.

Similarly his aim of secondary education contrasted greatly with that of the missionaries and the government who, among others, paid attention to turning out gentlemen, clerks, dispensers and assistance of varying types. His view of this aim further opposed that of parents which was namely to receive secondary education solely for earning salary on employment. His reaction against the view of these three parties, namely: missionaries, government and parents became evident in his elaborate aim of secondary education, his appeal for the government to change its attitude towards this education and his support of regular and sufficient school attendance (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.5).

Furthermore, Carr’s aim of secondary education reveals the extend to which secondary education could be regarded as the source of providing prospective teachers and leaders of African countries (Report 1963:60). Thus, it was essential for Carr to stress, inter alia, in this aim, the need to train thinking and reading.
The primary and secondary education just mentioned followed the British or the American curricula during Carr’s time that is between 1842 and 1925. Due to their origin the curricula had commercial and literary bias (Nduka 1964:37). This means they were based on business world and religious subjects:

Regarding the previously said bias, Carr contradicted himself. On the one hand he wanted to correct it by rejecting the literary curriculum. This curriculum it is maintained contained much of religious teaching and literature. On the other hand Carr regarded religion as the basis of curriculum (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3). But from the two contrasting ideas it can be inferred that since he preferred the commercial curriculum, he was of the opinion of gradually secularizing the African curriculum.

Besides secularisation, Africanization of curriculum was also included in Carr’s educational innovation. But it is important to indicate that he carried it out on a very small scale for he referred much to History and Geography. This in fact supposed that most of the subjects in the curricula remained British or American in content (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3).

The said commercial, secular curriculum preferred by Carr allowed the primary educational phase to be terminal, mainly because it was practical and job related in many respects. Hence, Carr recommended it because it seemed more practical and useful. But its implementation could be criticized for being limited by the entry age to the primary school. In South Africa, for instance pupils complete primary school by the ages of 12 and 13, the ages too young to have benefited from the complete primary phase and curriculum. Only older children of perhaps 15 or 16 could profit from the two, that is, complete phase and commercial curriculum.

It can further be noted that Carr’s view of secondary boarding schools deserves criticism as such schools were limited to Christian influence and character training rather than serving to improve academic results as is assumed today (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2; Bennaars [et al.] 1994:21). Thus, Carr’s view of secondary boarding schools was partial for it neglected the development of secular boarding schools, which were also important.
Insofar as supplementary (adult) education was concerned, Carr’s suggestion to introduce the study of industrial and technical education could be regarded as a way of adapting the educational programmes to suit the needs of the African economy. And it is important to note that the missionaries were not prepared to do so chiefly because of the large expense involved in this type of education. Apart from being a new idea, Carr’s suggestion, however, reinforced traditional African education which emphasized skills training and agriculture (Crowder 1962:212; Fafunwa 1974:195).

Regarding Carr’s supplementary education, it can be argued that it reduced the importance of book-learning and bookish curriculum so imposed by the missionaries on African education. Supplementary education had to be practical to assist adults (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6).

Despite the need for higher education locally, Carr did not support the establishment of institution that would provide this education independently. His view can therefore be criticized for only attempting to help African countries to work out ways to send students overseas. This practise could therefore only help a few countries which are financially strong because it is expensive (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.7).

Carr’s contribution towards higher education can further be criticized for the fact that it did not give due consideration to the fact that African countries needed indigenous African universities which were designed and equipped to meet the needs of specific African societies. Such universities would, of course differ from any others found in overseas countries (Ike 1976:2).

With regard to the education of women, it can be argued that Carr drew attention to the need and importance of this education. And, generally, in the past in Nigeria opportunities for providing girls’ education were neglected, just like in other African countries. This was owing to the lack of importance attached to this education (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.8; Muckenhirn 1966:1; Memorandum 1925:100).

Carr’s efforts to improve educational standards by publishing school inspection reports for study and comparison could well be recognized as a means to put schools on equal footing.
in terms of their performance (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.7). But this could not be without obstacles. What may hinder the successful use of such reports, are differences in aspects such as facilities, staffing (qualifications, experience, adequacy, etc.), curricula, equipment organisation etc. Therefore these aspects need to be given due consideration before other schools’ reports could be used.

The assessment of Carr’s contribution is made in the next few paragraphs.

4.5 ASSESSMENT

An analysis of the contribution of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere revealed certain similarities and differences. On the one hand similarities are mainly due to the fact that the three were not satisfied with the Western education. And on the other hand differences were chiefly due to their approach in eliminating or improving this education. In their approach Blyden and Nyerere demonstrated outright rejection, Western education while Carr throughout his career made efforts to support and where possible improved this education. Close to the approach are ideologies which influenced the three educational thinkers and also brought about differences in their contributions towards educational innovation in Africa. Blyden was a proponent of négritude while Carr and Nyerere supported Christianity and socialism respectively.

Similarities shared by the three educational thinkers will be investigated first and will be followed by the differences later.

SIMILARITIES

Carr, Blyden and Nyerere stressed the need for practical curricula in African education:

The stress on curricula was dictated by the circumstances under which they were found, for example Carr advocated the training of trades and for industrial occupation instead of pursuing a literary curriculum. He also suggested the practical education of women. Blyden and Nyerere referred to the use of workshops and school farms
to arrive at the practical curricula. Of importance here is not how to arrive at but rather what curricula should be adopted. Thus all the means employed lead to practical curricula (Carr 1969:34, 36; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

*Carr like Blyden and Nyerere* was opposed to book-learning and bookish curriculum. Carr rejected book-learning as a method of learning because of its emphasis on memorisation of contents of textbooks and neglecting the development of reasoning. Nyerere among other reasons rejected it for neglecting traditional knowledge, and Blyden for its inability to lead to self-education (Carr 1969d & e:17, 45; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

Both Carr and Nyerere objected to education which focused on turning out clerks. Carr’s argument was mainly that industrial and technical educational could be hampered if such concentration fell on white collar jobs Nyerere rejected this education for stressing subservience apart from white collar skills (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2).

Similar to Blyden and Nyerere, Carr advocated for Africanization of curriculum. According to Carr, subjects like History and Geography should derive their subject matter from the African environment. In the same manner Nyerere and Blyden preferred that the content of various subjects be African in nature (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

Like Blyden, Carr stressed the need for the inclusion of utilitarian subjects in the curriculum. This he argued could make the curriculum practical and relevant to the child’s environment. In the same manner Blyden’s inclusion of these subjects in the curriculum to achieve the same was based on their utility (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4).

Carr and Nyerere suggested that the primary education be terminal in itself. The two viewed such a terminal phase as a means of reducing unemployment and to help
school leavers to earn a living (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7).

**Carr and Nyerere avoided, in their innovation, to have adult education which was similar to primary and secondary education.** Hence this education paid attention to technical and industrial skills rather than literacy (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.9).

**Carr and Blyden shared the view that African education should be secular.** Carr demonstrated this by advocating the introduction of technical and industrial education with emphasis on agriculture and handicrafts. And similar to Blyden, Carr wanted education to serve the needs of the Africans. (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.6).

**Both Carr and Blyden realized the importance of women's education in the family, community and the country as a whole.** Hence they suggested that women/girls as much as boys should receive education relevant to them. Their idea was to improve the status of women as well as womanhood (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.8; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.7).

**In their education, Car and Blyden promoted the liberal view of education.** This was revealed in their aims of education, curricula and methods of teaching. (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2 & 4.2.3; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2 & 3.2.4).

Besides the foregoing similarities Carr's educational innovation differed from that of Blyden and Nyerere in the following respects:

**Carr emphasized the Christian religion in his educational innovation and thus regarded it as the integral part of the curriculum, that is, all learning and teaching should be based on religion. On the contrary, Blyden considered Christianity as no longer desirable in the curriculum** (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.5; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.6).
Carr and Nyerere had different views regarding the use of boarding schools. Carr favoured them for moulding character and educating the children beyond the standard seen and observed at home. But, Nyerere rejected them for encouraging alienation of pupils from community for which they are prepared. (Vide Chapter 4, par 4.2.5; Carr 1969:6, Chapter 5, par. 5.2.8)

Unlike Blyden and Nyerere, Carr encouraged studies overseas rather than encouraging the establishment of indigenous institutions of higher education (Vide Chapter 4, par, 4.2.7, Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10).

Because of his Christian ideology Carr’s emphasis on educational innovation differed from that of Blyden and Nyerere who held negritude and socialist ideologies respectively. Carr stressed moral character training, Blyden maintaining Africanness despite European influences and Nyerere living for the common good. (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2; Chapter 3, par. 3.1; Chapter 5, par, 5.2.1).

The next chapter looks into Nyerere’s contribution towards educational innovation in Africa.
CHAPTER 5

5. NYERERE'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA (BORN 1922-)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters three and four dealt with the contributions of Blyden and Carr towards educational change in Africa, respectively. In this chapter the contributions of Julius Kambarage Nyerere towards educational change in Africa will be analyzed.

The reason why Nyerere has been selected to be part of this thesis is that, apart from being a political leader, he was an exceptional educational thinker. He developed a unique form of education known as education for self-reliance. This education was the first of its kind in Africa and was aimed at equipping the Tanzanian people with the ability and willingness to develop themselves and their country. Education for self-reliance was regarded by Nyerere as a substitute for the colonial education formerly provided in Tanzania and most other countries under colonial rule. Since education for self-reliance was a meaningful contribution towards educational innovation in Africa, it is worth reviewing in this analysis under its proponent, Nyerere.

The researcher has deemed it appropriate to give a brief account of Nyerere so that the reader can have the background against which to understand Nyerere's contributions. His detailed but brief biography will, however, be presented later on (Vide par. 5.1.1). It can now only be stated that he started his career as a teacher (educator) before joining Tanzania's politics. He was also President of the United Republic of Tanzania. He was not just an educator but also an educational philosopher too, hence he could contribute to educational change greatly (Kassam 1983:56).

It is also necessary to point out that Nyerere had a wide audience for his powerful and progressive ideas, and that he could translate them into policies and programmes. Through
speeches, lectures, addresses, etc. he could inform the public about his ideas (Akinpelu 1981:112).

Similar to Blyden, Nyerere was against inherited Western education. He sought to change it for education for self-reliance which could accommodate the African traditional value system and also promote a socialist development rather than a capitalist one (Kassam 1983:56; Akinpelu 1981:112). Such similarity between the two educational thinkers will be noticed as Nyerere's educational ideas are discussed.

The researcher finds it necessary to state that Nyerere's educational ideas are mainly contained in his paper known as "Education for Self-reliance" issued in March 9, 1967 (Nyerere 1968:267). Through this statement he could promote the activities of self-reliance as he viewed them on the educational scene.

Education for self-reliance as his major policy statement, in it he described fully how he intended redesigning education in Tanzania. As stated above Nyerere was not in favour of inherited colonial education. Chief among others was the uncritically imported British school organisation and curriculum which he maintained disregarded the differences in national needs and change in environment (Von der Muhll s.a.:9-10).

Nyerere's contribution towards educational change will be discussed under the following aspects: Aim of education; curriculum; teaching methods; school management; school examination; primary school education; secondary school education; adult education and university education.

His biography only covers the period 1922-1962 to serve the purpose of this analysis. Certain aspects of his life activities will, however, form part of his historical biographical survey, namely, his early childhood and educational career, occupational life as a teacher and a politician.

The discussion of his biography, which follows hereunder, will later be followed by that of his contributions towards educational change.
Julius Kambarage Nyerere, also known as Mwalimu, was born in March 1922. On the day of his birth there was a downpour of rain and it was decided that he be given the name Kambarage which referred to an ancestral spirit who lived in the rain. He got the name Julius when he was baptized a Catholic in 1943 (Smith 1973:40; Hatch 1976:2, 9).

He was the son of Chief Buitana Nyerere Burito of the Zanaki tribe living to the southwest of Lake Victoria. His mother Mugaya was the fifth wife of Chief Nyerere. She had eight children, four sons and four daughters and Julius was the second of the four sons. Both parents influenced Nyerere's character profoundly for from his father he imitated the manner of taking decisions which was known by slow, and careful assessment of evidence. He also learned from his father fairness when protecting human rights. His mother trained him in tribal manners and customs. Together with other family relatives, she introduced him to the lore of community and spirituality of the society as one of his educational experiences (Hatch 1976:2, 3 & 5).

Just like most young African boys, Nyerere was from infancy taught to do small jobs around the Shamba (smallholding), to look after goats, cattle, fowl and to help in planting and raising crops (Ibid. 1976:3).

Nyerere started school in 1934 at the age of twelve at Mwisenge School at Musoma on the shores of Lake Victoria. It was his first time to come into contact with specific European influence when he was taught the contents of subjects through European methods. He learned English and Swahili. At the same school he was persuaded by his friend Marwa to attend Religious Instruction classes twice a week. It was from this class that he started to believe in one God instead of a number of tribal gods (Ibid. 1976:7-8).

Nyerere realized that there was not enough to learn at Mwisenge School for when he started school at twelve he studied Swahili and English at fifteen. Because of this he moved to the Tabora Government school in 1936. Because of the fact that he was a brilliant scholar, Nyerere came top in the territorial examination for the same year, and it gained him admission to this school. At the same school Nyerere became proficient in
Biology and English. The curriculum of this school was more British and stressed sportsmanship, fair play, fagging and privilege (Smith 1973:45; Hatch 1976:8-9).

At Tabora Government School, Nyerere was fond of discussing the organisation of his tribe with other boys and he took part in the debating society which he had founded (Smith 1973:46).

Nyerere completed his Matric at Tabora, Government School in 1943. He thereafter furthered his studies at Makerere College situated near Kampala in Uganda. This was the only institution for higher education in East Africa (Hatch 1976:9).

In 1945 he completed his studies at this college with a higher diploma in education.

5.1.2 TEACHER AT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, 1945-1948

After completing his teacher training in 1945, Nyerere was offered two teaching posts, one at St. Mary's College, a Catholic secondary school for boys in Tabora, and the other one at Tabora Government School. He accepted the former post. St. Mary's College was under the control of the Catholic missionaries and was headed by White Fathers. Among the known ones were Reverends Richard Walsh and William J. Collins. At this College he taught Biology and History while he earned a salary of £6 5s a month. He also taught English to the local people in the evenings (Duggan & Civille 1976:45; Smith 1973:47; Smith 1971:56).

His fellow teachers and students acknowledged that he was popular and had imagination and talent.

Apart from being a teacher at the College, Nyerere also served as Secretary for the Tanganyikan African Association (TAA).
5.1.3 HIS STUDIES ABROAD, 1949-1952

In 1949, Nyerere went to Edinburgh University. His entry to this University and scholarship were arranged by Father Walsh. Financial backing was essential as he had to support his family and fiancee. Other financial support came from Father Collins. At Edinburgh University, Nyerere studied History, Politics and English. He received his Master of Arts (M.A.) degree from this university in 1952 (Duggan & Civille 1976:45; Shepperson 1962:23).

It is also noteworthy that before he left for this university, Nyerere had become engaged to Maria Gabriel Magige of the Msinditi tribe in December 1948. And furthermore while he was abroad he developed his political philosophy. His philosophy focused on the race problems of East Africa which were, among others, racial tensions, political and economic control redistribution, the right of whites to live in Africa, etc. (Ibid. 1976:46).

His studies abroad were concluded in mid-1952 and he returned home in Tanganyika.

5.1.4 TEACHER AT ST. FRANCIS, 1952-1955

After his return from Edinburgh in October 1952, Nyerere assumed a teaching post at St. Francis, a Catholic secondary school at Pugu which was twelve miles outside Dar es Salaam. At this school he taught History.

Since he had to undertake several trips to New York to meet United Nations bodies concerning Tanganyika's independence, the headmaster of St. Francis complained about his absence. He insisted that Nyerere choose between being a teacher and being a politician. So, soon after his 1955 trip to New York he resigned the teaching post and decided to join politics in the same year (Smith 1973:56-57).

An American Catholic priest and teacher at the same school tried to persuade him out of politics but without success. This was owing to the fact that he recognized in Nyerere the pedagogical capabilities associated with his name Mwalimu or 'Respected teacher' (Duggan & Civille 1976:47).
Nyerere's political career can be traced back to 1953 when he was first elected the president of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). He decided to change this association into a positive political party. This was mainly owing to banning civil servants from being members of this Association. Since most educated persons were from the civil service, this banning in Nyerere's opinion was equal to the banning of the Association itself. The Association would thereafter remain without members. Again, to him it indicated the hostility to African politics by the then Governor Edward Twining (Hatch 1976:92).

As a consequence, on July 7, 1954 Nyerere and his colleagues founded the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) which later became a new political party. In fact, the TAA was renamed the TANU and Nyerere was unanimously elected its president. Among its 'Aims and Objectives' the TANU included: To prepare the people of Tanganyika for self-government and independence, unity and equality. To explain these objectives to Tanganyika's workmen, headmen and farmers Nyerere stated that they meant freedom from poverty, ignorance and disease (Hatch 1976:93; Othman 1988:159-160; Duggan & Civille 1976:40).

Between 1955 and 1957 Nyerere, under TANU, appeared as a petitioner for Tanganyika's independence before various United Nations bodies, such as the Trusteeship Council in New York. And in 1956 while before the United Nations Fourth Committee, Nyerere found it hard to set the date for Tanzania's independence. But, he indicated that he would gain it for his country through peaceful means within five years thereafter (Duggan & Civille 1976:48).

In 1959 it was announced by the then Governor Turnbull that Tanganyika would be given self-government after the new general elections in 1960. Fortunate enough, Nyerere and his party, TANU, won all but one elective seat, that is, seventy of the seventy-one seats, in the Legislative council. As a result the country was granted self-government by Britain in March 1961 and Nyerere became the prime minister. This was however followed by the
granting of full independence to the country on 9 December 1961 (Smith 1973:72; Duggan & Civille 1976:40).

Nyerere was elected the first President of Tanganyika late in 1962 when the government of this country was changed into a republic. On 9 December 1962 he was sworn in as President of the new republic (Duggan & Civille 1976:48; Hargreaves 1988:132).

The name Tanganyika was changed in 1964, April, when the nations of Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form one republic, known as the Republic of Tanzania. Nyerere became the President of this united republic which he led for a quarter of a century until he retired in 1985 (Bennaars et al] 1994:23; Hatch 1976:201; Duggan & Civille 1976:49).

It was from this presidential position that Nyerere made a great contribution towards changing education in Tanzania in particular and Africa in general.

5.1.6 CONCLUSION

The fact that Nyerere started school late had several advantages. This offered him the opportunity to observe and practise traditional life before coming under the influence of European culture. Having grown up under the care of his parents, who were keen to inculcate in him tribal manners and customs, it can be argued that this laid a foundation of appreciation of African values and customs which he later realized were so important to be included in the African education (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.1).

Furthermore, by staying with his father as chief of a tribe it can be argued that he learned more of becoming a leader, the position he assumed later in his life as President of the State.

As there was nothing to do before he attended school, it was quite appropriate for Nyerere to help his parents with daily chores suited to his age. So a period before attending school was not a wasted one hence he could refer successfully to productive work in the curriculum in his later contribution towards education (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3). This was based on such early experiences.
Again, the age at which he was when he commenced school (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.1), allowed him to be rational. He could for instance, make a selection from a set of traditional beliefs; a case in point is the choice between the belief in God and the belief in tribal gods. From the two he was rational enough to choose the form of religion and hence he could be a Christian. This is not forthcoming if the child is too young to attend school for he usually accepts what he is told to believe in.

From an early age Nyerere was very critical of the school curriculum. Such a statement as 'There wasn't enough to learn' could still be recalled by him in later years (Smith 1973:45). This in essence showed that the curricula in some of the old missionary schools were inadequate and it would take time to gather knowledge on various subjects. A language, for instance, was taught for two years before getting on to the next one. This was in itself a waste of time because two languages could be taught simultaneously without causing any confusion. For a brilliant scholar like Nyerere this would have been an easy task.

The next analysis investigates his contributions towards educational change over a period of twenty years as President of Tanzania.

5.2 NYERERE'S CONTRIBUTION TO VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL MATTERS

5.2.1 INTRODUCTION

It has already been stated that Nyerere was formerly a teacher before he became fully involved in politics soon before and after Tanzania's independence in 1961 (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.2 & 5.1.5).

His educational and political ideas interacted to a very large extent. After independence, it was therefore not uncommon for the Tanzanian government under the presidency of Nyerere to critically analyze the education system operating in Tanzania. Such an analysis revealed the need to make the education system more relevant to the Tanzanian environment; to eliminate racial discrimination; and to expand education at all levels.
(Bennaars [et al.] 1994:23). It was from the need to address these matters that he developed some ideas to improve them.

Nyerere's educational ideas as it will be seen throughout this thesis, were directed towards the elimination of the colonial education.

It will also become clear in this Chapter that Nyerere preferred an education system which would support his chosen political system, namely, socialism. As President of Tanzania he was thus concerned, firstly, with innovating the education system.

Prior to making his contributions to educational change in Tanzania, Nyerere analyzed and criticized the existing colonial system of education. He argued that it contained four defects which hampered or at least discouraged the pupils' integration into the society they will join after schooling. He maintained that this was owing to the fact that such education system promoted inequality, intellectual pride and individualism. The four defects are as follows:

• The education provided was an elitist one, that is, it catered for a small group of pupils;

• Education was separated from the society it served, for example, boarding schools were away from the society and other schools were also far from dwelling places;

• The education system encouraged pupils to accept that all worthwhile knowledge is obtained from books or from educated people, that is, those with formal education; and

• The education system failed to allow the pupils to work their way through high school and college, that is, they were not allowed to learn as they worked (Nyerere 1968a:279; Cameron & Dodd 1970: 222-234).

Nyerere's contributions to educational innovation was largely due to these defects for they needed to be corrected. His contributions, to be discussed in this chapter, will also be viewed against these defects.
During his presidency, Nyerere brought about change in the following educational matters: aim, curriculum, teaching methods, school management, school examinations, primary education, secondary education, adult education and university education (Kurtz 1972:116-124).

In subsequent discussions it will become very necessary to bear in mind that Nyerere's contributions to educational innovation were also largely in terms of the new educational policy which came into operation since Tanzania gained independence from the British colonial rule in 1961. It will also, however, be essential to remember throughout this analysis that the new educational policy under Nyerere's presidency was based on the assumptions that: All human beings are of equal worth and rights; a person is meaningful through his relationship with himself and the society to which he belongs; and that man needs literacy and numeracy to be free because the two are important for his economic situation and the nation's economy (Nyerere 1985:45).

The aforementioned matters will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs in the order given above.

5.2.2 NYERERE'S VIEW OF THE AIM OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

Nyerere was opposed to the aim colonial education which he maintained could not serve the Tanzanian people. He wrote that colonial education,

"... was not designed to prepare young people for the service of the country ... it was motivated by the desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state" (Nyerere 1968:269).

Because of this aim, colonial education was far from meeting the needs of the Tanzanian people. This was mainly due to the fact that it was designed after the British system which stressed subservience and white collar skills (Morrison 1976:255; Gbadegesin 1994:65).
In other words, colonial educational was aimed at training civil servants and transmitting European values. This also led to training the youth which could not properly serve the African community (Yousif 1976: 65).

The greatest weaknesses of colonial education, Nyerere maintained, were its inability to transmit African values from one generation to the next. Worse of all was the attempt to change and substitute them. This education also encouraged inequality among the citizens of the same country and it supported the oppression of the weak by the strong (Nyerere 1968a:269-270; Cameron & Dodd 1970:222).

Instead this education aimed at promoting and stressing the individualistic instinct of mankind which according to Nyerere offended the Tanzanian tribal concept of *Ujamaa* (Dolan 1969: 165).

Having rejected the aim of colonial education, Nyerere came up with an aim which could take into account the needs of the Tanzanian people and which could render colonial education obsolete. Its defects, however, needed to be rectified in order for this education to meet the needs of the people.

In an attempt to correct the defects inherent in the colonial education system as mentioned earlier on (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.1), a more relevant education system was required. According to Nyerere the aim of such a system would thus be, he wrote,

"... to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. ... to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of our society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group ... inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past" (Nyerere 1968a: 273).

A further analysis of this aim reveals that it was based on the principles of socialism, an economic system adopted by Tanzania after independence in 1961. Such principles
stress, among others, co-operative effort, respect for human dignity, service to the own community and accepting values, especially the traditional ones, which are useful to one's own society in both the present and future. Nyerere's aim of education ruled out inequality, for it was unacceptable in a socialist state (Nyerere 1967:12; Nyerere 1966:17-18; Nyerere 1969:25-31).

It can be argued that Nyerere preferred an education system which would eliminate poverty for people should work for themselves. Such a system would also take care of the large rural society in Tanzania. It was for this reason that he held that education should prepare pupils for work in a society which was largely rural and that they should be good farmers.

He also preferred that education should prepare people for different responsibilities in a free and democratic socialist society. To achieve this, education should train them to think for themselves, to acquire knowledge from others, reject or adapt it to their own needs and that it must develop confidence in the learner (Nyerere 1968a:274).

When formulating the aim of education, Nyerere acknowledged the fact that various societies in the world should have different education systems. By this he suggested that there was no single aim of education which would serve various societies properly. It was therefore improper to adopt the colonial education system (Ibid. 1968a:168).

According to Nyerere, the colonial education system would be acceptable if it could, he wrote,

"... transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society ... to prepare young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development" (Nyerere 1968a:268).

From this aim of education it can be deduced that education should always be linked with the society it is meant to serve and that the two are interwoven. For the aspects of value to the society, for example, cultural values, tradition, knowledge can only be
maintained and passed on to the next generations through education. In addition to this, young people can be assisted to become members of the society and to share in the economic development of a particular society if they have received the relevant education from that society (Gbadegesin 1994:66).

To emphasize the importance on his view of the aim of education, Nyerere held that if education fails to prepare youth for life in the society, to transmit the knowledge, skills and values and attitude of the society, such education cannot contribute towards progress, but instead it may lead to social unrest since it has prepared people for an uncertain future (Nyerere 1968a:269).

The next discussion looks at the curriculum as proposed by Nyerere.

5.2.3 NYERERE'S VIEW OF THE CURRICULUM

In addition to proposing new aims of education in Tanzania, it became very necessary for Nyerere to recommend curricular change at various educational levels. Such a change would enable him to realize the educational aims.

In an attempt to innovate education in Tanzania, Nyerere proposed that education in all schools be much more Tanzanian in content. The following changes in the curriculum content were therefore needed: British and European history was to be replaced by African history; Tanzania's national songs and dances were once again to be learned; Swahili (the national language in Tanzania) was given the importance it needed and deserved and Civics was offered to make the pupils understand the organization and aim of Tanzania. These ideas were much more similar to those of Blyden in that they affected the type of history, traditional songs, native languages and civics which were also of much concern to Blyden in the curricula (Nyerere 1968a:271; Nyerere 1968b:49; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4).

From the primary education viewpoint, Nyerere was opposed to designing the curricula in terms of what others need to know but rather in terms of what children ought to know. He put it:
"We should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist or administrator needs to know. We should determine ... by the things which the boy or girl ought to know - ... skills he ought to acquire ... values he ought to cherish" (Nyerere 1968a:282).

Nyerere's approach to innovating the Tanzanian education curricula demonstrates to a very large extent a shift from a theoretical curricula to a more practical ones. This in fact further suggested that the curriculum content, that is, the subjects, should refrain from teaching theories about professions and focus attention on the acquisition of various job related skills and values applicable in a socialist and rural society which can further be used to improve life in the said society.

By advocating curricular change in Tanzania, Nyerere would like to effect a different education, namely, that of self-reliance. This, according to him, would be a kind of education which could suit the society of Tanzania in many respects. He further maintained that education for self-reliance should not be inferior, should provide the knowledge, skills and attitude needed by students to live and serve in a changing and growing socialist state like Tanzania (Nyerere 1968a:286).

His proposals for curricular change were to be adopted by primary schools through to secondary schools and other forms of higher education. He was also opposed to all teaching which was aimed at university entrance only.

Since Tanzanian education ought to develop self-reliant citizens, the curricula adopted in that country were supposed to be geared to the needs of a large number of people who would not necessarily attend secondary school. Such number was estimated at 87%. By providing education for self-reliance pupils would leave school with the necessary skills. It became very important, therefore, to introduce and practice the concept of self-reliance in the curricula (Duggan & Civille 1976:203).

Nyerere was, however, very careful in introducing the precept of self-reliance and could clarify it as follows when he addressed headmasters:
"It must be clear that we are not trying to introduce a new subject called 'self-reliance' ... into the school curriculum, nor add periods of physical labour ..." (Nyerere 1968a: 410-411).

The self-reliance concept in its entirety meant that the emphasis of teaching should be on the acquisition of skills or learning by doing.

Because of self-reliance, the productive component became an integral part of each school curriculum. Through such component, teaching and learning changed from being bookish or academic to become more practical. The productive component of the curriculum included the following areas of operation: General Maintenance, for cleaning dormitories, Shamba work, for maize production and Project work, for four projects carried out apart from the Shamba work, namely, operating a school shop, a pig project, a small dairy herd project and poultry project (Saunders 1982: 40; Gillette 1977: 60).

Nyerere also criticized the colonial curricula for its emphasis on book-learning according to which pupils should rely on books or educated people and ignore the knowledge and wisdom of those without formal education (Ogbulafor 1978: 227). He wrote:

"Everything we do stresses book-learning, and underestimates the value thereof to our society of traditional knowledge and wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life, even without their being able to read at all" (Nyerere 1968a: 277).

What Nyerere meant was that the curricula should move away from preparing pupils for obtaining certificates and degrees without their having acquired the practical experience. People from the society were to be approached for such experience. To Nyerere experience was also equally important. It was therefore incorrect that the curricula should over-value book-learning. It was also important they should guard against under-valuing it.
Although he based his intention to integrate theory and practice in the curricula on self-reliance, Nyerere's idea did not differ from Dewey's thinking that the school should create an environment for playing and working during learning. Besides this the school environment should enable the pupils to acquire manual skills and technical efficiency for use in later life (Dewey 1916:196-197).

It could be argued that Nyerere tried to assess the acceptability of his curricular innovation personally. He put it:

"... As I have been travelling around the country recently, I have come across a number of secondary schools ... beginning to try and implement the policies of self-reliance" (Nyerere 1968a:40).

All that this means is the acceptance of Nyerere's ideas otherwise a different situation altogether would have confronted Nyerere's visit to schools.

The next discussion focuses attention on the teaching methods.

5.2.4 NYERERE'S VIEW OF THE TEACHING METHODS

The way in which Nyerere innovated the curricula, suggested the use of different teaching methods which could suit the new curricula. He advocated the practical methods of teaching and learning which he regarded best for use in the curricula with the productive component. According to these methods emphasis in teaching falls on experience, as he put it:

"Children ... learn more from their experience of life than from their books and teachers" (Nyerere 1974:26).

Again, in this regard, Nyerere's ideas of teaching methods paralleled those of Blyden by being opposed to book-learning. By advocating learning through experience, Nyerere was, in other words, against rote-learning. If the learner had to experience
what he learns, it is always impossible to memorize the facts without understanding them.

Learning through experience is always recommended because it ensures full participation of the learner in the lesson. The learner also becomes active rather than passive.

Nyerere's choice of the teaching methods was largely influenced by his traditional life and the pre-colonial Africa in which there were no schools. He had always argued that without schools children received education because they could learn by living and doing (Nyerere 1968:268). Since most of his educational innovations sought to restore the cultural values of Tanzanian society, it was appropriate to introduce methods of teaching based on the lives and experience of the Tanzanian people.

It can be added that because Nyerere sought to revert to African culture, his suggested method of learning by doing was closely related to the characteristics of indigenous African education. According to this education learning which occurs by doing is preferable to that which occurs by listening as in Western education (Report 1935:7-8).

It, therefore, stems from this argument that the teaching methods should take into account the life, culture, tradition and values of the people if they are to be relevant to both the people's education and their future. These aspects should be considered in future innovations of teaching methods.

The restructuring of school curricula and teaching methods were accompanied by a change in school management. Schools had to change from conventional management so as to accommodate productive work.

In conclusion the teaching methods as proposed by Nyerere can be criticized for placing a heavy emphasis on learning by doing at the expense of other methods of teaching. The learning by doing methods were not conducive to a high level of intellectual thinking. This was the main weak point.
The aforementioned matters will further be discussed in par. 5.4.

Hereunder follows the discussion of school management as viewed by Nyerere.

5.2.5 SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Owing to curricular change in Tanzanian schools, to include productive work, Nyerere found it very necessary to reorganize the schools. This was done in such a way that education for self-reliance could be provided. Unlike under the colonial government in Tanzania, under Nyerere's rule the schools became part of society and of the economy. In his own words Nyerere said:

"Schools must ... become communities which practise the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers and pupils together must be the members of a social unit ..." (Nyerere 1968a:282).

It was indeed essential to close the gap between society and schools because in a socialist state like Tanzania, working together and living together was one of the principles of socialism (Haule 1969:131; Hodd 1969: 1-2). And for Nyerere it was further important that a sound relationship existed between teachers and pupils in the school situation and between parents and children in the village as members of the same social unit. So schools were organized in a manner which could make the realization of this relationship possible.

Nyerere also recommended that all schools, more especially high schools and institutions of higher education, should contribute towards their upkeep. Schools were expected to be economic, social and educational communities. As economic communities they were supposed to produce wealth for the society. According to the reorganized structures, farms and workshops were attached to schools. Apart from this they were turned into farms. So, food to serve the community could be produced in schools while such schools could simultaneously contribute towards an increase in national income. Nyerere pointed out the benefits of this reorganization in that schools would no longer depend on grants from the Government, voluntary and other charity
bodies for their revenue. Instead, their income could be obtained from the sale of cash crops (Nyerere 1968a:283; Ergas 1982:575).

Nyerere was aware of the innovation problems associated with the implementation of his new organizational ideas, namely, lack of experienced farm managers to carry out planning and teachers to work on new farms. But, these were not difficult to overcome because he used good local farmers as supervisors, teachers for particular work and also the services of Agricultural officers and assistants. Nyerere thus in this manner further sought to eliminate book-learning (Nyerere 1968a:283-284).

One of the main reasons behind reorganizing schools was to allow the integration of pupils into village life. Such an integration was not given full attention during the colonial government because schools were separated from society, especially boarding schools (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.1). This was a problem to pupils after leaving school. To promote integration, Nyerere suggested that there should be a reciprocal relationship between the community and the school, he wrote:

"The children must be made part of community by having responsibilities to the community, and having the community involved in school activities ... children who do attend school should participate in the family work ... as a normal part of their upbringing" (Nyerere 1968a:287).

The form of participation expected of children attending school included, among others, looking after cattle, goats, fowl, etc. (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.1).

Further integration could be achieved through subjects taught at school as well as activities carried out by pupils. Nyerere suggested that subjects such as Swahili, Arithmetic, English, Geography and health science should form the basis of educational integration. In addition to these, pupils should know about their country, the functioning of their Government, history, values and should acquire skills for earning a living. While at school it was also suggested that pupils do washing and cleaning. They ought to do part-time work related to their studies in the community and
Government offices during holidays. Such opportunities, Nyerere held, would give them the practical experience necessary in their own fields (Nyerere 1968a:289-290).

Nyerere had a different view concerning examinations. This is discussed hereunder.

5.2.6 SCHOOL EXAMINATION

School reorganization as proposed by Nyerere demanded a different kind of assessment. The then existing examination system was rendered obsolete by curricular change. It was, therefore, essential that Nyerere recommended suitable methods of assessment or for conducting examinations.

Despite the fact that examinations had certain advantages, Nyerere realized that they had severe disadvantages which he thought subjected them to rejection. He maintained that they could only assess the candidate's ability to learn facts and present them within a given period, that is, within the duration of the examination paper. He argued that they could not be relied upon as a successful assessment of reasoning power, and that they excluded the assessment of character and willingness to serve (Nyerere 1968a:281).

As a consequence, similar to other countries, Nyerere recommended that the existing examinations either be abandoned or combined with other assessments. In his opinion it was desirable that they be threefold so as to suit the proposed curricular changes. He indicated that examinations should consist of the assessment of classroom teaching and the pupils' practical work done for the school and community. By having the three sections, Nyerere argued, the examinations could become an appropriate selection procedure for entry into secondary schools or universities, etc. (Ibid. 1968a:288).

Besides including these changes in assessment, Nyerere down-graded the examination results for they were purely academic and they could not properly select pupils for secondary schools because they excluded work assessment. This innovation was thought to suit the new curricula designed by Nyerere. Nyerere argued that through the inclusion of work assessment, the student's ability for further studies could be
be assessed properly. He maintained that a student might fail academically but pass practically and in this case his future studies should focus on the acquisition of practical skills (Nyerere 1968a:288; Nyerere 1974:25).

In terms of the new assessment approach, values, experience and skills were to be taken into account when assessing candidates. This approach further required the teachers to compile reports of the pupils' work for inclusion in the final assessment.

A closer look at Nyerere's form of assessment revealed that throughout the year the pupils were not only occupied with classroom learning activities but would rather be involved in other activities around the school and in the community. It was therefore not uncommon to see pupils working together with members of the community in the construction of new school buildings or other development work. Their reward for such participation would be marks (Nyerere 1968a:287).

For primary school education Nyerere proposed the following.

5.2.7 PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

In 1964, Nyerere's government as well as educational experts became more concerned with the school leavers as they constituted both an economic and social problem in Tanzania. Such school leavers moved to towns whereas they could not be absorbed by the labour market for paid work. Primary schools by then could not prepare them for life or participation in agriculture (Kaayk 1976: 2-3).

It can also be maintained, concerning the foregoing problems related to school leavers, the Tanzania's economy between 1964 and 1969 had a low absorption capacity, for among other things, employment prospects reflected that approximately 110 000 new jobs could be offered whilst there were approximately 231 520 estimated Std's 7 and 8 school leavers and approximately 1 150 000 estimated new entrants to the labour market (Skorov 1966: 58-59). Thus taking into account primary school leavers their unemployment figures were very high and this needed serious attention.
The problem of primary school leavers made it necessary to change the provision of primary education. In his argument Nyerere pointed out that the curriculum and the primary entry age needed to be changed.

As far as the curriculum was concerned he maintained that the education in primary school be complete in itself and not be a preparation for secondary school. And in addition to this it was supposed to be related to the tasks done in Tanzanian society. It should also refrain from preparing pupils to expect wage employment. Nyerere would like to see the education that prepared children for future life. In order to achieve this, the primary school activities should not be geared towards competitive examinations for selecting the few who continued to secondary school (Nyerere 1968a:280-281; Bennaars [et al.] 1994:24; Russel 1990:369).

In order to have useful primary school leavers the primary entry age was raised. The main intention was to have children who were older when they left school and that they could learn more quickly. Besides this, as school leavers they could join the community as responsible workers (Nyerere 1968a:280). Nyerere was therefore against the idea that children start school at the ages of five or six years.

His objection to the aforementioned entry ages made sense if it was considered that the technical subjects, such as, Agriculture, Construction and Workshop skills and Elementary science, were taught in primary schools (Nyerere 1985:50).

The major innovation as far as the provision of primary education was concerned was the introduction of programme known as the Universal Primary Education (UPE). It can be argued that the UPE was designed to eliminate the elitist education of the colonial education system. Through this programme mass education could be provided to a large number of children. Mass education would in turn eliminate the development of class structure which Nyerere was opposed to. Since all children of school going age would attend school, none would feel more inferior than others because of not having received basic education (Nyerere 1968a:275-276; Nyerere 1985:46-47).
Nyerere's innovative ideas regarding the UPE could be noticed during his presidency. And within a period of ten years after independence, that is, in 1971, his ideas which were put into practice could show some favourable results (Nyerere 1985:47).

It can be indicated that he managed to eliminate elitist education and replace it with mass and universal primary education. By 1971 he could therefore confidently report as follows,

"... I was able to report that the number of primary schools had increased from 3,100 to 4,706 and ... primary school pupils had gone up from 486,000 to 848,000 ... all primary school pupils were able to go through a seven year course ..." (Nyerere 1985:47).

This shows that education became more accessible to pupils in rural areas, twice as much as it was at the beginning of independence. The applicability of Nyerere's ideas could further be noticed some 16 and 22 years after independence, that is, in 1977 and 1983 respectively. He could write:

"By the end of 1977 we had 2,194,000 primary school pupils and continued to expand to include the few children who lived too far from schools ... As a result, there were 3,552,000 pupils enrolled in about 10,000 primary schools by the end of 1983" (Nyerere 1985:47-48).

The increase in primary pupil population clearly indicates the successful application of his ideas for an increase of 62% could be realized between 1977 and 1983.

It can also be indicated that because of the application of his ideas, primary education curricula and syllabi were redesigned to be more Tanzanian in content. The aims of syllabi; curriculum content, that is, subjects and examination questions were based on the various aspects of Tanzania, for instance, the aim of the Geography syllabus for primary schools for the Standards III to VII could be given as,
"... to implement the needs of Primary Education in Tanzania in relation to our Policy of Ujamaa and self-reliance" (Nyerere 1976:6).

By basing all teaching and learning on the Tanzanian environment, it could be stated that Nyerere made certain that education was meaningful, interesting, and relevant to this country's people. Education could thus have direct application unlike when the learners are taught of something which is far away from the places they live in.

Again, it is essential to indicate that the UPE innovation programme was not without problems. Among others, the Tanzanian Education Ministry had to deal with these problems: A drop in the quality of primary education, overcrowded classrooms, shortages of textbooks and well-qualified teachers (Kassam 1983:64).

Another significant innovation made by Nyerere in primary education was the establishment of village schools which prepared children for village life and not for further education. This was mainly meant to make school leavers useful members of the society (Sheffield 1979:105).

Similarly, the secondary education was also changed as discussed hereunder.

5.2.8 SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

Secondary education should, according to Nyerere, cease to be a selection process for the university, teacher's college, etc. Instead, this education ought to prepare pupils for life and service in the villages and rural areas of Tanzania. His argument for advocating this change was based on the fact that the few educated people from secondary schools should serve a large sector of the population. This was because the tax money collected from the whole country was used to provide education to a few (Nyerere 1968a:281; Mtonga 1993:389).

Another important innovation relating to secondary education was mass education as opposed to elitist education. With a view to providing mass education, a diversification of curriculum was introduced in secondary schools whereby schools
could specialize in these practical subjects: Agriculture, Commerce, Domestic science, Carpentry, Metalwork and technical subjects (Sheffield 1979:107; Kassam 1983:64). These fields would allow pupils to be of service to society after completion of their studies.

As argued by Nyerere the above curricular diversification highlighted a change from a purely academic learning and it was not only for pedagogical reasons nor to assist in covering the running costs of education but to promote socialists habits among students. Students were encouraged to be socialist workers who worked for themselves (King 1988:121). It could be said the curricula were designed to have subjects which could orientate students towards real work experience.

Because of mass education stated above it became necessary for Nyerere to expand the present secondary schools to take the form of day schools. This, it was ascertained, would supplement the boarding schools which were the most common form of secondary education inherited from the old Asian school system. The day schools could certainly accommodate many pupils, without excluding pupils from the poor families (Nyerere 1985:50).

Nyerere's innovative ideas on adult education are presented in the following discussion.

5.2.9 NYERERE'S VIEW OF ADULT EDUCATION

Nyerere was not satisfied with the adult education system inherited from the colonial government. He would like to have a full participation of the adult population in the economic development of the country. He was therefore of the intention to change it. To this effect he wrote:

"There must be an active education system which is directed at helping the people to understand the principles of socialism and their relevance to real development and freedom" (Nyerere 1968a:31).
He actually implied that the existing system of adult education was not active enough to be able to involve a large population of adults in the economic development of the country, especially a socialist State. So a desirable system of adult education would be one which could have as its task, the orientation of man towards the form of government, in this case, socialism; and also about the importance of man in bringing about economic development and liberation.

Nyerere's concept of adult education emphasized the idea of 'development' which he claims is for man, to be brought about by man and of man himself. These should be the main components of adult education. In Nyerere's view all these components should culminate in the liberation of man. To explain this Nyerere referred to economic development through which goods and services and productive capacity could increase for easeful and fruitful life of man. This organisation together with the others (political and social) may help to increase the freedom of man (Nyerere 1978:27).

His idea of adult education was that it should assist men to develop themselves. And he wrote:

“It has to contribute to an enlargement of man's ability in every way. In particular it has to help men to decide for themselves ... think clearly, it must enable them to examine the possible alternative courses of action; make choices ... and equip them with the ability to translate their decisions into reality” (Nyerere 1978:28).

According to Nyerere, adult education should take into account the development of all of man's faculties. After receiving it he should be independent. His thinking should thereby be improved and he must be able to weigh alternatives before making a choice. The knowledge gained from it must have practical application (Nyerere 1976:10).

In his opinion, adult education should be intertwined with life and be used in everyday life if it will contribute towards development, Nyerere wrote:
"... adult education ... must be a part of life - integrated with life and inseparable from it" (Nyerere 1978:29).

His argument was that it should not be reserved for use during certain periods of the day or week or a life but rather be used on each day as man lives.

Nyerere was also opposed to the idea of importing adult education. He was also of the opinion that it would be difficult to teach the learner if he has not volunteered to be taught. This meant that it was essential that only adults who had volunteered could receive adult education.

Besides dealing with just agriculture, health, literacy, mechanical skills, etc. Nyerere suggested that adult education ought to encourage change in both men and society. Simultaneously, this education should assist men to manage change emanating from it or brought about by other men or nature. He also preferred that adult education should be based on what already existed as its foundation, and that it ought to include all aspects of life (Nyerere 1978:29). In other words, all the efforts of providing adult education should be directed towards change and how to manage it in order to enhance development. This shows that Nyerere was against a one-sided provision of adult education whereby, for instance, only literacy is emphasized. Adult education should, according to Nyerere, consider life as a whole.

Nyerere also recommended the methods to be followed in teaching the adults. He was in favour of methods which could assist the learners to develop their own potential ability and capacity. They should encourage involvement in order to promote a sense of achievement and also to ascertain if new work is grasped. This involvement, he pointed out, could take the form of reading aloud, writing, digging a furrow of certain measurements, etc. In other words 'learning by doing' was more important in teaching adults (Ibid. 1978:33).

In teaching adults, Nyerere suggested that what they already know should form the basis of teaching. Adult educators should build on the learners' background knowledge. And the teacher's task would then be to show the relevance of this
knowledge to the new subject matter. This method of teaching actually included three things, namely, building the learner's self-confidence; showing relevance of experience and observation and sharing knowledge which demonstrates that people understand and also have control over their lives (Nyerere 1978:34). The advantage of this method would be that in assessing the level from which to start imparting knowledge the teacher may by so doing avoid to repeat what the learner already knows.

Most important to Nyerere was the adaptation of methods to suit the circumstances and resources of the learning community and the nation concerned. This, he argued, would economize on the use of money and time, for example, visual aids needing electricity and skilled operators could be acquired if the latter resources are available. And in poor countries people and teachers should be self-reliant to make the low cost aids (Ibid. 1978:34).

Nyerere also suggested the way in which adult education should be organized. This was to be on the basis of self-reliance. Nyerere wrote,

"... self-reliance in adult education as in other aspects of development, will have to be reflected in the organization of adult education activities ... The type of organization has to reflect the needs; and therefore the resources, of each country ... its culture and its political commitment" (Nyerere 1978:34).

This indicates that adult education is supposed to be relevant enough to suit the needs of the country. Aspects of culture and politics of the country should be included in adult education. It can also be indicated that Nyerere was aware of the problem related to the allocation of resources to this type of education.

In order to take the two aspects into account that is, culture and politics, Nyerere's adult education innovation included, among others, workers' education, functional literacy and Folk Development College programmes with a view to helping the adults to acquire skills necessary for improving their socio-economic and cultural pursuits.
It was further hoped that adult education could, through these aspects, eliminate poverty, ignorance, hunger and bad living conditions (Mushi 1991: 353-356).

Adult education should assume a different form from the formal school, Nyerere put it:

"It would certainly be a mistake to try and duplicate for adults the kind of educational establishment we have for children - either in staff or buildings" (Nyerere 1978:35).

By this statement, he suggested the establishment of adult education centres which could have their own staff and buildings. And he also went on to suggest that adult teachers be drawn from people engaged in their jobs, but who are involved with what they would be teaching.

On the issue of adult teachers, Nyerere distinguished between generalists and specialists. The former, he said, are political activists, educators, community development workers and religious teachers. Their duty is to create a demand for certain activities by making people aware of the need. They identify problems experienced in the community. Because of what they do, Nyerere argues, they cannot be politically neutral. And because of this he regarded adult education as a political activity. The latter teachers, that is specialists, have specialized knowledge in various fields: Health, agriculture, literacy, child care, etc. The two groups should work hand in hand because the generalist makes society aware of the problem and the specialist explains what is to be done to solve the problem and why (Nyerere 1978:31).

It can be added that since agriculture was the main support of Tanzania's economy, Nyerere's innovation of adult education was therefore directed towards making this education increase agricultural productivity in rural areas. Nyerere therefore maintained that apart from literacy, adults should be trained in Agricultural techniques,
craftsmanship, health education, housecraft, simple Economics and Accounting and education in politics and the responsibilities of the citizen (International conference report 1972:113). Thus training could be provided by generalists and specialists in these areas.

The effectiveness of adult educators was essential. And to achieve this, Nyerere suggested that they be paid wages and be given equipment and facilities.

Since he regarded adult education as an important part of developing a free man and society, Nyerere suggested that this education be given a top priority in the revenue allocations of the government (Nyerere 1978:35).

It can be noted that a wider application of Nyerere's ideas also occurred in adult education where in 1961 the country had about 75 % of the illiterate adults in the mainland. And by 1983 this number had decreased to 15 % of the Tanzanian population of 20 million people. This implies that 85 % of the adult population was then literate. It was hoped that this percentage would increase further since more people attended adult education later (Nyerere 1985:49).

Nyerere also gave innovative ideas as far as university [higher] education was concerned. Hereunder follows his ideas of this education.

5.2.10 UNIVERSITY EDUCATION [HIGHER EDUCATION]

As far as university education was concerned, it was affected by innovations brought about in the examinations (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.6). On the basis of such change, Nyerere thus rejected admission requirements to universities. His argument was that they were purely academic in nature. Instead thereof he suggested that they be based on both written examinations and favourable reports of the candidates' work attitude compiled over a two-year break before entry into the university (Nyerere 1968:288; Akinpelu 1981:124).
These requirements indicate that service to the community was important and that only those who had proved the willingness to serve the community were to further their studies at universities.

Nyerere further demonstrated his innovative ideas for university education when he elaborated on the role of universities in a developing country. It was certainly important for him to do so for Tanzania, as a new country, needed their changed roles.

His argument in this regard was the fact that the old traditional functions of universities could not serve their country. Such universities pursued pure learning for its own sake, as he expressed it,

"... universities in countries like Tanzania have other tasks to fulfil which test their resources ... I do not believe that they can at this stage pursue 'pure research' and 'knowledge for its own sake' without neglecting other functions which are for the time being important" (Nyerere 1968a:181).

By this he implied that it would be more beneficial for universities in the new Tanzania to carry out other tasks which might contribute to the development of the country. In other words he was against conducting pure research by universities in this new country. This further meant he regarded applied research as more important than the pure one. He again argued that the latter research sought after knowledge just for the sake of finding out more about things. And this, he indicated, could only be afforded by universities in developed countries.

In addition to the task of disseminating established facts to undergraduates and members of society, Nyerere pointed out that it was extremely important that they also promote scientific thinking. To achieve this, he stated, it would be necessary that students,
"... be taught to analyze problems objectively, and to apply the facts they have learned - or which they know exist - to the problems which they will face in the future" (Nyerere 1968a:183).

This approach to thinking, he argued, would train students to solve problems which they have never met before in the society and such problems were common in the changing Tanzanian society.

While other universities experienced problems in trying to educate and expand students' minds, those in Tanzania were to be concerned with the problem of commitment to both change the poverty-stricken society and to serve it. Such commitment would deal with, Nyerere wrote,

"... promoting, strengthening and channelling social attitudes which are conductive to the progress of our society" (Nyerere 1968a:184).

This, in fact, implies that every attitude which might promote real development of the people should be encouraged by the universities. This, it was believed, would help to alleviate poverty.

Nyerere regarded co-operation between the universities and the Government as important. He suggested that this could be realized if the universities carry out the task of seeking for truth. He maintained that its members should speak the truth as they see it. And if it was necessary to reject or accept its results, they should honestly do so. He argued that seeking after truth would eliminate conflict between the Government and the universities. To this effect Nyerere wrote:

"What we expect from our university is both complete objectivity in the search for truth and also commitment to our society - a desire to serve it" (Nyerere 1968a:182).

In its commitment to serve the society a university should be truthful and objective as in practical politics.
Among other tasks, Nyerere proposed that a university should offer its researchers and staff freely for use by the society for its development. These, however, should be relevant to the nation.

As one of its tasks a university is expected to promote the relationship between itself, students and other members of society. Nyerere maintains that such a relationship should allow a university to provide a service to, and in return also expect service from all its members and students. It is also important for this relationship to promote human equality, dignity and development. Of course a university would not be serving a developing country properly if it does not give ideas as it would then be failing to contribute both to the world of knowledge and the supply of manpower (Ibid. 1968a:186).

The existence of the University of Dar es Salaam could be regarded as the main extension of Nyerere's innovative ideas, for this institution operated mainly according to his ideas so as to become relevant to the needs of the country. The definition which would determine the characteristics of this university; its functions and choice of discipline which could contribute to the country's development were greatly influenced by Nyerere's ideas.

As far as the definition of a university was concerned, Nyerere wrote that,

"... a university is an institution of higher learning; a place where people's minds are trained for clear thinking, for independent thinking, for analysis and problem solving at the highest level" (Nyerere 1973:192-193).

By giving this definition it suggests that the University of Dar es Salaam in particular and many others in Africa should emphasize the training of thinkers and problem solvers.

Nyerere could distinguish between the three social functions of a university which are applicable to universities generally. He gave them as,
"From one generation to the next it transmits advanced knowledge ... provides a centre for the attempt to advance the frontiers of knowledge ... provides, through its teaching for the high-level manpower needs of the society" (Nyerere 1973:193).

These were Nyerere's ideas geared to the optimal functioning of universities. The present and future generations should obtain knowledge from universities. They should expand knowledge through research. Besides these universities are expected to supply highly trained people to serve the societies.

Because of Nyerere's ideas, the University of Dar es Salaam could offer disciplines which were related to the students' and society's past, present and expected future. This meant that university teaching should be directed towards solving the problems of the country as they are, they were and as they could be expected in the future. As a consequence subjects which could not contribute to the country's problems and development were not offered by this university (Nyerere 1973:200).

5.3 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF NYERERE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The factors which inhibit the intellectual and educational innovation as discussed in Chapter 2, will now be employed to review Nyerere's contribution towards educational innovation. Before that it is necessary to indicate that he worked in an intellectual environment which could be described as deformed owing to discrimination, missionary control of education, superstitions, etc. In addition to this the African culture in Tanzania lacked intellectual tradition because this country had until 1984 the University of Dar-es Salaam as the only university. Orality as in other African cultures, also contributed to the lack of such tradition (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1; Omari 1991:183; Reagan 1995:106). Below is a review in terms of factors.
5.3.2 THE LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED AND POLITICS OF FEAR OR CONFORMISM

5.3.2.1 INTELLECTUAL ENERGY AND POLITICS

As was said earlier, Nyerere worked out and directed Tanzania’s independence which was obtained in 1961. He was, in other words, concerned with the liberation of the oppressed. And since his country was, by then not an independent state all this could be carried out under politics of fear and conformism, because of this his educational innovation was delayed until after independence (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.5; Chapter 2, par. 2.2).

After independence in 1961, Nyerere was not only president of Tanzania but, as was the practice with all the presidents, he became the first chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam (Omari 1991:181-183). There was no way in which he could avoid channelling his intellectual energy into politics and education it can be argued that this affected his intellectual and educational innovation. He could not devote sufficient time to innovating education in general and higher education in particular.

By the fact that he was president and chancellor he was in a position which allowed him to initiate innovations which could be adopted. Thus, rather than conforming to what has been innovated it was the opposite and he was therefore less affected by imposed conformism in his educational innovation.

5.3.2.2 ALIENATION OR RADICALISM

These two aspects can be said to have affected Nyerere’s educational innovation because, as, full time president and chancellor, at times he had to alienate himself from the educational matters to attend to politics. Thus such as break hampered continuity of attention and hindered educational innovation. And on account of his position as president he could not act radically to challenge the innovation in response to what the people might have desired to be part of innovation. So his innovation had to be accepted regardless of its popularity (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.2).
5.3.2.3 POLITICAL DOGMAS AND ORTHODOXIES REPLACED INDEPENDENT CRITICAL INQUIRY

Political dogmas and orthodoxies as found in African socialism introduced by Nyerere in Tanzania can be said to have inhibited independent critical inquiry needed to promote educational innovation. This was owing to the fact that social, economic and cultural activities were dominated by African socialism or Ujamaa.

5.3.2.4 PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION/ANALYTICAL REASONING BECAME A FOREIGN CONCEPT - POLITICAL IMPERATIVES BECAME DOMINANT

Nyerere's educational innovation is deemed to have been affected by the lack of philosophical speculation or analytical reasoning. This was because of the fact that attaining independence and managing it were political imperatives that dominated Nyerere's innovative educational ideas. All analytical reasoning needed to promote educational innovation was, certainly, to a great extent impaired by such political imperatives (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.4).

5.3.2.5 THE DESTINY OF MAN BECAME CONCEIVED IN POLITICAL TERMS

Conceiving the destiny of man in political terms can be said to have influenced Nyerere's educational innovation. As already explained, Tanganyika was pioneered by Nyerere towards independence gained in 1961. But this could not occur without placing man at the centre of politics of independence. And by advocating African socialism the Tanzanian government conceived man more in political than educational terms. Thus man's activities were mainly geared toward socialism (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.1.5).

5.3.3 THE TYRANNICAL CUSTOM OF AFRICAN CULTURE

As far as Nyerere's educational innovation was concerned it can be maintained that it reflected the tyrannical custom of African culture which opposed, among other things, questioning authority, curiosity and disrespect for authority.
The tyrannical custom could be noticed in his proposal and application of his educational innovation. Since he was, in terms of the Republic Constitution of 1962, a dictator, he could by-pass both the Party and the Government and pass policy unilateraly (Hartman 1987:2-3; Chapter 2, par. 2.3).

And as a dictator he allowed little participation of citizens in decision making. The Ujamaa villages as an extension of his Ujamaa ideology is an example of such lack of participation for the said villages were imposed (Samoff 1979:37).

This further suggests that education for self-reliance was dictated to the Tanzanian people in 1967.

5.3.3.1 THE NON-LITERARY MODE OF THOUGHT STIFLED CREATIVITY, IMAGINATION AND INITIATIVE

This mode of thought as it operates in African oral tradition can be said to have influenced Nyerere's educational innovation to a certain extent. The lack of written records in Tanzanian (African) culture and heavy reliance on folklore, proverbs, traditional songs can be deemed to have inhibited his innovation. He could not reflect much on the written records in his innovation owing to their lack. And by not having written records, the non-literary mode of thought can be said to have deprived Nyerere of the necessary imagination, creativity and initiative to promote his educational innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.1).

5.3.3.2 THE UNDERDEVELOPED CHARACTER OF ITS SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY RETARDS OBJECTIVE SCHOLARSHIP, EMPIRICAL VERIFICATION AND ANALYTICAL LOGIC

Owing to the non-literary mode of thought which is non-scientific, the African cultures, including that in Tanzania cannot have a well developed system of scientific enquiry. This, certainly, have limited Nyerere’s educational innovation to what is less scientific. Had it been more scientific it would have hardly been acceptable, for due to the lack of
scientific method in African culture it would not be possible to view and analyze it scientifically for implementation.

And due to authoritarianism associated with this mode of thought it can be argued that Nyerere’s educational innovation could not be questioned so as to draw attention to other desirable aspects to be added to his educational innovation or the other way round.

Furthermore, due to the absence of the scientific method in African cultures, objective scholarship, empirical verification and logical analysis could not be exercised to challenge and even pursue his educational innovation further (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).

5.3.3.3 A CULTURE WITH NO SCIENTIFIC HEROES OR BREAKTHROUGHS. THE ABSENCE OF THINKING MODELS BECAUSE OF COMMUNALITY

Given the fact that African cultures are communal in nature and that Nyerere in various ways stressed reverting to African traditional ways of life, politically and educationally, it can be argued that he discouraged the development of scientific heroes and scientific achievements.

And in his African socialism which he maintained was rooted in the pre-colonial African, Nyerere sought to highlight the importance of communality. According to it he claimed that Africans were held together by communal interests which he thought resumed socialism (Fatton 1985: 1; Nyerere 1967:12).

It also needs to be noted that Nyerere worked out the transition to socialism by basing it on traditional and communal values of African cultures (Jeffries 1977:306).

From the preceding explanations and arguments it can be shown that by promoting communality Nyerere was not aware that he discouraged the emergence of scientific heroes thereby inhibiting scientific achievements. Therefore, his innovation was affected by the lack of scientific heroes for they were not available to support it.
Owing to his preference for communality it can be argued that he deprived Tanzanian societies of the thinking models which can assist in promoting his educational innovation, thus weakening its support as previously said (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.3).

5.3.4 THE ABSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING

5.3.4.1 SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND AFRICAN TRADITIONAL THOUGHT

Although Nyerere greatly supported the maintenance of African traditional thought he did not employ this thought, which is chiefly non-scientific. He was, unlike the African traditional thought, very critical and employed much reasoning to arrive at his educational innovation. And had it been that he was dominated by African traditional thought, his innovative ideas would have been mainly contained in oral literature. This had not been the case, for he was divorced from the religions' myths, tales, proverbs etc. of traditional thought in his innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.1).

What the preceding argument implies is that he was not affected by the absence of scientific thinking prevalent in African cultures.

5.3.4.2 PHILOSOPHY CONTRIBUTES LITTLE TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

The contemporary problems perceived by Nyerere during his time included poverty, ignorance and decease. He thought to partly address them through his educational innovation. And the fact that a limited contribution could be obtained from philosophy in general and African philosophy in particular to eradicate them, Nyerere resorted to socialism as an ideology.

It is also important to indicate that African philosophy could not be of use to Nyerere because it lacked science and could not employ the scientific method. Hence his educational innovation which was based on verifiable facts not influenced by philosophy, positively or negatively (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.2).
5.3.4.3 STATIC CULTURE

The static nature of African culture as an inhibiting factor can be regarded as having influenced Nyerere’s educational innovation to a great extent. This is because he limited his innovation to the said nature, chiefly because the Tanzanian people would not easily cope with his educational innovation had it not been in support of the static culture.

It can be held that Nyerere’s educational innovation was restricted by the return to retrieving and recalling the static culture. His aim was to overcome both the colonial interruption of a Tanzania’s history and colonial culture by trying to appropriate the cultural forms of existence (Serequeberhan 1990:177).

Therefore in his attempts to maintain and reinstitute the static culture comprising of myths, superstitions, ancestral spirits Nyerere would refer to statements and phrases such as “to regain our former attitude of mind”; “in our traditional African society”; and ‘pride in maintaining the tradition” etc. (Nyerere 1971:4).

Thus his view of education for self-reliance was certainly a way of trying to maintain the static nature of African culture. Hence methods of teaching and curriculum content did not deviate from the traditional African custom (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2 & 5.2.3).

5.3.4.4 THE NON-EXISTENCE OF ETHICISTS

The lack of ethicists in African culture presupposes that Nyerere’s educational innovation could not be guided by these people. And his innovative ideas could therefore, not be subjected to the judgment of wrong and right although this was important. The availability of ethicists would draw the attention of those affected by the innovation to two aspects, that is, wrong and right innovative ideas. Thus his educational innovation could be said to have lacked the necessary positive reinforcement for the right ideas, and the reduction or elimination of the wrong ones as viewed by ethicists (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.4).
5.3.4.5 MORALISTS BUT WITH A USELESS AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY

It is quite necessary to state that besides being an African, a statesman, a socialist, a
Christian, an idealist, a skilled rhetorician, an educator, Nyerere was also a moralist with
moral thought and vision (Hadsel 1979:3, 7). Therefore, rather than be influenced by
moralists with useless African philosophy his educational innovation was greatly
influenced by his own moral philosophy.

It can consequently be argued that his educational innovation was restricted by attempts
to accommodate the moral aspects of the African societies. For instance, ‘living together’
and for the ‘common good’ as aspects of morality were emphasized in his educational and
social life (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2; Nyerere 1967: 1, 12).

5.3.5 THE AFRICAN CULTURE EXHIBITS AN ABILITY TO RESIST CHANGE

5.3.5.1 CHANGE CLASHES WITH CONTINUITY (TRADITION)

Characteristic of Nyerere’s educational innovation was its reflection of the ability to resist
change as found in African culture. This was chiefly because of the fact that his education
for self-reliance revived the past tradition of self-reliance which includes the old methods
of production, consumption and survival (Fattom 1990:470).

As he was apparently aware of the clash that exists between change and continuity and
to counter it, Nyerere largely reinforced aspect of African culture through communal self-
reliance. His educational innovation could be regarded as constricted by the need to
support village self-reliance. And because of its return to indigenous African culture
Nyerere’s educational innovation can be said to have maintained to a large extent the fear
of experimentation, lack of criticism, conservation, etc. embodied in African culture. And
in this manner resistance to change was greatly minimized (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.5.1).

5.3.5.2 TECHNOLOGICAL USHERINGS WERE OPPOSED BY TRADITION

Owing to the fact that technological usherings were opposed by tradition, Nyerere’s
educational innovation could not proceed much beyond the inclusion of simple technological farming skills. This suggested that his structures for workshops included simple technologies. Had his innovation comprised more sophisticated technologies, resistance would have been greater (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.5).

A resume regarding Nyerere's contributions to educational innovation is presented below.

5.4 RESUMÉ

The innovative ideas of Nyerere as previously discussed can be concluded by a resume which looks into the principles or ideologies which characterized his educational policy as presented subsequently.

- **Education shall aim at the liberation of man** *(Nyerere 1974:35)*

  This implies that Nyerere was not just interested in providing education for its own sake but rather to provide education which could free man from cultural and economic dependence. It was mainly for this reason that he advocated *education for self-reliance* and also formulated an educational aim which he asserted was *universal, objective and descriptive* so as to cover all kinds of societies *(Ibid. 1974:25)*. But this was partly true for he based his aim on socialist ideology rather than a capitalist one and as such it could not be universal.

- **Education shall promote the social goals of living together for the common good** *(Nyerere 1968a:273)*

  The Tanzanian education was therefore provided to meet the socialist goals. The youths were thus prepared to serve the society. Because of this, knowledge of the values of the society was thoroughly important in their education. This again reflects the influence of his socialist ideology on the aim of education. Consequently his aim paid attention to the following matters *(Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2)*.
(1) It addressed the present and future needs of the people and it made it possible for the maintenance of culture through the provision of education.

(2) It enabled equal provision of education which ceased to be selective, for the State needed all the people to participate in the development of the economy by virtue of having all of them received equal education. So inequality in education was ruled out by this aim.

(3) It emphasized membership to the society. Pupils knew that they were educated to become, among others, useful members of the society. This was in itself a motivation to learn.

(4) It stressed the needs of the State as being to develop a free, democratic and socialist Tanzanian society. Education could be received with this view in mind and thus having a certain direction. People knew where education was leading them to.

(5) Responsibility as one of the most important aspects of education, was also stressed in Nyerere's aim. Without this aspect an educational aim cannot be complete.

- **Curricula shall be more Tanzanian in content and shall include the practical component** *(Nyerere 1967: 71 & 410-511)*

This supposed that much of what was learnt and taught could be related to and be drawn from the African environment, and more specifically Tanzania, be it history, geography, mathematics, science, etc. *(Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3)*. This sounded adequate to Nyerere but he did not realize the importance of knowing what occurred in other countries. Such knowledge and information could be effectively used to enrich and improve Tanzania's education, for certainly, one country may benefit from the others in a variety of ways by studying their failures and successes. And a selection could be made of what may seem relevant.
By advocating that curricula shall be Tanzanian in content Nyerere aimed at achieving curricular relevance.

The irrelevance of curricula in a particular situation depends more or less on the subjectively determined factors which are, among others, ideology, economic conditions, natural ideals and problems, etc. (HSRC 1981:14). This assumption of the HSRC applies to Nyerere’s curricular innovation for without these factors it would be impossible for him to change the Tanzanian curricula. Nyerere also determined the irrelevance of the Tanzanian curricula along these factors, hence he could base his curricula innovations on the concept of self-reliance which was mainly his ideology. The economic conditions (rural and poor), the national ideals (living together as equal people) and the problems of the people (poverty, disease and ignorance) were to be dealt with in the curricula through self-reliance.

Furthermore, it is mainly because of his ideology that Nyerere could design an environmentally related curricula which could promote the relationship between the schools and the communities in their attempt to best serve the latter. Nyerere’s curricula also promoted a reciprocal relationship between schools and communities, the relationship which was non-existent during the colonial education era.

Nyerere’s curricula innovations resemble much those of Blyden, for Nyerere sought to change the curricular structures by substituting European material with the local or African material. This was a more appropriate innovation to break away from the colonial past.

The economic conditions, however, forced Nyerere to adopt in Tanzanian education, curricula that were functional, practical and utilitarian in all respects. This was due to the fact that he had to uplift the poor people of his country. Curricula which emphasized academic learning, therefore, fell short of this need.
• **Assessment shall be based on practical as well as academic achievement (Nyerere 1968:288)**

Nyerere's method of assessment served to promote self-reliance by bringing non-academic experiences to the school set up. He expected the pupils to acquire both practical skills as well as academic knowledge, both of which were important for his socialist State. His intention was to move away from the purely academic assessment which he maintained was inadequate and one-sided in assessing the learner for further education and progress (Nyerere 1974:25; Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.6).

Although this assessment was claimed to be Nyerere's best one it cannot be accepted without criticisms in that it allowed a great measure of subjectivity and the success of such assessments depended on favourable reports from teachers.

• **Learning by doing shall be the most important method of instruction (Nyerere 1968:288 & 1978:33)**

This method was emphasized from primary through to secondary and adult education. This method could be criticized for being one-sided for it emphasized the skills acquisition at the expense of academic knowledge needed for self and further learning. By implication, other methods received less attention (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.4).

• **Education shall be job orientated to reduce unemployment (Nyerere 1985:50)**

Because of this, unemployment in Tanzania became less of a problem because pupils and students from the Tanzanian schools and university respectively could work everywhere in their country by virtue of skills and education they received. In other words they were not limited to wage employment from offices but rather they could work in other places such as farms, factories, etc. (Nyerere 1968a:71; Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.1.10).

• **Free access to education shall develop a free literate society (Nyerere 1985:46 & 1976:10)**

This reveals the fact that Nyerere was not ignorant of the fact that education is the
birthright of every person. Due to this, every human being is entitled to receiving education. The idea of education of the few as it was in the colonial past could therefore not be accepted by Nyerere. It was therefore not uncommon of Nyerere to propose free education for the primary schools first and mass education for all the pupils (Kassam 1983:64). Because of making education accessible to all the citizens, Nyerere made it possible for them to be aware of the government activities rather than to be ignorant. This enabled them to contribute towards the development of the country.

- **Adult education shall contribute to the development of man's ability in every way** (Nyerere 1976:10)

Nyerere believed in education for liberation and because of this his adult education strove to develop the faculties of man to make him free from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependence imposed on him by nature or his fellow men. His adult education, therefore, emphasized, among other things, the development of clear thinking, ability to examine and choose alternatives, translating decisions into reality, acquisition of skills, etc.

- **Higher education [University education] shall train students for clear and independent thinking, analysis and problem solving** (Nyerere 1973:192-193)

Nyerere maintained that for universities to aid in the development of the country they should develop in the students the clarity of thought, independent thinking and ability to analyze and solve problems which might be existing as well as forthcoming.

- **Higher education shall transmit knowledge from one generation to the next** (Nyerere 1973:193)

Nyerere regarded the transmission of knowledge obtained through research from one generation to the next as the most important function of the university (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10).
Higher education shall be the source of supply of manpower (Nyerere 1973:193)

With a view to enhancing economic development, Nyerere saw the need for a country to rely on highly trained manpower such as that supplied by universities. He believed that the country's development could be hampered if the universities failed in this task.

From the previous discussions it can be seen that Nyerere's educational innovation occurred during a specific period as a result of the need to eliminate colonial education which he viewed as elitist, irrelevant, inadequate and based on racial distinctions. His criticism of colonial education was largely due to the perceived influence it had on the Tanzanian people. This education it was asserted, introduced foreign religion, values and attitudes into the African culture while it disregarded the same aspects pertaining to this culture (Nyerere 1968a:270; International bureau of education 1978:25). His innovation was therefore directed towards the indigenization of Tanzanian education to make it more relevant. In his opinion the self-reliant education which he had introduced was more relevant, desirable and suited to the needs of the people and the Tanzanian socialist State.

To agree with Nyerere's views it can be indicated that it was bad for the colonialists to introduce their foreign religion, values and attitudes to the Tanzanians (Africans) whilst disregarding their own African religion values, traditions, customs, etc. (International bureau of education 1978:25). On the contrary it was good of them to have established schools to promote formal education which was non-existent in Tanzania before their arrival. Because of such schools part of the Tanzanians became literate. In this regard it can be argued that education ceased to be an extension of culture for the European culture instead of the African one was transmitted from one African generation to the next.

Nyerere's educational innovation can also be viewed as a way of decolonizing the minds of the Tanzanian people while simultaneously trying to restore their African cultural values and also change their attitudes and values (Ibid. 1978:26).

The self-reliant education as it manifests itself in Nyerere's innovation could be criticized for its limited scope of application. This is due to the fact that it was more suited to the poor economic conditions of Tanzania and related poor African countries. With its emphasis on
farming and acquisition of skills it could only be adopted by countries which shared similar conditions as Tanzania, for instance, Mali, Togo, Ethiopia, etc. (Ibid. 1978:8-9). Put differently, countries which have exceeded the self-sufficient stage could hardly benefit from his self-reliant form of education.

Another limit to the adoption of his innovation is the fact that it was based on socialism and that all the African countries do not practise this economic system, for instance South Africa. With its mixed economic system, this country can hardly implement Nyerere's educational innovation. To do so would necessitate Nyerere's innovation to reflect the capitalist and socialist views.

Since his educational innovation was more directed towards hastening socio-economic development of the country and the liberation of man from poverty, ignorance and disease after independence, an unnecessary over-emphasis was made on various educational matters.

5.5 ASSESSMENT

Despite the fact that Nyerere was not Blyden's contemporary, he partly based his educational innovation in Tanzania partly on the latter's ideas. In this respect it can be asserted that they shared, to some extent, similar views. Nyerere was however concerned with the reconstruction of his country's economy along socialist lines and found Blyden's ideas useful.

Nyerere did not only draw from Blyden's ideas but also from those of Carr. Following are the similarities and differences between the three educational thinkers.

SIMILARITIES

- **Nyerere was similar to Blyden** regarding the curricula content derivation and hence they opted for the content which should be African in nature (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3). They believed that the African environment was rich in subject matter.
• Nyerere, Blyden and Carr had similar views with regard to the practical nature of the curricula. And they maintained that this could be achieved through the use of workshops and school farms respectively (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.5).

• Nyerere, Blyden and Carr objected to the application of book-learning as a method of instruction (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

• Like Blyden, Nyerere opted for curricula which could generate funds to assist in paying school expenses (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.5).

• Nyerere and Carr maintained that adult education should not be the same as primary and secondary school education (Carr 1969d:17; Nyerere 1978:35; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.9). The former type of education was to supplement the latter types of education rather than their duplication.

• Both Nyerere and Carr sought to promote a link between community and the schools. The main idea was to enable the learners to apply the school knowledge in the community (Nyerere 1968a:287; Carr 1969d:16; Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.5). The community was expected to be involved in school activities.

• Nyerere and Carr held similar views with regard to the primary school phase that it should be a complete phase in itself instead of being a preparation for secondary or further education. The reason for this was to aid the school leavers to secure employment (Carr 1969:14; Nyerere 1968:280, Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7).

• Similar to Carr, Nyerere encouraged the use of foreign universities this is illustrated by statistics of students in overseas universities and those in East African universities in 1966. The enrolments were 1 823 and 819 respectively (Dolan 1969:170; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10).

DIFFERENCES
Owing to his political ideology, Nyerere differed from Blyden and Carr in the following matters:
• Different from Blyden and Carr, Nyerere introduced the idea of universal primary education as well as mass secondary education in his innovation (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7 & par. 5.2.8).

• Unlike Blyden and Carr, he introduced new ideas regarding school management due to curriculum change. It can be inferred that Blyden and Carr’s curriculum innovations fitted into existing school management without the need for drastic change (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.5).

• Unlike Blyden, Nyerere did not appropriately promote the idea of having indigenous universities as already indicated above (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5).

• He differed from Blyden in that he was concerned with primary school leavers. Hence his ideas of a complete primary school education never came forth in Blyden’s ideas (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7).

• Nyerere based his aim of education on socialism while Blyden and Carr on liberalism. As a result their emphasis on education aim varied (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2).

• Unlike Carr, Nyerere was against the use of boarding schools in secondary education because in his opinion they encouraged an alienation of the school from the society the school is supposed to serve. Nyerere thus advocated for more day schools so as to accommodate more learners (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.1 & 5.2.8).

• Blyden and Nyerere further differed with regard to their views on higher [university] education. Through this education Blyden saw the need to emphasize sound learning and development of the African in his country. And this education ought to assist in correcting the wrong interpretations of the African as made by the Europeans. On the other hand Nyerere sought the following through higher education: Clear and independent thinking, ability to analyze and solve problems, transmission and expansion of knowledge, supply of manpower, service to the society, etc. (Nyerere 1973:192-193; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10).
6. AN ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLYDEN, CARR AND NYERERE TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere towards educational innovation in Africa as discussed in the previous chapters, will now finally be analysed and evaluated. This final analysis will, however, look more deeply into the aspects embraced in the contributions of the three educational thinkers for the purpose of enhancing future contributions towards educational innovation in Africa.

6.1.1 THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AN AFRICAN AND A EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW AND EDUCATION

As it has been indicated previously (Vide Chapter 1, par. 1.10), disparity exists between the African and the European worldviews. Again, it has to be stated that such disparities are found in broad categories of psycho-behaviour, values and customs and ethos. It is, however, now necessary to analyze them in relation to educational innovation in the following fashion.

GROUPNESS (AFRICAN WORLDVIEW) AS OPPOSED TO INDIVIDUALITY (EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW)

Groupness in African cultures originating from kinship which ties each member of the African society to a common ancestry, forces him to live within the solidarity of the ancestry and because of such groupness an individual defines himself and exists as a member of the society owing everything to the ancestors. And it can further be pointed out that in African cultures man as a unique individual is less important than as link in the chain of generations (Maquet 1972:61-63). Thus viewed in relation to education it can be argued that groupness is separated from education because
education and ancestry do not converge although the two belong to the same reality, that is, African culture. This worldview is, therefore, insignificant to educational innovation.

Contrary to African groupness there exists individuality in the European culture. This worldview allows the individual to alienate himself from the group or community and to distinguish himself from the group. Providing education according to this worldview is more convenient and feasible and educational innovation can also be promoted by this worldview for individualism rather than ancestry can receive attention.

Having referred, in the foregoing paragraphs, to the advantage of individualism over the African groupness in educational innovation, it can now be argued that, Blyden and Carr were more individualistic in their innovation. This actually supposes that their innovations were more concerned with the upliftment of an African individual (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2).

Again, referring to the foregoing discussion it can be said that the Western thought which includes individualism regards society as a collection of individuals, emphasizes an individual’s activity and the logo in this regard is ‘each according to his labour and to each according to his needs’. All activities, in terms of this thought proceed from the individual to the society. (Shutte 1993:48-49; Britton 1950:425). Thus, relating Blyden and Carr’s innovations to the Western thoughts of which they bore semblance it can be argued that their innovations sought to prepare the individuals for the society hence their liberal views in innovation.

Besides the previous Western thought there is the African thought which puts the society before the individual. According to this thought all activities proceed from the collectivist African community. And people tend to work together in groups (Shutte, 1993:48-49). Working in groups in African culture can be noticed in such activities as weddings, traditional celebrations and in villages where members of the village may be expected to co-operate in groups to cultivate the chief’s farm etc. Thus in accordance with the view of African groupness, it might be desirable to stress
group participation of learners and parents in the innovation.

In addition to the foregoing differences between African groupness and European individuality it is important to point out that the absence of the conception of the group in the European worldview is illustrated by the statements, "we are, because I am, and since I am therefore we are". This denotes that an individual is central to the social space and according to this worldview man remains autonomous in his goals and roles. His success is thus determined by his talents rather than by a group. Also, his position in the society is determined by his individual efforts (Dixon 1976:58).

Noteworthy is also the fact that tribal survival to be referred to later owes its existence to African groupness. Owing to African groupness tribes are held together, that is, they inhabit a common area and share a common tradition, language, culture as well as descent. They also co-operate in activities such as group religion ceremonies towards ancestors; food growing; building a home; funerals etc. In other words African groupness is relied upon to maintain tribal solidarity (Busia 1995:209, 215). Thus with regard to intellectual and educational innovation it can be argued that groupness tend to limit the innovation process to group situations, that is, with groupness in mind it is to have least resistance. As already shown, this was done in Nyerere's educational innovation.

SAMENESS (AFRICAN WORLDVIEW) AS AGAINST UNIQUENESS (EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW)

Closely associated with groupness in the African worldview is sameness. According to sameness differences among members of the same society are restricted. This group behaviour is said to be totalitarian (Sono 1994:7). It can thus be argued that since differences between various individuals are natural and have to be recognized and catered for in education, African sameness has no room in education. And to attempt to accommodate it is to hinder educational provision. This actually suggests that sameness is an obsolete worldview in education.
Different from the African traditional societies, the European ones in their worldview consider the identification and categorization of differences between people and other objects as the first priority in dealing with human and non-human activities of the universe. Thus, the human relations and activities in European societies are dominated by differences or features separating one individual from the other. As a consequence, the human-nature relations in European societies emphasize the discriminatory-valuating behaviour (Baldwin 1985:218).

Having pointed out above that Blyden and Carr were not influenced by commonality in their innovations it can thus be indicated that instead thereof they adopted difference as a worldview. In their innovation they highlighted the fact that the Africans quite distinct from the Europeans needed education which differed from that provided by the Europeans in terms of various matters as discussed in their contributions. But Nyerere also was not an exception in adopting difference as a worldview. He acted similarly to Blyden and Carr in this respect. The whole argument, put differently, is that their innovations were based on identifying and categorising the differences between African and European people, though made implicitly and explicitly.

CO-OPERATION (AFRICAN WORLDVIEW) AS OPPOSED TO COMPETITION (EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW)

Co-operation as found in African worldview has been largely because of the environment and tribal life. The African environment has been described as warm with an over-supply of food and life’s material. Besides rendering competition for food and other resources unnecessary, the African environment offered rewards for co-operative efforts. Thus it became easy for the African to harmonize and commune with nature. On the contrary the European environment is described as harsh, hostile and bitter and thus making survival for the Europeans more difficult than that of the African. Europeans are therefore brought up in an environment which requires competition for scarce food and other essential resources including life itself (Nobles 1976:170).
Tribal life and co-operation are so intertwined that it is almost impossible to discuss one without referring to the other. Thus, co-operation existing in African traditional societies had its origin in the tribal life which has since the past sought to maintain ties between members of the society and the chief through, *inter alia*, payment of taxes, rendering military services, settling juridical disputes, joint initiation etc. (Goldman 1961:355). It can therefore be said that in tribal life co-operation is noticed in various social activities done together by members of the society.

From the foregoing outline of co-operation and competition it can be argued that being more on the European worldview side, Blyden and Carr had their educational innovations, to a large extent influenced by competition rather than by co-operation. This is demonstrated by the fact that for the survival of the relevant education in Africa they came up with new educational matters which competed against those of the European/Western education. Had educational co-operation been their worldview, hardly any completely new ideas could have been given by them for their educational innovations would be directed towards harmony with the European education. And due to co-operation Nyererer's educational innovation was mainly towards harmony with nature and fellow man.

**COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY (AFRICAN WORLDVIEW) VERSUS INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND INDEPENDENCE (EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW)**

Closely linked to the idea of communality as discussed previously, is the notion of collective responsibility which in traditional African societies is regarded as superior to individualism. African education, therefore, has to take into account the common African culture which is mainly characterised by social living in accordance with the designed social system. Such a system, it is maintained, through its status hierarchy which enforce respect for authority as well as determine and manage the human relations (Adams & Coulibaly 1985:277).

And since African societies are communal they prefer doing many things, if not all, together and are largely governed by a collective thought which calls for collective decision, collective attainment and achievement as well as collective responsibility
Added to the notion of collective responsibility is the view that man in African culture is born to live for the community and to be responsible for it. The most emphasized proverb for a social behaviour in African culture refers to the fact that a person is a person through others (Theron 1995:34-36; Junod 1978:198).

Another important fact about collective responsibility as an aspect of African worldview is that it holds members of the community responsible for the offences committed by fellow members. And according to this aspect man in African culture is forced by external pressures to maintain governance within the community which recognize common identity before the spiritual forces, or ancestors (Colson 1986:8).

Contrary to collective responsibility as a worldview, educational innovation cannot be undertaken as a collective responsibility whereby one person in a community may be held responsible for say, the implementation thereof, either correctly or incorrectly. Therefore to apply this worldview in educational innovation, in a way, presupposes to limit this process because in education one community member cannot be held liable for another's education. On this basis it can be argued that Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's educational innovations were, correctly to speak, not influenced by this worldview for it was not emphasized in their innovations. The influence is further denied because the three's educational innovation never stressed the aspects of African common culture which are, among others, collective feeling, collective personality, etc.

Unlike the African cultures, the European cultures find it important to guarantee individual rights such as the right to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness which include private work, private property or wealth in the constitution. And according to the European worldview citizens are not subordinated to the tyrannical rule (Osei 1991:179). This supposes that in European cultures the individual's rights to education are protected by the constitution. And for this reason democracy prevails in these cultures to prevent authoritarianism in education and other activities.
And failure to recognize individual rights due to the tyrannical rule may doubtlessly suggests the lack of identifying education as one of the individual rights. This in turn might hamper the need to regard educational innovation essential for such cultures may not recognize the individual's right to relevant education.

Closely related to the lack of individual rights in African worldview is the lack of independence due to the group-mind and extended family system or kinship system. Since in African culture the child is born into the extended family, his relatives and status of family members is inclined to include more than just natural parents and their immediate families as well as natural sisters and brothers. And to an extent that group-mind can influence the individual's growth and development throughout a person's life, as part thereof, the development of intellectuals to participate in educational innovation can seriously be hampered (Mjoli 1987:16).

Due to lack of independence in African worldview, the African very often depends on others around him. He may ask for assistance from neighbours and friends, particularly if there is death of the family member (Ibid. 1987:16). It may correctly be inferred that the African feels insecure and hence a feeling of dependence. This being characteristic of African worldview the lack of independence can inhibit the intellectual and educational innovation for the Africans might depend much on other cultures, especially the white one, for the innovation of their education.

SURVIVAL OF THE TRIBE (AFRICAN WORLDVIEW) AS AGAINST SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST (EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW)

Owing to the kinship structure, starting from the top with tribe and segmenting down to clans, lineages and families, Africans are keen to defend the survival of tribe. More so, because of locally-based interests which involve their tradition. Tribal survival is further ensured because there are in African traditional societies members who are culturally affiliated and strongly willing to defend the ethnocentric interests. It needs to be added that besides maintaining the tribal survival African traditional societies have to meet the challenges of modernization through adaption. And thus in African

Linked to the above view of the survival of the tribe is the Black personality because it has collective survival thrust as one of its basic characteristics. And explaining this personality further it needs to be indicated that it has the core components, namely, the African self-consciousness and the African self-extension orientation. These two components form the basic traits of 'Africanism' which has conscious as well as unconscious manifestation. To actualize African survival the former of the two components gives direction, that is, the African self-consciousness. It can also be added that central to African survival there is 'Africanism' (Baldwin 1984:180-181). It can thus be supposed that at the root of survival of the tribe there is, certainly, collective survival inclination.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion of survival of the tribe it can be argued that Nyerere's educational innovation was more of a survival of the tribe than of the fittest. This is owing to the fact that it took into account the locally-based interests found in the African family and tradition and attempted to retain them. By protecting the survival of the two aspects, that is, family and tradition, Nyerere was implicitly promoting tribal survival which, as already stated, is a collective one.

Besides the foregoing connection between Nyerere's educational innovation and tribal survival there exists another one with regard to traditional education and tribal survival. Actually, traditional education has always been oriented towards tribal life. Its aims has been to prepare learners for fuller participation in tribal life, preservation of culture of the society by isolating and teaching core cultural aspects and limiting preparation of the individual to the local conditions. Together with these it renders each tribe independent and self-sufficient (Yoloye 1985:240). From its aims it becomes evident that it is concerned with tribal survival. And a comparison between Nyerere's educational innovation and the aims of traditional education reveals a great deal of semblance because Nyerere defended tribal survival in his innovation by referring to education for self-reliance.
Blyden and Carr though according to tribal survival were culturally affiliated and had strong feelings to defend ethnocentric interests, did not manifest this in their educational innovation, as Nyerere did, that is, placing family and tradition at the centre of educational innovation. Instead they, as it appears, viewed tribal survival as depending on, first and foremost, the development of the individual's culture and interest. Hence throughout their educational innovation the concept of 'living together' hardly came forth. A further argument is that Blyden and Carr's innovations focused on the survival of the fittest and thus assuming the European worldview.

**ONE WITH NATURE (AFRICAN WORLDVIEW) AS AGAINST CONTROL OVER NATURE (EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW)**

Contrasted with each other, the African worldview and reality structure reveal the man-nature harmony which encompass inclusiveness, interdependence and totality while the European worldview and reality structure reveal dependence on basic ethos of humanity against nature which implies antagonism, conflict, aggression and competition. The former worldview has harmony at its centre which requires searching for the balances among persons, things and modalities and according to the latter view man should conquer nature (Eboh 1994:235).

The man-nature harmony referred to already, confines the African traditional societies to living in harmony with gods besides being preoccupied with attempts to return to sustainable balance with the continental ecology. Such ecology has, among others, uneven and unreliable supply of various resources as well as other problems. The said balance is not an easy task to achieve hence efforts to satisfy the basic needs from the least resources (Shaw 1991:207).

Because of the primitive thought, man in African culture seeks to be one with nature. And owing to this thought an African is influenced by his emotions. He perceives the world around him from a mystical or emotional viewpoint. This viewpoint fails him to perceive the world as he feels it. The African, thus just, participates in what occurs in the world. In addition to this he regards all the objects in the world, be it
fellow men, animals, plants and things, as fellow subjects. Expressed differently, instead of perceiving the world he communes with it. This implies that he seeks harmony with nature and to share in its life and strengths. And because of being one with nature the African always attempts to be in close contact with objects instead of keeping them at a distance, disrespecting them like Europeans do and dissecting them to arrive at factual analysis (Horton 1973:253; Senghor 1995:117-118).

The fact that in African worldview man communes with nature he seeks to co-exist with and also strengthen the most important relationships in the world and universe. Thus, man according to this worldview hardly makes a distinction between self and world, man and nature and subjects and object (Ruch & Anyanwu 1981:88). This presupposes a non-progressive existence of man which though can be implemented in educational innovation is hard to practice for it restricts innovation.

This African worldview seems to limit and disregard the educational innovation because if man is to seek harmony with nature and also identifies himself with it, he can hardly be innovative. Educational innovation in itself requires rationality rather than accepting what comes from nature (Vide Chapter 1, par. 1.9.1 & 1.10.5). Therefore with regard to Blyden and Carr it can be stated that they did not adopt the African worldview that man is one with nature to carry out their innovative ideas.

But Nyerere's educational innovation reveals a great deal of life in nature as against the rule over nature and the idea of solidarity-society (Hoffman 1993:53). This, in fact, further explains his socialistic view of educational innovation. In his innovation Nyerere therefore did not attempt to conquer the nature but rather to strengthen vital relationships existing in African culture as said earlier.

Unlike Africans, the Westerners strive for the control over nature instead of becoming one with it. They attempt to separate themselves from it while simultaneously trying to master it. It is thus ideal for the European worldview to conquer nature through science and live according to it. In other words the European worldview allows people to defy and subdue nature (Ruch & Anyanwu 1981:88; Maquet 1972:64).
As far as Blyden, Carr and Nyerere in their educational innovation were concerned, they also reflected the European worldview. This is owing to the fact that they had been able to separate themselves from the educational reality (a natural phenomenon) and attempted to master it through their scientific innovative ideas. Had they adopted the African worldview of oneness with nature they would not have brought about educational innovation for the reason of inability to distinguish between man and nature.

6.1.2 FACTORS WHICH INHIBITED THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN THE PAST

Having fully analyzed the factors which inhibited the development of the intellectual and educational innovation in the second Chapter, it is however necessary to look at the extent to which these factors still influence the said innovation today. In other words their present influence receives attention.

Establishing the correct intellectual environment in Africa to aid towards the intellectual and educational innovation is a matter which has to be pursued and, certainly, needs attention. The main components of this environment to attend to are knowledge and research. And this presupposes the use of universities (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1).

But, most of the African universities are described as severely lacking and inadequate because, among others, they restrict the free and open discussion as the basis of knowledge and research. Besides this they have over-crowded lecture halls, uncaring lecturers, horrifying conditions in many of the halls of residence etc. (Woodhouse 1988:28).

The presence of intellectual history as well as properly recorded knowledge in various fields though considerations for correcting the deformed intellectual environment, are adversely limited by the oral tradition in African cultures. And this remains an inhibiting factor towards the intellectual and educational innovation. And it needs to be pointed out that the deformity of the intellectual environment cannot completely be corrected since most of the schools in Africa in the twentieth century are under the control of churches and mission societies (Saayman 1991:29; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1).
As far as the lack of intellectual tradition in Africa is concerned it can be stated that besides
the lack of universities and the prevailing oral tradition, black scholars themselves inhibit the
African intellectual tradition. This is because they fully adopt the European traditions
(Williams 1992:43; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.3.1; Chapter 4, par. 4.4.1; Chapter 5, par. 5.3.1).
This implies that if a sound intellectual traditional that can aid in the educational innovation
is to be achieved black scholars should not neglect their intellectual tradition.

Although liberation of the oppressed and politics of fear and conformism presently have to
take another form due to political change from authoritarianism to democracy it still affects
the channelling of intellectual energy into politics and other aspects thereby affecting
intellectual and educational innovation. Various activities of democracy as a new political
order still draw and occupy intellectuals more in the political field than in the educational
matters, including innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2; Chapter 3, par. 3.3.2; Chapter 4, par.
4.3.2, Chapter 5, par. 5.3.2).

The tyrannical custom of African culture or authoritarianism stemming from the traditional
authority of the past remains unchallenged or even unnoticed and therefore likely to breed
updated authoritarianism. It thus becomes a vicious circle and in the education field
authoritarianism denies scholars access to authorities in various disciplines of study.
Therefore to a very large extent authoritarianism stifle initiative and creativity. The two last
aspects are also inhibited by the non-literary mode of thought of African culture (Halt
1982:22; Woodhouse 1988:28; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.3.3; Chapter 4, par. 4.3.3; Chapter
5, par. 5.3.3). From the intellectual and educational innovation viewpoint this inhibiting
factor remains to be contended with.

It can further be pointed out that because of the tyrannical custom of African culture, the
development of an individual's thought is hampered to such an extent that he should submit
and conform to the will of the authoritarians. In actual fact the individual's thought becomes
stifled (Kigongo 1994:76). Since the individual should exercise his free will, this being
restrained means that creativity, imagination, initiative, scientific enquiry and thinking models
are prevented to be part of intellectual and educational innovation.

Owing to the absence of scientific thinking in African culture aspects like African philosophy,
static culture and moralists tend to dominate African culture with very little, if any, contribution towards intellectual and educational innovation. This aspects do not only fail to advance innovative facts but also prevent innovation from advancing (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.3.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.3.4).

The fact that African culture has the ability to resist change actually presupposes that intellectual and educational innovation in spite of its perceived advantage, can hardly find place in this culture. And this ability can remain and hamper educational innovation continuously (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.5).

6.1.3 THE COMPLEXITIES AND CHALLENGES OF THE POST-INDUSTRIAL WORLD

Since there exists a close link between the pre- and the post-industrial worlds, it is almost impossible to analyse the complexities and challenges of the latter world without referring to the former, that is, the pre-industrial world.

In comparison with the post-industrial world, the pre-industrial world displays the lack of self-critical awareness and meaning in this world operates within the mystic range in which the individual is subordinated to collectivity. Collectivity, even of thought, is typical of African culture and it prevents a critical outlook of the world. Thus it can be stated that the pre-industrial world has a 'closed' worldview. The post-industrial world on the contrary operates an 'open' worldview because it places a high premium on reason. In this world, uniformity guaranteed by reason or myth is less important than fragmentation. It thus values heterogeneity over homogeneity and discontinuity over continuity (Degenaar 1993: 52).

From the preceding explanations of the two worlds it can be argued that the African thought can hardly cope with the challenges and complexities of the post-industrial world. More so because it operates within the mystic rather than the reasoning range (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.1).

It needs to be added that because of the primitive or pre-scientific outlook, the African thought cannot cope with the complexities and challenges of the post-industrial world which is described as technological and scientific or also called 'techno-scientific', with the two fields
namely science and technology converging and progressing close together and influencing each other. The knowledge of science and technology desired for the post-industrial world can be achieved if universities become vocationally oriented or offer more career oriented courses of study as well as plan effective transfer of technology and knowledge diffusion.

It is also necessary that universities put greater stress on research and development. Put differently university reforms should be undertaken (Peters 1994:17; Peters 1992:123-124). Thus for an African thought to meet the complexities and challenges of the said world it ought to be preoccupied with the knowledge of science and technology, a situation which is difficult or almost impossible to achieve. In other words coping properly with the complexities and challenges of the post-industrial world needs scientists and technologists. This also means that the intellectual and educational innovation should focus attention on science and technology curricula.

The existence of thinkers and scholars apart from scientists and technologists mentioned previously, is another serious consideration in an attempt to cope with the complexities and challenges of the post-industrial world. But in African thinking, especially in South Africa (SA) there is an absence of schools of thought to develop thinkers. Such schools are replaced by party programmes and ideologies. Because of the said programmes and ideologies universities are unable to turn out thinkers for they have become safe heaven for reactionaries. Scholars in SA are in minority and include a few professors such as M Ramphele, E Mphahlele, N Ndebele and others (Sono 1994:xix). From a limited available number of scholars, coping with complexities and challenges of the post-industrial world, as indicated earlier, becomes a hard task especially if it implies obtaining the scholars capable of coming up with innovative educational ideas to meet the demands of the said world.

Owing to the lack of the aforementioned knowledge in African culture, technology is forced to use uneducated labour force in the manufacturing production. And technology also, to a large extent, affects the design of school curriculum and practice (Wirth 1991:2). Thus, to assist the African in coping with the complexities and challenges of the post-industrial world, educational innovation should not neglect a shift from the theoretical to technological curriculum. This would help to improve or upgrade the African thought towards technological knowledge.
6.1.4 DISCREDITING THE CONTENT, UNIVERSALITY AND RATIONAL FACULTIES OF WESTERNIZATION

Westernization, though widely operating in some of the African countries its content, universality and rational faculties can be discredited on various reasons. The reasons for doing so might stem, among others, from the fact that the official white culture dominated and destroyed the official indigenous culture as much as it could. This occurrence led to the indigenous communities adopting and changing for themselves, the white culture. And Christianization from the white culture so believed to civilize the African can be said to have distorted his culture. It created a struggle between the forms of consciousness and ritual and apart from depriving the African communities of the old worlds, old consciousness, their social norms and shared life and their earthly possessions, Christianity degenerated into pagan Christianity (Rosenzvaig 1992:89). On this grounds Westernization therefore deserves hardly any credit for it left the African in the middle of the two cultures.

From the educational viewpoint Westernization and its aspects, that is content, universality and rational faculties can be discredited because of the fact that it brought with it education whose content, though claimed to be universal, was not in line with the existing African conditions but based on non-African background. Thus it had become necessary for the educational innovation and reform to seek ways of improving and adapting the education content in areas such as curriculum, and methods of instruction (Yoloye 1985:241).

And providing Western education as a process of Westernization could be discredited by the fact that the introduction of Western school system into Africa, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, excluded educational technology and the need for education of a certain kind for the Africans. Western education was therefore isolated from African culture but having with it Western cultural presuppositions, for example, that civilization and evangelization were to be merged and that little attention to be paid to African culture and education. And worse than this colonial missionaries attempted to destroy the pagan culture (Saayman 1991:30).

So the argument against the Western education has been its attempt to civilize the African along the European culture at the expense of the diverse African culture. Therefore, in their
educational innovations Blyden and Nyerere made remarkable efforts to fight against such Westernization (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.2).

Westernization in education can also be discredited for attempting to use the Western-type education to uplift and bring about salvation of the African while in this effort attempts were made to remake the Africans culturally as Europeans. And this was universally assumed the most advanced form of civilization. Colonialism being part of Westernization also destroyed the pre-existing social and political institutions without properly replacing them. What makes Westernization unpopular in Africa is the disturbance it caused to the coherent functioning of societies of different degrees of sophistication (Pfaff 1995:3-4).

On the basis of the preceding reasons for discrediting Westernization, it can be pointed out that Blyden, Carr and Nyerere were not indifferent to Westernization in their educational innovation. They did not fully agree with the Western education hence they criticized and objected this education with a view to replacing or improving it. It has been on these grounds that they suggested almost entirely new education aims, curricula, teaching methods, the type of education and other educational matters discussed in the relevant chapters. Their educational innovations revealed the extent to which Westernization failed to take into account African background as well as culture in planning and providing education in Africa.

And now turning to South African (SA) culture itself, Westernization can be discredited on the sound grounds that it was presented as a universalist to the people and claiming that the West should be imitated thereby indicated it was the best of all possible world. It was further deemed, through Westernization, appropriate to ignore exploit and also destroy cultures which had existed for thousand years in South Africa (Martin 1993:93). It can thus be stated that it was, though in West and East Africa, against this imitation that Blyden and Nyerere reacted in their innovations respectively. The African culture in SA was because of imitation largely undermined.

It is, however, also essential to add that, among other reasons, Westernization could be discredited for transmitting colonial values instead of the African ones through its education. In addition to this, European influence made African culture to take more of the Western science, technology and political ideas while giving up more of what belongs to it. And
Westernization went a step further to destroy the old and static traditions and customs of the African (New Nation 1991:20; Leistner 1994:224; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1.3.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3). Put differently, the African culture could not properly developed because of being undermined by Westernization which discarded most of its aspects, namely, values, traditions and customs. Hence Westernization could be discredited for failing to emerge with education which could as much as possible maintain and sustain the African culture in its entirety.

It is quite necessary to add that Westernization cannot avoid to be discredited because it is claimed to corrupt the youth and inculcate as well as emphasize the Western material values and beliefs (Morgan & Amer 1988:635). This is in a sense suppose neglecting African values without which the African can properly live.

6.1.5 THE LIBERATION OF STUDENTS FROM THE DEMANDS OF RATIONALITY, OBJECTIVITY AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Quite different from the African societies, the Western scientific societies are characterized by being rational, objective and empirical while the former societies under the direction of the African traditional thought are more emotional, subjective and lack the scientific method (Irele 1994:83; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).

According to the preceding comparison it can be pointed out that African students are not free from demands of rationality, objectivity and scientific method if they are to participate in the world universe of discourse. So to set them free from such demands African societies have to develop scientific culture (Irele 1994:84). This in other words implies transforming African traditional thought into Western scientific thought because the latter thought is more rational and objective and employs the scientific method.

Thus, to be liberated from the demands of rationality, objectivity and scientific method, students have to submit to such demands rather than attempt to move away from them. Therefore by moving together with African culture into the stream of science students can be set free from such demand because by acquiring the scientific thought the demands automatically disappear. In other words abandoning the African traditional thought is
essential for this purpose.

6.1.6 THE CLOSING OF THE AFRICAN MIND

The closing of the African mind with regard to the development of intellectual and educational innovation can to a very large extent be attributed to the less engagement of this mind in scientific thinking due to ethnophilosophy, orality, as well as the absence of the schools of thought in African thinking. The two aspects of culture, that is, ethnophilosophy and orality tend to employ more of primitive thought which requires the absence of writing (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1; par. 2.4).

As for ethnophilosophy it is maintained that it is as stiff as the principles it transmits. And although this philosophy claims to rehabilitate African cultures it does not reveal the true African thought but rather conceal it. As an aspect that closes the African mind, ethnophilosophy is regarded as sterile and consequently unable to give life to a true spirit of research (Serequeberhan 1991:191). When properly considered the intellectual and educational innovation depends on true research for its development, which in the true sense of the word, can hardly be fully conducted in African cultures because of ethnophilosophy which dominates these cultures.

It can be added that ethnophilosophy on which African cultures depend can be said to close the African mind because unlike the Western and other philosophies it is uncritical and of explanatory value. And besides this it is to a very great extent restricted to descriptions of the world of ancestors (Oguah 1995:88; Wiredu 1995:93; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.5).

The absence of the scientific tradition in African culture, truly, brings about the closing of the African mind. This is largely owing to the fact that rigorous scientific thinking in African cultures is hard to undertake due to orality or the absence of writing (Serequeberhan 1991:191; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4.1). This is in other words suggests, as said before, a minimal engagement in scientific thinking and thus a closed mind hardly contributes to the development of intellectual and educational innovation.

Turning to orality and the closing of the African mind it can be pointed out that it
concentrates on the transfer of limited knowledge contained in proverbs and other forms of orature from one generation to the next (Dzobo 1992:76; Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.1). This can be said to restrict the African mind from exploring further knowledge except that which is contained in orature. And knowledge which is passed by word of mouth is always little when compared to that which is documented. For this reasons, the closing of the African mind becomes an obstacle in the development of intellectual and educational innovation.

6.2 AN ANALYSIS OF THE AFRICAN SITUATION FROM THE WORKS OF BLYDEN, CARR AND NYERERE

The manner in which Blyden, Carr and Nyerere approached the intellectual and educational innovation has both similarities and differences, which can be looked into as follows:

6.2.1 SIMILARITIES IN APPROACH

Similarities in their approach to the intellectual and educational innovation were chiefly due to indigenization and Africanization of African education. Blyden, Carr and Nyerere had to decolonize the African minds educationally, that is, making Africans independent of imported education (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.1 & 3.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.1 & 4.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.1 & 5.4).

Due to the fact that they deemed educational matters as irrelevant to the African conditions, they applied substitution in their innovations. It is for this reason that they replaced aims of education, methods of teaching, curricula and other educational matters (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2; Chapter 4, par. 4.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2).

Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's educational innovations could be characterized by addition to the existing Western education structures. This implies that structures which did not exist before were to be added to the existing ones. To mentioned them they were, women's education (Blyden and Carr) supplementary education (Carr)
and indigenous higher education (Blyden and Nyerere). It can correctly be inferred that they were motivated by the need to have education structures which were complete and most suited to African conditions (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.7; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.6 & 4.2.8; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.10).

Restructuring was another area of similarity. According to Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's innovations educational matters had to be restructured, for example the curricula were to include more of African than of foreign subjects with view to usefulness in African societies. Another reason behind restructuring was to try and arrive at relevant education (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

6.2.2 DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH

The struggle for liberation was one of the main causes of difference in Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's educational innovation approach. Unlike the two, Nyerere was more concerned with the political liberation than the educational one. Hence his stress of the socialist ideology. Different from him, Blyden and Carr were more involved in the liberation of the mind than of man politically. On these grounds it can be argued that their approach to educational innovation had to differ to some extent. And other differences in approach between the three were owing to the differing personal life and worldviews (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.4).

Apart from the differences caused by the ideologies in approach, the aim of education to be achieved is another cause of difference. Unlike Blyden and Carr, Nyerere adopted elimination for he wanted, through his innovation, to serve the needs of the traditional African life as well as the government he established (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.1; Chapter 4, par. 4.1; Chapter 5, par. 5.1 & 5.2.1).

Unlike Blyden and Nyerere, in his approach to educational innovation, Carr focused
ON REINFORCEMENT OF THE WESTERN EDUCATION. AS A CHRISTIAN HE SUPPORTED THE BELIEF IN CHRISTIANITY (VIDE CHAPTER 4, PAR. 4.1 & 4.5).

6.2.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN OPEN AFRICAN MIND

In comparison with the 'closed' African mind previously discussed, the 'open' mind is more rational, requires literacy for its operation and lends itself to enquiry, be it scientific or non-scientific (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).

The contributions to an 'open' mind requires the intellectual and educational innovation, among others, to pay attention to the aspects of Western culture, namely, reasoning, weighing alternatives, objectivity, reflection, enquiry etc. These aspects are hardly found in African culture and can be incorporated in education through innovation of curriculum and of instruction (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.3 & 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.3; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.4 & 5.2.10).

It can thus be argued that Blyden, Carr and Nyerere contributed towards an 'open' African mind because their innovations were based on reasoned arguments and facts which to a large extent could be verified. And their innovations did not relate to the indigenous African education which belongs to a closed mind and culture.

6.2.4 AN EVALUATION OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLYDEN, CARR AND NYERERE TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

The contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere towards educational innovation will now be evaluated in terms of the criteria derived from the factors already discussed in Chapter 2. The evaluation will pay particular attention to the applicability, implementation as well as relevance to the education provided in the Republic of South Africa (RSA).

It is, however, very important to state that the Education policy investigation in the RSA will receive attention in the evaluation. This will serve to indicate the applicability of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's contributions towards educational innovation. In other words the present educational innovation in the RSA will have to be looked into in terms of the innovations...
which took place in West Africa and East Africa as proposed by the three educational thinkers.

Since there are many aspects which might have been innovated or being in the process of being innovated it will, however, suffice to look only into the aspects which have been dealt with in this thesis. Presented next is the evaluation.

CRITERION: ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AFFECTED BY THE GENERALLY DEFORMED INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT?

The implementation of Blyden's educational innovation can be argued to be limited by the general deformity of the intellectual environment. It needs to be noted that the deformity of this environment in the RSA is largely due to the educational control which includes mission, state as well as partial traditional control. Thus Blyden's innovation cannot be applied in mission schools for he was later against Christian education and preferred secular education. In other words his innovation is more appropriate in the public secular schools (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.6).

Carr's innovation still finds a wide application in mission schools in the RSA for such schools regard religion as the basis of education. And contrary to this, in secular schools it is used as a means of effecting a pass for it is easy and can boost marks or number of subjects passed.

Nyerere's innovation cannot be properly implemented in the deformed intellectual environment with so many influences. This is largely due to the fact that it is not popular because it is too traditional and grounded on African tradition. But agricultural schools are the fields which apply most of Nyerere's innovation. And in the former homelands there are such schools. Therefore his innovations is more suited to schools that specialize in agriculture and farming.
CRITERION: ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AFFECTED BY THE LACK OF INTELLECTUAL TRADITION?

Due to the lack of an intellectual tradition Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's educational innovations could not be fully adopted in the RSA. And orality, illiteracy, lack of universities and racial discrimination have been among the major hindrances for the development of the intellectual tradition and not to mention the lack of intellectuals. Without the said tradition there could be no proper implementation of the educational innovations. To start with, African cultures could make no sense out of it. Let alone applying it. Because of the lack of universities and also of the intellectuals it became difficult to disseminate information on the three's innovations for the purpose of a wider application (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1).

CRITERION: ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION PART OF THE LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED AND BEING CONFINED BY POLITICS OF FEAR AND CONFORMISM?

In so far as the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere towards the intellectual and educational innovation could be linked with liberation of the oppressed it could be asserted that their innovations have been part thereof. And the implementation of their innovations in the RSA have been restricted by politics of fear and conformism (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.2).

Intellectual and educational innovators in the RSA have therefore not been free to implement the ideas of the three, that is, Blyden, Carr and Nyerere because they had to conform to education as provided by the Nationalist government. Opposition to such education resulted in arrest or imprisonment.

It is, however, essential to point out that in the RSA, in spite of limited application,
the ideas of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere are reflected, among others, in the following areas of education: Women's education share the ideas of Blyden and Carr, secular education those of Blyden and Nyerere.

Furthermore it is important to add that in the RSA, similar to the intellectual and educational innovations of the three, that is, Blyden, Carr and Nyerere, the channelling of intellectual energy into politics prevails. Intellectuals are not solely concerned with educational matters as such but interact between education and politics.

CRITERION: ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION HINDERED BY THE TYRANNICAL CUSTOM OF AFRICAN CULTURE?

If it is considered that in the RSA, Africans adopt the tyrannical custom which mainly operates according to the non-literary mode of thought, it can be realized that the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere could hardly be promoted and implemented. This is largely owing to the fact that these aspects are non-existent in African cultures: creativity, imagination, initiative, scientific enquiry and scientific heroes. All these may assist towards the implementation of the innovative contributions (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3).

CRITERION: ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IMPAIRED BY THE ABSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING?

Despite the fact that the static African culture is characterized by a number of aspects, which are among others, strong belief in gods and spirits, adherence to customary laws and rules, the lack of ethicists and the abundance of moralists, the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere were not as a result largely impaired by these aspects. Rather than be based on these aspects their intellectual and educational innovation
were based on facts.

In other words mystical influence of the supernatural forces and moralists had no influence on their contributions. Thus it can be argued that because of being based on empirical facts their contributions allowed a great measure of scientific thinking and enquiry (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4).

CRITERION: ARE THE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION HINDERED BY THE AFRICAN CULTURE’S ABILITY TO RESIST CHANGE?

Since resistance to change in African culture mainly stems from respecting the past and attempting to keep it in act, any innovation, be it good or bad, is likely to be resisted. Therefore the contributions of Blyden, Carr which were not based on the past of the African culture, were more susceptible to resistance than those made by Nyerere because he made his to sustain the traditional African life. To return to Carr’s contributions, it can be said that the technical education he introduced was one of the areas of resistance for Africans are inclined to resist technological usherings (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.4).

CRITERION: DO THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLYDEN, CARR AND NYERERE TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA, RELATE TO THE CURRENT AND ENVISAGED EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA (RSA)?

Before evaluating the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere in terms of what is currently taking place in the RSA educational innovation, it is quite essential to indicate that the current education dispensation has been to a large extent the product of obstructed reform resulting from the investigation of the De Lange commission between 1980 and 1984 which culminated in the 1984 Act. It is also interesting to note that except the adoptions and fragmentation of the education system the
education policy remained unaltered (Nepi 1993:14).

But, to move away from such obstructed reform, investigations carried out by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) brought to light three options for education system change one of which dealt with the approaches meant to regulate and control the educational activities, namely, prescription of curriculum, regulation of teaching methods, managing certification, making education policy flexible and permissive, and allowing parents, teachers or other private interests to design the content of education programmes (Ibid. 1993:49). This approach is taken as the bases of the new envisaged RSA curriculum innovation.

Furthermore, it is, however, important to point out that the three's educational innovations were largely a reaction against the foreign and imposed colonial education which fell short of the African needs. And contrary to this, the current envisaged curriculum innovation in the RSA, apart from being a result of the reaction against the apartheid education, can in the light of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere's innovations be seen as reinforcement or rather support of foreign educational innovations. This is owing in large measure to the fact that such curriculum is borrowed from foreign countries such as Australia, Britain, Netherlands, Canada and New Zealand for use in the RSA (Govender 1997:2).

It requires to be noticed that the present curriculum innovation in the RSA involves transplanting foreign ideas into a significantly different socio-political climate than where it first originated. And since this innovation involves borrowing educational methods and techniques from the aforementioned countries because they seemed to have worked there, it is quite absolutely important to assess if they are universally applicable in the RSA. This might assist to, more or less, ascertain if the envisaged curriculum innovation may bear fruit as originally expected (Kay 1975:183; Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.1).

In spite of the fact that the envisaged curriculum innovation took two years to develop, it left out several issues unattended to which might jeopardize its implementation. One of them is massive retrenchment of the best qualified and
experienced teachers and another one concerns classes which are already too large for individualized teaching (Sapa & Stuart 1997:1-2).

And to argue the preceding obstacles further it can be indicated that schools in the RSA, especially the Black schools in the rural areas have a serious shortage of classrooms, let alone other facilities and equipment. For instance, photocopiers, overhead projectors, televisions, video recorders, sound tapes, computers and other modern teaching aids needed to support the envisaged new curriculum are not available in most of the Black schools. Thus without an adequate supply of any of these aids, rather than attempting to achieve its ends, the new curriculum might frustrate the teaching and learning needs in Black schools.

Since the envisaged curriculum expects full participation and involvement of learners through discussion, individual and group tasks, black pupils in these activities will be placed at a disadvantage, by the lack of fluency in English, inadequate background in different subject and the shortage of new textbooks as well as relevant materials (Miller 1984:301).

Now turning to the contributions of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere and the envisaged curriculum it can be argued that in spite of the fact that their contributions towards educational innovations were made some years ago, they had not fully reached the RSA or been fully recognized. This is evident by the fact that teaching in black schools is routine-based; emphasizes memorization of information for examination purpose; pupil passivity and conformity to authority (Ibid. 1984:299; Vide Chapter Vide Chapter 1, par. 1.10; Chapter 3, par. 3.2.3; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.4).

As part of the preceding routine-based teaching, rote-learning was criticized and discouraged by Blyden, Carr and Nyerere as much as it is done in the envisaged RSA curriculum. In their opinions learning by rote ought to be replaced by the emphasis on thinking, reasoning and reflection. In other words they sought to eliminate rote-learning as part of learning (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.3; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.2; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.4).
Book-learning as a method of teaching was criticized for its heavy reliance on textbooks. Blyden, Carr and Nyerere were opposed to the use of textbooks because all learning could not be confined to textbook knowledge and that the application of what appears in the books was important. Of relevance to the new curriculum in the RSA is that the use of the textbook is still discouraged though with an emphasis from teacher-centred to learner-centred approach (Vide Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4; Chapter 4, par. 4.2.5 & 4.5; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3).

Exam-driven approach was seriously criticized by Nyerere when he maintained that the learner's assessment should not be based on written examinations only but rather on other skills and knowledge acquired by learners on practical work. In this way he focused attention on the need for an assessment on an on-going bases as is envisaged in the new RSA curriculum. But, assessment on an on-going bases is criticized for not allowing the learner enough time to master the subject matter before being assessed. Therefore, the outcomes of such assessment cannot properly be used as the basis for assisting the learner. In addition to this, such assessment can hardly be applied in overcrowded black schools with an average classroom pupil ratio of 1:80 and inadequate staffing (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.6; Curriculum 2005: 1997:7).

Although active learning cannot be accepted as a traditional way of learning, in fact, it has been while passivity in learning could be associated with modern Western teaching. On this ground it can be argued that Nyerere's reverting to the traditional method of learning by doing relates much to one of the new approaches envisaged in the RSA curriculum aimed to make learners active (Vide Chapter 5, par. 5.2.3; Curriculum 2005: 1997:7).

Having, in the previous paragraphs, indicated the appropriateness of certain innovative ideas of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere to the envisaged RSA curriculum, it is necessary to add that Carr and Nyerere's proposals that education in primary school should be complete in itself, still receive attention in the RSA. It is, therefore intended in this country to provide career-oriented education in the last years of the primary school, that is, Standard 4 and 5 with view to assisting potential school leavers (Nepi 1993:43; Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7).
6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

After thoroughly analyzing the contributions of Edward Blyden, Henry Carr and Julius Nyerere, towards educational innovation in Africa, the researcher would like to make the following recommendations regarding future intellectual and educational innovation in the same country. The recommendations will, however, focus attention on these aspects: Centralization or decentralization of power, the place of the African culture and education, the inauguration of a New African Age of Reason and Education and moving into and participation in the mainstream of scientific pursuits.

6.3.1 CENTRALIZATION OR DECENTRALIZATION OF POWER

First of all it is important to point out that power which every society has can be exercised in either a centralized or decentralized manner (Grossman 1974:32-34). In the same breath intellectual and educational innovations as part of the activities in the society can be carried out in the similar manner with their advantages in mind because innovation is aimed at improvements.

The two views, that is centralized and decentralized power definitely affect the flow of innovative information and decision-making. Information in the former can flow in a top-down manner while in the latter the other way round, that is, from the bottom up (Marsh 1992:130).

Starting with centralized education innovation it can be held that this innovation has the advantages that values and interests of a certain society can be guarded and cannot be overthrown even though they may not agree with that of a large whole. Centralized educational innovation allows the priorities to be considered.

As it is planned by the head office personnel of the Department of Education this innovation has to be prescriptive on educational matters, that is, it prescribes the aim, curriculum methods, type of education and levels as well as expected standards of education. This further implies that decisions as to how to innovate education are made by educational experts for dissemination to various educational institutions (Enaohwo 1989:31).
This innovation is recommended for a number of reasons which, among others, include ensuring continuity by introducing innovation which remains for a number of years. It is also economical because it saves time, energy and funds by being efficient and easy to manage. The Department of Education is enabled to exercise control over the educational institutions which implement innovation to ensure attainment of certain goals.

Although prescribed by the Education Department itself, centralized innovation should permit a large measure of flexibility in order to minimize resistance. In other words minor adaptations should be allowed to ease implementation of the innovation.

Instead of the centralized educational innovation it is also necessary to recommend the decentralized educational innovation. This type of innovation is recommended for the reason that it allows a great measure of educational innovation freedom. According to the decentralized education innovation decisions to innovate the education systems are either taken provincially, regionally or locally rather than be imposed traditionally by the central Education Department. For example, in the RSA, the Northern Province Education Department can work out its own educational innovation or various regions within this province work out theirs or schools themselves within the various regions do it. This innovation is more institution-based for each institution, by using its own experts, innovates education according to the needs of the area concerned. Since it is satisfying for the experts to do this work, they can support educational innovation as responsible and independent persons, thus strengthening it. And they can encourage participants in the innovation, that is, learners and parents, to support the process fully.

And of another importance is to allow a free communication between Department and educational institutions affected by the innovation. This would allow positive criticism to be made or other useful inputs to be added so as to make innovation a workable venture.

It is, however, important to bear in mind that decentralized innovation requires well documented records for submission to the education Department in order to keep it informed about what goes on in the institutions under its jurisdiction. This would ease control by the Department.
6.3.2 THE PLACE OF AFRICAN CULTURE AND EDUCATION

The two aspects, namely, monoculture and cultural enclavement illustrate properly the place of African culture and education. From the analysis of African culture in terms of factors that inhibit the intellectual and educational innovation as well as the discussion of this culture's worldview it became clear that this culture is less diversified.

Thus, the place occupied by African culture in education is greatly influenced by its nature, in this regard mono and by its relation, that is, enclavement, to Western culture as explained below.

* MONOCULTURE

Regarding African culture as mono is not incidental but stems from the fact that Africans do not only have a common biological core of ancestral heritage but also that their ethics and ancestral roots are grounded in Black Africa. As a consequence Africans are of the same kind and their existence is evidenced by collective mentality of all Black people (McGee 1976:215).

Thus, taking into account the mono nature of African culture it is recommended that the intellectual and educational innovation should be approached in such a manner that it relates to this type of culture and be less varied. For example, if Africanization or indigenization is one of the aspects of innovations to be implemented, it must be equally adopted across various African populations. By so doing common demands on African educational innovation can be addressed simultaneously. This would further avoid the echoing of innovative ideas, for example, that education in primary schools should be terminal was initially proposed and implemented by Henry Carr and later echoed by Julius Nyerere and recent education systems in Nigeria as well as in South Africa. It is therefore speculated that, in future, other African countries experiencing education problems similar to those in Nigeria, Tanzania and South Africa might follow suit (Vide Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4; Chapter 5, par. 5.2.7).
CULTURAL ENCLAVEMENT

Since African cultures have for some years been dominated by the Western culture and its education a situation known as cultural enclavement came into existence and could not be avoided (Serequeberhan 1993:95). Accordingly, Western culture and education have been accorded the central place in Africa. This in actual fact presupposed a less role to be played by African culture in the development of the intellectual and educational innovation.

Owing to this cultural enclavement it is recommended that efforts be made to fully integrate the African culture in the development of the intellectual and educational innovation. This certainly places higher demands on this culture. Firstly, the culture has to be more literary and also develop intellectuals as well as the intellectual tradition (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1 & 2.3.1).

Secondly, certain aspects which dominated the African culture from the past should be completely suspended from the educational scene, for instance, being more emotional and less rational, tyrannism, reliance on beliefs and witchcraft etc. (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1 & 2.3.1).

6.3.3 THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW AFRICAN AGE OF REASON AND EDUCATION

Similar to the foregoing aspects, the inauguration of a New Age of Reason and Education cannot be left out in any educational innovation. More especially so because it is the cornerstone of intellectual and educational innovation. The inauguration of such an Age requires the development of scholars, science and rationality. And this could be emphasized in the core educational matters, namely, the aim of education, curriculum and teaching methods.

At the base of every intellectual and educational innovation there ought to be scholars, science and reasoning. Scholars as participants in the said innovation can provide new educational ideas, and from science, scientific knowledge can be employed in innovation
while rationality is required for every reasoning involved in innovation (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).

On the basis of the aforementioned facts it is recommended that the inauguration of a New Age of Reason be highlighted in the aim of education with a view to focusing the educator’s attention on the matter. Thus, among others, in the broad outlines of the new educational aims there should be phrases such as ‘to develop scholars, to develop science and rationality of the learner.’

In the same manner the curriculum should be such that its contents develops and challenges the learner’s linguistic, scientific knowledge and rational faculties. To put it more clearer, the curricular emphasis on languages and literature should ultimately turn out scholars and that on science, scientists while rationality is developed through calculations and indirect search for answers to questions on the subject matter concerned.

To link up with the aim and curriculum the methods of instruction and learning should always encourage the learner to achieve the aim. For example, turning out scholars will require a thorough language study and analysis of literature. The methods should be such that they permit this. And scientists may only be developed if the teaching of science across the curriculum allows and emphasizes experimentation. Reasoning can only be achieved if teaching is based on appropriate questioning, that is, the stress on questioning should be on the “why”? as this calls for reasons, rather than on the “what”? which simply requires the narration.

6.3.4 MOVING INTO AND PARTICIPATION IN THE MAINSTREAM OF SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS

Because of being non-scientific the African culture is said to lack science and unable to conduct scientific enquiry. Above all, it cannot satisfy the demands of the post-industrial world, referred to earlier, unless if assisted by the European culture. And furthermore, it has already been indicated that the intellectual and educational innovation in African culture is impeded by the lack of the scientific method of enquiry and scientific knowledge (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).
On the basis of the aforementioned facts it is recommended that the African culture moves into and participates in the mainstream of scientific pursuits. Such an action requires among others, the development and integration of science curricula. Such science curricula should have Mathematics and Science in their various forms as the main subjects, that is, included in the science curricula should be elementary, basic, additional and pure Mathematics and Science. And more important the said curricula should not only be developed and integrated but rather be made compulsory from primary through to higher education. Thus, apart from looking into the development and integration of the science curricula themselves, the intellectual and educational innovation should look into the provision of relevant facilities and teaching staff. It must be added that the gradual movement into and participation in the field of science should chiefly aim at turning out African scientists rather than the acquisition of science knowledge for its own sake (Lewin 1995:201, 212).

Going a bit back to the question of science curricula it is further recommended that transplanting Western science to African schools without looking into the relevance of that science to Africans, should be avoided. Therefore, moving into the mainstream of science should be accompanied by science teachers offering science relevant to African environment and conditions, that is one with immediate application to the learner’s environment. This will certainly, ensure participation in scientific pursuits (Malcolm 1984:9; Eisemon & Van Balkom 1988:106, 107; Ingle & Turner 1981:359; Aderounmu [et al.] 1988:98).

Thus, from the available science teaching corps in Africa the intellectual and educational innovation should be preoccupied with the intensive in service training programmes meant to re-orientate them in the teaching of indigenous science (Rogan 1985: 63, 71).

And furthermore, the approach to moving African culture into the mainstream of scientific pursuits should be undertaken with the view in the mind that this culture is non-scientific and dominated by all forms of reasoning which is non-scientific (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.1). For example, hunger and satisfaction thereof are not viewed scientifically. African culture only view food as something to satisfy it and not in terms of food being broken down by chemical processes to release energy to regain strength. On these grounds it is recommended that to help this culture to participate in the mainstream of scientific pursuits, various phenomena be studied beyond what they appear to be.
It is also recommended that to move African culture into and participation in the mainstream of scientific pursuits can be sped up if this culture is positively discouraged to explain various natural phenomena mystically, superstitiously and emotionally. These are regarded as major hindrances in African scientific reasoning (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2).

6.4 FINAL ASSESSMENT

From the preceding discussions it became evident that the intellectual and educational innovation is to a large extent influenced by the African and European worldviews.

As far as the former worldview is concerned it is earnestly criticized for its collective, communal or group behaviour on which most of the activities in African culture depend. Such behaviour, for instance, prevents the intellectual and educational innovation to address the individual needs which are so important for consideration in any innovation. The philosophy behind individualism in the educational innovation is chiefly to arrive at the whole which has first focused on the individual needs. By so doing the totality of the educational innovation becomes more relevant. The opposite is always true if educational innovation is approached from the viewpoint of the collective, it will fail to consider individual differences required to promote competition, independence etc. as found in the European worldview as such. Thus by breaking away from its communal behaviour, African culture can to a great measure promote intellectual and educational innovation. It is quite necessary to add that changing the man-nature relationship gradually to that of regarding nature as distinct from man can assist towards promoting the intellectual and educational innovation. The man-nature relationship is an a-logical one denying man to improve his surroundings even his education (Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.1).

While it has been necessary to criticize the African worldview and its relation to educational innovation, it is quite equally important to appreciate the European worldview for when properly adopted it can promote the intellectual and educational innovation. For example, by splitting the relationship between man and nature it is possible in this worldview to master, control and exploit nature in the same way as could be done with the education. For instance, the individual is free to compete others, to differ in opinions with the others, to ask for his educational rights, to strive for his own survival, etc. (Vide Chapter 1, par. 1.10.5).
In addition to the aforementioned worldview it needs to be stressed that central to each intellectual and educational innovation there are political, cultural and social factors which largely influence the process of innovation. And further, it is through these factors that it was brought to light that politics, culture and social life are inseparable from the intellectual and educational innovation. It was, for example, for this reason that Nyerere brought about educational innovation by basing it on politics, African culture and social life while Blyden and Carr also strove to achieve education which could meet the cultural needs as well as social life of the Africans. Of course, it is not only meeting the needs that is important but also to be guided by them towards the required educational innovation, for example the intellectual and educational innovation cannot properly be launched without properly assessing the intellectual environment, knowing the custom, the level of cultural development etc. (Vide Chapter 2, par. 2.1, 2.3; Chapter 3, par. 3.1; Chapter 4, par. 4.1; Chapter 5, par. 5.1; Chapter 6, par. 6.1.2).

Apart from the differences between the factors discussed above it is necessary for the intellectual and educational innovation to move along with the demands that arise in the post-industrial world. Otherwise the said innovation might come up with new aims, curricula, education structures, institutions, etc. which might fail to prepare the learners for the said world (Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.3).

As has already been said that culture is one of the important aspects in educational innovation, it can be pointed out that the over-emphasis of Westernization in the intellectual and educational innovation is regarded as a hindrance for it attempts, in all respects, to undermine and even replace where possible the African culture with its own values. Thus education which is not linked to its own culture achieves very little in the learner (Vide Chapter 6, par. 6.1.4).

It is very important to add to the preceding arguments that the assumed universality of Westernization is unacceptable to intellectual and educational innovation. This is owing to the fact that it effects destruction of all non-Western cultures. It humiliates people of such cultures, destroys their autonomy, undermines their custom, discredit their authorities as well as weaken their control over their own future (Von Laue 1987:265-266). Thus the danger of Westernization lies much in weakening all the support of educational innovation, namely,
the culture concerned, society and the authority.

Besides Westernization as an obstacle to the intellectual and educational innovation, the lack of scientific culture which is most basic to our present day needs can be another one (Kimmerle 1990:72). This is owing to the fact that students cannot develop the required rationality, objectivity and be able to use the scientific method. And further, their minds cannot be 'open' for they will be limited to employing traditional thought belonging to 'closed' culture.

Through similarities and differences in approaches, Blyden, Carr and Nyerere could highlight certain aspects that were neglected in the colonial education system in their respective countries. There was no other way in which this would be done except by taking into account their ideologies as well as their own worldviews.

Although the envisaged Republic of South Africa's curriculum 2005 in its approaches supports to a limited extent some of the innovative ideas of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere, it deserves criticism on a number of aspects.

The said curriculum is criticized for the principle that the learners will be able to proceed at their own pace. This, in other words implies ignoring the temporal frames of the curriculum. And by so doing the learners will not be able to master the required content before seating for the written examinations (Posner 1995:184). This will further deprive the learners of the real work practice for which work is done according to time frames rather than own pace. Development at own pace is also criticized for supporting the African worldview which is not future oriented and thus no hurry in doing anything. The pre-determination of the work pace is, therefore important to assist the learners in achieving his goals.

The principle that learners will be assessed on an on-going basis is criticized for the fact that assessment is more emphasized than the mastery of the learning content and that it is often done before the said mastery takes place. In actual fact, such assessment does not allow sufficient time for assimilation and mastery of the learning content. Therefore a true reflection of what the child really knows cannot be obtained.
Assessing each learning ability as a principle is not genuinely new for it was particularly so in the old curriculum and this could hardly be justified as the reason why learners are demotivated to learn. But, rather the lack of motivation towards learning could be ascribed to the inadequate combination of subjects towards job orientation and inability of the job market to absorb the qualified or skilled workers.

A criticism on the Outcomes-based Education (OBE) approach of curriculum 2005 concerns its critical cross-field outcomes in terms of which attention is paid to collecting organizing and analyzing information and communication or research. Such research-based teaching can be hampered, more especially in Black schools by the inability of learners to communicate in English, as said earlier, and to a large extent by the teachers’ inadequate knowledge of true research.

Thus a thorough and proper situational analysis is a precondition of the successful implementation of curriculum 2005. And central to such analysis there ought to be taken into account the differences between African culture and European culture including the differences in worldviews as they relate to the two cultures (Vide Chapter 1, par. 1.10).

And finally, it can be stated that Blyden, Carr and Nyerere having improved education in Africa through innovation thus far it is essential for further educational innovation to carry on from where they possible left rather than to reverse the whole improvements. This implies that foreign imported innovations might take African education back to where it earlier was during the time of Blyden, Carr and Nyerere, that is making it unsuited for the nation and economy.
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