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Opinion

Education and the hybridization of knowledge in Northern Nigeria: Historical perspective and contemporary implications

Umar Zubairu PhD

Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State, Nigeria.

Email: drumarzubairu@fukashere.edu.ng/umarzubairu1@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT: Historians, educationists and other scholars have been very much concerned about the nexus between education and societal development. This is because the socio-economic progress of a society is, to a great extent, influenced by the nature of its educational system. The ever-changing nature of human societies and the complex domain of world politics have thrown up challenges to the educational system. In Northern Nigeria, education has been shaped by the interplay of indigenous or traditional, Islamic and Western-style educational systems, thereby creating a unique hybridised system of knowledge. This paper accounts for the historical development and the fusion of educational systems in northern Nigeria. The objective is to demonstrate the deeply embedded in historical practices and contemporary societal changes represents a dynamic response to the region's diverse cultural, religious, and socio-economic contexts. The paper uses historical methodology couched in primary (interview and archival) and secondary (works of synthesis) sources. The findings revealed that traditional education and Islamic education have played a central role in shaping the region's intellectual heritage. However, the expansion of Western education since colonial times and its ascendency after independence not only introduced new dimensions of learning and skill development but also incorporated the traditional and Islamic knowledge, contributing to a unique hybridised educational experience. Ultimately, this hybridisation of knowledge debunks the supposed rigidity of Northern Nigeria to change an innovation and redresses the balance between the pursuit of here and that of hereafter.

Keywords: Cultures, eschatology, learning, religion, scholarship.

INTRODUCTION

Education is the most powerful agency for harnessing the resources of a nation toward social competence, economic prosperity and technological advancement as well as sustaining human development. A functional education for all constitutes a formidable fountain of hope for meaningful people-oriented development. It is the greatest investment that a society or nation can utilise for the quick and sustainable development of its economic, political, sociological and human resources (Federal Ministry of Education, 2020). The kind of development attained and sustained is determined greatly by the total of the quality, quantity and relevance of the educational system. Thus, the saying that 'nurture is as important as nature' shows

the important role of education in shaping a society. Article 26 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasises inter alia the right of every citizen to education. Nigeria, after independence, made efforts to domesticate this provision of the United Nations Organisation by declaring the Universal Basic Education. In northern Nigeria, with historically diverse systems of education: traditional, Islamic and colonial were hybridised to meet the local and global challenges. The paper investigates this process.

The history of education in Northern Nigeria has been a chequered one and of different forms: traditional, religious, and colonial systems. At the core of this evolution is the

hybridisation of knowledge, which reflects the synthesis of indigenous or traditional education, Islamic education with Western educational systems introduced during to after colonialism. This unique blending of educational practices has created a dynamic learning environment where traditional and modern modes of knowledge coexist, intersect, and sometimes conflict in the region.

Structurally, the paper starts from a conceptual clarification of the terms education and hybridisation to the exploration of the historical development of education in Northern Nigeria. It shows the complexities of the hybridisation, analysing its impact on the educational system, challenges, and prospects for sustainable development.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Historically, education has never existed in a vacuum, it has always had a social and material context. The Roman, the Greek, the Islamic, the traditional, the Christian and Western education systems all had social context. In other words, education, as a process of training and developing the mental potentials, physical knowledge, skills, and character of members to live efficiently and effectively in their environment, appeared on the historical stage to regulate and promote social and material relations in society (Fafunwa, 1982). In this regard, for a proper understanding of the nature and purposes of education in a society, the socio-economic conditions must be thoroughly studied and grasped.

In the 19th century, there were numerous socio-political entities in the Nigerian area with different socio-economic and educational systems, corresponding to their levels of development. The socio-economic systems which were in existence before colonial rule were caliphal, feudal, tributary, communal and lineage slavery. In all these formations, they had their system of education. For instance, in the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno Islamic system of education, while in many of the communal and lineage social groups, education was essentially informal, rooted in the dominant norms and ideology supportive of the formation, where there was no clear-cut educational institution with its teachers and students. The pursuit of knowledge by the pre-colonial societies via their educational systems was more certain and authentic, as there was no issue of unemployment.

When colonialism struck, the various Nigerian polities were brought together to form one polity under British rule. British started to transform Nigeria into a capitalist society. The basic project was to introduce market principles and institutions side by side with pre-capitalist systems. This re-orientation of the economic and political structures cannot be done in isolation from the educational system. However, since it is difficult to transform the Nigerian society into to capitalist one overnight and apply the capitalist or Western education, the indigenous systems of

education continue with gradual hybridisation of the traditional and capitalist knowledge. This process was further reinforced by political and administrative considerations of that time. The indirect rule system required the use of native agents and institutions, which were the products of the indigenous education system, side by side with capitalist agents in the move to transform Nigeria into a capitalist society. The triumph of the Western education system and the resistance of the Muslims in Northern Nigeria widen the scope of conflict in the region.

The tempo of capitalist transformation taking place in Nigeria after independence, as well as the consideration of indigenous knowledge, necessarily called for the expansion of the education system and the hybridisation of knowledge. The hybridisation of knowledge in Northern Nigeria is best understood as the blending of different, distinct educational systems: traditional education, Islamic education and Western education. These three systems offer different approaches to learning, content, pedagogy, and outcomes.

It should be noted that the contemporary Western secular education system is not a European invention. Its origin could be traced to the medieval period when Muslims, Christians, Jews and others co-existed and cooperated in the promotion of scholarship and education in the Middle East. Islam at this time was open to cultural imports from other civilisations. Enlightened Muslim leaders recognised that education and knowledge were critical parts of good governance and a healthy society. They gave ample support to educational development and established proto-modern universities and libraries. The fairness, justice, and tolerance of diversity led to the production of prominent scientists, thinkers and artists of all faiths served as the basic foundations for Western advances in sciences and thoughts in the later centuries (Yahaya, 2014). For instance, Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarimi (780-850) made the most enduring contribution to science by introducing the concept of zero (sifr) in mathematics (Khwarizimi al-, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2012). Also, the translation of Greek classical works of Plato and Aristotle by Muhammad ibn Rashid (1126-1198). popularly known in the West as Averroes, gave impetus to the Renaissance movement.

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Every society has a system for training, preparing and educating its young members to live happily, purposefully and serve in the society and transmit the accumulated intellectual skills, values, beliefs and attitudes of the society from one generation to another. Despite the myriad of socio-economic and political units in Northern Nigeria before the advent of Islam, they all had their system of education, which is referred to as 'traditional or indigenous education'. This system of education is without classes, walls or a grading system. Every social institution evolved

educational activities which can lead the young ones to acquire behavioural patterns, abilities and skills necessary for effective citizenship in the community in which they lived (Shulman, 2004).

This form of education, which persisted during the advent of Islamic and Western education, emphasised social responsibility, job orientation, political participation, and spiritual and moral values. The education is operated in a flexible and relevant way to the participants and the community through ceremonies, rituals, initiation, recitation and demonstration (Oyekan, 1996). With regard to the cognitive aspect of the education, the subjects included local history, geography, poetry, riddles, proverbs, story—telling and reasoning. Another feature of the traditional education was its practicality in farming, cooking, fishing, carving, smithing, pottery, house-building, weaving etc. This explains why there was no problem of unemployment. The recreational aspect included dancing, singing, racing drumming.

The education provided for a stable social order to make people live as good citizens. These made the education be integrated experience that combined physical training with character building and manual activity with intellectual training (Oyekan, 2010). It is important to note that the method of teaching might differ from one place to another due to the social, economic and geographical imperatives.

The weaknesses of the traditional education stem from the fact that the individual was not trained to challenge or change those aspects of cultural values and mores that were considered inimical to the development of the society. Also, the goal of education was geared towards meeting the basic needs of the individual within his/her restricted society. Be that as it may, there is much that the present Nigerian education system can learn from. Even by the eve of colonial conquest, there were pockets of non-Muslims communities in the region with an education system.

ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

From the 9th century, Islam penetrated the northern Nigerian area from North Africa through trade and commerce. This made the development of Islamic education possible via the introduction of literacy. By the 15th century, centres of Islamic learning, such as Katsina, Kukawa, and Kano, stood as citadels of learning (Olufemi and Gidado, 1983). Learning developed through contacts with other centres of learning in West Africa, like Gao, Jenne and Tumbuktu. With this, Islamic schools were established in many towns and villages in Northern Nigeria. Wandering proselytising catechist visited different places to preach and teach the people about Islam. One of these scholars was A-Maghili, who visited Kano and Katsina in the 15th century. He wrote a book on the obligation of princes. Other prominent Islamic scholars who visited northern Nigeria were Alkashnawi and AlShibbagi (Last, 1967). In the 17th and 18th centuries, the

area of Hausa States and Borno was overflowing with such wandering catechist teachers, and the book market was a flourishing business (Last, 1967).

The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio in 1804 led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The trio leaders of the Jihad, Usman Dan Fodio, Abdullahi Fodio and Muhammad Bello, were people of great learning. They wrote many books and pamphlets and spared their time to teach. In fact, during their time, the caliphate excelled in Sokoto, the headquarters of the Islamic learning. Caliphate, became a hub of scholarship, primarily focused on religious studies, law, philosophy, and sciences. The Qur'anic schools using Allo (wooden tablet) and Makarantar illimi (higher school) were central to this education model, where children and young adults learned the Qur'an and classical Islamic texts under the guidance of religious scholars (Taiwo, 1985). It emphasised learning through memorisation, recitation, and the interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith without concern for vocational and secular skills. Islamic scholars (Ulamas) played a key role in the transmission of knowledge, and schools (Makarantun Allo) emphasised discipline and piety. Qur'anic schools were widespread, and it was estimated that by 1913, over 19,000 Qur'anic schools with 143,000 students flourished in Northern Nigeria (Zubairu et al., 2009).

Even though the leaders of the caliphate ran their schools and embarked on fierce religious campaigns, which in themselves led to the growth and development of Islamic education in the Sokoto caliphate and Borno. education was, however, hampered by a lack of state programmes and a lack of funding. The state had not put its resources into education, but individuals and Mosques that relied on good goodwill of the people. As a result, while there were many beautifully built architectural palaces in Northern Nigeria at the eve of colonial conquest, there were no such beautifully built schools. It should be noted that it was almost about this time that education in Western Europe was publicly funded. Again, the education is limited and geared towards the study of morality, eschatology and good virtues, which was not for the improvement of the standard of living. To be learned was to be religiously versed. Education was not secularised and thus concerned mainly with eschatological studies and aspiration of the hereafter, and therefore lacked any vitality to engage the people in productive ventures in the study of science and technology that may lead to the industrial revolution. The dreaded machine gun, which was a decisive factor in the conquest of Northern Nigeria, was a by-product of a venture into other secular realms of learning, which helped the Europeans to develop its might in the middle of the 19th century.

WESTERN EDUCATION

By 1903, Northern Nigeria could be said to have come under effective British colonial rule. With this development,

the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno Empire and the pockets of non-Muslims populations were to form northern Nigeria. Following the establishment of British colonial rule, the traditional and Islamic systems of education previously pursued were marginalised by the emergence of a new form of Western (colonial) education system. However, the British were less concerned about education at this early period of their rule. The establishment of peace and security was more important to the imperial government than the welfare of the people through the instrumentality of education. The Governor of Lagos, Freeman, made it clear that education was not the priority of the colonial government. He said:

Roads must be constructed, swamps filled up, the river bank properly staked and supported to prevent its being washed away.... A good prison must be built ... to guard our prisoners from escaping. A Hospital must be erected and a powder magazine built, and eventually, we shall need some barracks for the police. Nothing has yet been undertaken by the government in the way of education owing to the want of necessary funds (Fajana, 1970).

In 1909, Hans Vischer (a.k.a. Dan Hausa), the Director of Education, started the first elementary school, which was opened in Kano, known as Nasarawa school. The need for the school was underpinned by political and administrative considerations. The graduates of the school are expected to man the elaborate indirect rule system, as well as a crop of clerks to manage commercial houses and government offices. Residents in the Provinces pressed the Emirs and Chiefs to send their sons to the Nasarawa School in Kano. Consequently, many children of the traditional ruling class were enrolled in the school (Kano Provincial Annual Report, 1915). This explains why the school was kept small and opened only to the children of the traditional elite. Later, from 1915, Native Authorities (N.A.) were directed to open schools in their area, and the trained students from the Nasarawa Kano were posted to teach in the N.A. schools (Yola provincial Annual Report, 1920).

The colonial policy of indirect rule resulted in isolating the Muslims dominated area from Christian evangelism. In the non-Muslim area, the Christian missionaries were left with the provision of education. The essence of the education provided by missionaries, according to William Boyd, was;

The Church undertook the business of education not because it regarded education as good in itself but because it found that it could not do its own proper work without giving its adherents, and especially its Clergy, as much of the formal learning as was required for the study of sacred writing and for

the performance of the religious duties... (Fafunwa, 1982).

Thus, the major aim of the mission schools was to produce school masters who were to graduate to become catechists, deacons, and priests, while Girls' schools were established to produce wives and fiancés (Ayandele, 1966). The first school to be opened by the missionaries in Northern Nigeria was CMS at Lokoja. This was followed by a Hausa Mission school in Zaria, then Bida. Other Christian denominations, like the Roman Catholic Mission, also penetrated the region and established schools (Graham, 1966). In the schools, the curriculum content was based on reading, writing and elementary arithmetic, popularly known as the 3Rs. With this Western education spread throughout Northern Nigeria, and over time, these schools began to cater to a broader population.

In contrast with Islamic and traditional education, Western education in Northern Nigeria is more formalised, structured around curricula prescribed by the government or international bodies. It is heavily influenced by British colonial educational models, which promote subjects such as English, mathematics, science, and social studies. Over time, Western education expanded to include technical and vocational training, higher education, and a broader range of subjects such as history, geography, economics, mathematics, literature and basic sciences, aimed at preparing students for participation in the global economy.

While non-Muslims quickly appreciated the value of Western education and pooled their resources to found schools, the establishment of Western education was met with stiff resistance from the Muslims in this early period. The reasons for this had been dealt with by many scholars. but it is worth adding that the mass Muslim population turned their back against Western education so as to escape its cultural indoctrination prospects (Fafunwa, 1982). It is, however, important to note that the British colonialists ignored the Islamic system of education altogether. The refusal of many Muslims to submit to Western education in spite of the visible weakness of their education and culture vis-à-vis the strength of the British colonialists caused serious security implications after independence. The British were compelled to pair the two systems of education, the secular Western education and the Islamic education, so as to dispel Muslims' scepticism about British colonialist intentions. In the Western schools, there was Arabic and Islamic studies teacher, whose presence helped to lay a sound foundation for the secularisation of the Muslim school children. To further allay the fear of the Muslims, the British imported Arab teachers from Egypt and Sudan. The hybridisation of these two systems of knowledge results in a unique educational framework. In practice, many students attend both Qur'anic schools for religious education and Westernstyle schools for secular subjects, although these systems often operate separately and sometimes even in opposition to each other. The mixing and coexistence of

Table 1. Number of	of primary schools	and enrolment in the norther	n region regions for 6 years.
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S/N	Year	No. of primary schools	No. of pupils	% increase over previous year
1	1955	25	168,521	-
2	1956	27	185,484	10.1
3	1957	27	205,769	10.9
4	1958	31	230,000	11.8
5	1959	36	250,912	9.1
6	1960	41	282,849	12.7

Table 2. Number of primary schools and enrolment in the western region regions for 6 years.

S/N	Year	No. of primary schools	No. of pupils	% increase over previous year
1	1955	71	811,432	-
2	1956	194*	908,022	11.9
3	1957	362*	982,755	8.2
4	1958	117	1,037,388	5.6
5	1959	138	1,080,303	4.1
6	1960	167	1,124,788	4.1

^{*}includes secondary schools (Sources: Digest of statistic, Federal Ministry of Education. Cited in Osokoya I.O, *History and Policy of Nigerian Education in World Perspective*, (Agodi, Ibadan, Amb publisher 1989), p.78).

these educational traditions raises important questions about how knowledge is valued, what is considered legitimate, and how these divergent systems can complement each other.

In spite of the apathy towards Western education, it is on the ascendency because it is in line with the national and global transformation of the world. The constitutional and political developments in the 1950s had impact on education in northern Nigeria. Following the increase in nationalist activities, growing political awareness and increasing public enlightenment, the elites in the region realised that education was the key to social and economic progress, without which the people could not reasonably be expected to play any meaningful role in the affairs of an independent Nigeria (Ozigi and Ocho, 1981). Thus, considerable efforts were made to develop and expand educational facilities in the north. On the advice of the exposed Muslim scholars, Arabic and Islamiyah schools modelled on the Western style began to spring up. These Islamiyah schools were first only located in urban centres like Kano, Kaduna, and Zaria, but later spread into the rural areas. The schools provided a more attractive Islamic cum secular education. With these developments, more Muslims accepted Western secular education. In comparison with the Western region of Nigeria that introduced the free Universal and Compulsory Education (UPE) scheme in 1955, it can be argued that Northern Nigeria had witnessed massive expansion in primary and Middle schools, which were later upgraded to full secondary schools. Tables 1 and 2 show the number of primary schools and enrolment in the two regions for 6 years.

The percentage increase in pupils' enrollment over the

previous year in northern Nigeria was higher than in the Western region, despite its UPE programme. This goes to show that the level of education expansion was high in the north. From 1955, significant developments in all aspects of education were witnessed. These included the upgrading of the Middle schools to full secondary schools and the merging of junior and senior primary schools. After independence, northern Nigeria witnessed a phenomenal increase in not just primary and secondary education but higher educational institutions; School of Basic and Preliminary Studies, Polytechnics, Colleges of Education and Universities, culminating in the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1976. This, however, significantly altered the educational landscape of the region.

In Northern Nigeria, the reception of Western education was shaped by the region's historical attachment to traditions and Islamic scholarship as well as the social and political influence of traditional rulers. The hybridisation of education in the region, therefore, was not a simple merging of the systems but a complex process of negotiation and adaptation in response to various socio-political pressures and opportunities.

CHALLENGES OF HYBRIDIZED EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

The inherent contradiction in the education system manifests itself strongly in the post-colonial period. While the hybridised education offers a myriad of opportunities in all domains of development, it also presents several challenges:

Unemployment problem: Western education in Nigeria was aimed at producing personnel to manage the British colonial system, which comprised the Colonial state, European trading firms, Christianity and Western culture. In other words, the 'education was for a penny'. The graduates were to work in the colonial institutions. However, the overproduction of personnel that cannot be absorbed into the system creates unemployment and unhealthy competition for a few vacancies. This later turned into an acute rivalry between the modern elites of different ethnic and religious groups scrambling for positions.

Access and inequality: Northern Nigeria has the highest number of out-of-school children in the country. This is a result of limited access. Access to both forms of education remains uneven in Northern Nigeria, while Islamic education is widespread in rural areas, Western education is often concentrated in urban centres, creating a disparity between regions. To illustrate this point further, an informant explained that there was no school in his village of Burbudu, Gombe State. The closest place to his village where a school was built is Jurara, which is about 25 kilometres away.1 These Muslim children who were deprived of Western Education suffer serious problems. They are excluded from participation in contemporary socio-economic activities. Furthermore, socio-economic factors, such as poverty and gender discrimination, limit the ability of many families to afford formal Western education. The result is a bifurcated educational system. where some students have access to both knowledge systems, while others remain excluded from one or both. This crisis transcends education and infiltrates politics and the everyday life of the contemporary Northern Nigerian. The restive, teeming Muslims without Western education but Islamic education wish to overthrow the system that denied them opportunities, hence, the Sharia, Maitasine and Boko Haram crises.

Gender disparity: Gender disparity development requires the wholesome participation of all in society. Gender inequality remains a persistent issue in Northern Nigeria's education system. Customs and traditions of the people often place more emphasis on the education of males, with girls' education being seen as less important or secondary. Although Western education has made strides in increasing female enrollment, cultural norms and religious beliefs sometimes limit women's access to formal education. Cases of drop out are more common among the female gender as a result of early marriage or poverty. One of the informants claimed that she dropped out of school in SS1 and got married.² Although cases of drop out for marriage purposes are more common among the Muslim communities, it is also found among the non-

hybridisation of knowledge, as it perpetuates imbalances in educational outcomes and access to opportunities.

Curriculum reform and Pedagogical innovation:

Muslims.3 This issue has serious implications for the

Another challenge is the integration of these three educational systems into a cohesive curriculum that respects the values of traditions of the people. Efforts to blend traditional, Islamic and Western education often fragmented, compartmentalised learning experiences, where students may struggle to connect the lessons from all the systems. Additionally, pedagogical methods from the traditional and Islamic systems differ significantly, with Western education emphasising critical thinking, problem solving, student-centred approaches and inquiry-based learning, while Islamic education tends to focus more on memorisation, inculcation of morality, harsh drilling and teacher-centred approaches. This divergence in teaching styles can complicate the development of an integrated and secularised or modernised educational approach.

PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Despite these challenges, the hybridisation of knowledge in Northern Nigeria holds significant potential for educational reform and development.

Cultural preservation and globalisation: The coexistence of Islamic and Western knowledge systems offers an opportunity to preserve and promote the region's cultural heritage while preparing students for participation in the global economy. The hybridised system can bridge the gap between local knowledge and global demands. fostering an educational environment that respects indigenous traditions while embracing modern advancements in science, technology, and commerce.

Conversion of Kur'anic schools: The government needs the court to support the Kur'anic school teachers and community leaders to convert all the schools into modern primary schools. This move was initiated during the Jonathan regime but was later abandoned. The new administration needs to revisit and resuscitate it.

Inclusive education: A hybridised educational system has the potential to be more inclusive by integrating vocational, technical, and entrepreneurial education alongside traditional academic subjects. By embracing both Islamic and Western knowledge, education in Northern Nigeria could address diverse learning needs and create opportunities for skills development that can empower students, particularly in rural areas and among marginalised communities.

 $^{^{1} \}text{Interview}$ with Ahmad Muhammad, an Almajiri, aged 16 at Kashere, on 15/01/2025

² Interview with Astajam Bakari House wife, aged 27 at Moniga, Fufore

local government, Adamawa State 19/12/2024

³ Interview with Dooshima James, House wife, aged 40 at Abuwa, Buruku local government, Benue State on 30/12/2024

Policy and institutional support: Successful hybridisation will require deliberate policy and institutional support. Governments, religious leaders, and educational institutions must collaborate to create an integrated curriculum that combines the strengths of both knowledge systems. This includes ensuring that teacher training programs incorporate both Islamic and Western pedagogies, and that curricula are designed to foster critical thinking, creativity, and problem-solving while honouring religious and cultural values.

CONCLUSION

As demonstrated in the paper, northern Nigeria had their systems of education which were functional and effective before colonialism. The hybridisation of knowledge, which started during the colonial rule, is a dynamic and complex phenomenon, characterised by a complex interplay of traditional, Islamic, colonial and modernity. It represents a worthwhile attempt to reform the system of education in northern Nigeria for an inclusive and diverse educational framework that not only respects both local traditions and global educational standards but is also responsive to scientific and technological development.

Nonetheless, hybridisation of knowledge in northern Nigeria is facing significant challenges. Whereas access, gender disparity, and curricular integration stated above remain the crucial challenges, diversifying where to learn from is important. The contemporary situation is where the system only learns from Euro-America and tries to catch up. The educational prepping for the hybridisation of knowledge has been subjected to creating intellectual dependency. Learning should be from other parts of the world, especially those with similar historical experiences. For instance, the region can learn a lot from India, which used the informal sector to address its high unemployment rates and low productivity. Again, inclusive policies, innovative pedagogies, and a commitment to traditions, cultural and educational diversity will be essential to ensuring that Northern Nigeria's educational system can give strength, security, purpose and meaning to effectively meet the needs and aspirations of its population in an increasingly globalised world. Doubtless, the hybridisation of knowledge as is done in Northern Nigeria remains crucial to the socio-cultural preservation and educational modernisation, but it must at the same time take into account its challenges and address them.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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