



Trends in the Development of University Education in Nigeria: Colonial and Post-Colonial Perspectives

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Abstract. Trends in the development of university education in Nigeria revealed limited efforts by both the missionaries and the colonial authority that pioneered modern education in Nigeria. However, since independence; there has been a gradual increase in the number of universities, their programmes and spread, as a result of the establishment of state, federal and privately owned universities. The objective of this study is to chronicle how we have come to where we are in the development of University education in Nigeria, bothering on the issues of quantity and quality outcomes. Historical research design was adopted with both primary and secondary sources of data and largely depended on documentary analysis. The findings showed that quantitatively, universities are growing rapidly, even becoming a regular attribute under successive governments. While this expansion is commendable, the attainment of quality and production of adequate manpower in critical facets of the nation's need is less desirable, in fact, has not been achieved. Findings further revealed that the astronomical increase of these institutions in the twenty-first century is not spared of inadequacies in staff needs, state of the art facilities and equipment, staff and students' welfare and other challenges; including drop in quality of graduates churned out, unemployment after school, poor funding, lecturers' agitations, indiscriminate proliferation of universities, brain drain, capital flight etc. It is therefore recommended that a positive political will is needed to change the inadequacies in the system for quality university education, in consonance with global best practices.

Keywords: Trends, Development, University Education, Colonial and Post-Colonial Perspectives.

1. Introduction

It is a wrong assertion or a deluding conclusion, particularly coming from the West; that African had no education before the advent of European colonialists or the Christian missionaries. This insinuation from the West had been dispelled by the Nigerian scholars like Fafunwa (1974), Osokoya (1989), Kosemani and Okorosaye-Orubite (2002) and others who maintain that in pre-colonial Africa, people lived successfully and had a way of passing their customs, values, norms and tradition down the generations, as its culture. This is the education that African had and was highly valued; because it served the need of their traditional society for peaceful co-existence, individual and communal progress, moral, intellectual, social and economic development experienced then, and this education has not departed our African traditional societies of today. Also, the relevance of the traditional form of education in the contemporary society cannot be treated with a wave of hand.

Nigeria as an African country also pursued and promoted this education which Abdulrahman (2014) describes as education that is indigenous to the people and communities where it is given for generational experience, hence, referred as traditional education. It is good to mention, as noted in the classification of Taiwo (1980), indicating the existence of education for special occupation in the traditional education. The education for special occupation is that which is received through initiation and induction e.g. witchcraft, sorcery, palm-reading, fortunetelling, priesthood, traditional medicine etc. This is the higher level of education in the traditional life, which is professional and characterized with specialisations, as listed.

Significantly, the coming of the Europeans actually changed the narratives, when education that involves reading and writing was introduced through the Christian Missionaries, first in the year 1515 at the palace of Oba of Benin by the Catholic Portuguese who joined in the explorers' journey than to Africa on the expedition to what is now known as Nigeria 1472. The Christian missionaries were the first Nigerian educators in the formal sense (Okorosaye-Orubite, 2002). This assertion is explained with the efforts of the different missionaries who pioneered formal Western education in Nigeria from 1842 down the line. Wesleyan Methodist arrival at Badagry on the 24th of September 1842 and the establishment of the first primary school in 1843, named Nursery of Infant Church. Subsequently, the Church Missionary Society (CMS, now known as the Anglican Church initially arrived on the 19th December, 1842 for evangelical survey and the eventual commencement of missionary activities in 1846 with the establishment of boys and girls' schools, and later the birth of the first secondary school in Nigeria in 1859 (Fafunwa, 1974; Osokoya, 1995; Kosemani & Okorosaye-Orubite, 2002; Abiri & Jekayinfa, 2010).

In the colonial Nigeria, there were many other missionaries whose efforts added to pioneering education in Nigeria. Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1846; the Southern Baptist Convention in 1850, established a school at Ijaiye in 1853 and another one in Ogbomosho in 1855; Roman Catholic in 1868 with Padre Anthonio (Abdulrahman, 2014). In spite of the commendable efforts of the Christian missionaries at pioneering education in Nigeria, their activities were limited to the establishment of primary and secondary schools only. No attempt was made at the higher level of education.

Apart from the Missionaries, the colonial government is important in this historical account, though, the main and initial intention of colonial administrators according to Osokoya (1995), was for politics, trades/commerce and military. Educationally, the first colonial intervention came in the form of grants-in-aid at various times in 1872 and 1877 to the tunes of £30 and £200 respectively. The public outcry which persisted on the ways and manners the missionaries were dishing out education, informed why the colonial government began the promulgation of Education Ordinance, first in 1882, and later in 1887, 1916, 1926 etc. The pragmatic involvement in educational development can be reported of the establishment of the first government primary school, following the 1895 protest by the Muslims in Lagos and the eventual establishment of a primary school at

Asogbon (Lagos Island) in 1899. In the establishment of secondary school, the first government (colonial) secondary school in Nigeria was the Kings College founded in 1909 and later the Queens College in 1927, both in Lagos.

1.1 Need for University Education

Since education has been regarded nationally and by the policy provision of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2014) as an instrument par excellence for effecting national development; then, university plays significant roles in actualising this, with array of academic programmes and courses offered in the academic and professional areas of Humanities, Medicine, Law, Journalism, Banking and Finance, Engineering and Technology, Safety and Security, Agriculture, information and communication as well as the field of education itself; where teachers are raised as architect of nation building. It is good to note that universities engage in research as a primary requirement and through these researches that many breakthroughs and discoveries are made for survival of man and sustainability of the society.

It is based on the recognition of the relevance and importance of university education that, at various times in the history of Nigeria; university education continues to be featured attention in the administration of governments, fairly during the colonial era and impressively at the post-colonial era; where both the military and civilian governments at federal and state levels came to the realisation that development of the post-colonial Nigeria could be accelerated through university education, hence, the establishment of universities at different times of nation building.

In view of the foregoing, it is obvious, crystal clear and very definite that efforts of the missionaries did not go beyond primary and secondary levels and the colonial government's involvement in pioneering and developing education was initially with an unwilling disposition. However, agitations from the educated elites became an instrument that aided the emergence and development of higher education in Nigeria. Therefore, in this study; state of university education, with series of universities being established are captured and spatially rendered with their trajectories in the Colonial and Post-Colonial (Military regime and Civilian/Democratic Dispensation) eras.

Missionaries and the colonial government did not dabble into the provision of higher education. The colonial government was even not originally concerned about provision of education, but when the

government came on board, only primary and secondary level were the only areas of attention. The need for higher education has been realized as tool that for human capacity development for the individual and fulfilling the manpower needs of the country. Many Nigerians had received higher education abroad and had theirs through correspondence, equipping them with different professional skills. On the other hand, the colonial administration was lackadaisical about the provision of higher education for the Nigerians, as they believed that provision of higher education would bequeath the natives with the effrontery to challenge the colonial authority. The pressure and agitations mounted on the authority eventually yielded the results that marked the beginning of higher education in Nigeria. When this happened, it was good for the country, as the birth of higher education resulted in development for the country, from human development, production of manpower, infrastructural development, and ground breaking discovery through research. Unfortunately, and over the years; things have started taking different turn and falling apart like the Umuofia village in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. Different manifestations and ugly consequences are now emerging. These call for concern and attention to nib all of these ugly trends in the bud.

1.2 Emergence of Higher Educational Institutions in the colonial Nigeria, before 1960.

The Independence of Nigeria came in the late 1960, but before this period, higher educational institutions had emerged. This emergence has its stories, with all that unfolded as agitations and dispositions from the natives and the colonial administration respectively. Desire for higher institutions is synonymous to development of the societies, no exception to Nigeria.

1.2.1 Historical Beginning of Higher Education in Nigeria

Development of higher education in Nigeria came within the pre-independence period (colonial era). The desire of natives for University in West Africa and indeed Nigeria was highly exhibited for over a century before it finally became a reality. It is, however, on record that some Africans; including Nigerians had had some sorts of higher education, but not on the African soil. As revealed in Fafunwa (1974), Samuel Ajayi Crowther was one of such early receivers of higher education when he was sold into slavery. Quite a number of other Africans were equally opportune to receive higher education abroad. Other early receivers of higher education before the

establishment of University College, Ibadan were the first set of graduates of the University of London as external students in 1927 such as Odukoya Ajayi, Alvan Ikoku, J. S. Ogunlesi, S. A. Banjo and A. T. O. Odunsi (Omolewa, 2012). Also from 1930, Eastern Nigeria followed, but concentrated much energy on sending students to the United States for education. Another set of people became a generation that later constituted themselves as African nationalists and elites, in the agitation for better deals for the Africans and their education.

Aside from the existing secondary schools by the missionaries, voluntary agencies and those established by the colonial government, particularly the Kings College Lagos, established in 1909 and the Queen's College, also in Lagos in 1927, as well as other regional Governments' Colleges (secondary schools) such as Barewa College, Zaria in 1921; Government College at Ibadan, 1929 and Government College Umuahia; there was no education above secondary education in Nigeria. Following the pressures and agitations from Nigerian elites, the colonial administration was compelled to provide for further education; slightly above secondary education (post-secondary) which Osokoya (1989), Kosemani and Okorosaye-Orubite (1995) and Fafunwa (1974) informed, were created as further professional education centres; slightly above secondary schools in some government departments and parastatals like Agriculture and Railway. These post-secondary schools were the Central Agricultural Research Stations (CARS), established at Moor Plantation, Ibadan and another one at Samaru in Zaria. So also, the centre for Veterinary Medicine was sited at Vom in Jos and the Nigerian Railway Corporation's workshop in Lagos designated as the centre for engineering training; all providing sub-professional training for Nigerians before 1930s.

Significantly, the increasing awareness of few educated Nigerians (the elites) who felt very dissatisfied with the ridiculous reduction of Nigerians to the establishment of post-secondary centres, instead of higher institution, led to the criticisms and serious agitations which forced the Nigerian colonial government to consider the need for higher educational institution in Nigeria. This was eventually provided, to pacify the nationalists or pacify Nigerians who for so long had desired higher education in their native land.

With the merger of the two education departments of Northern and Southern Nigeria as one in 1929, Sir Eric R. J. Hussey, formerly the Director of Education in Uganda, who in 1925 established Makerere Higher

College in 1925 was redeployed and became the first Nigeria's Director of Education in 1929. Swiftly and in 1930, Hussey proposed three levels of education for Nigeria, just like he did in Uganda. Osokoya (1989:72) considers Hussey's proposal as that which provided a prototype of Makerere in structure and operation. This proposal therefore focused on the establishment of:

Primary level which should be six (6) years, replacing the initial eight (8) with local language as the medium of instruction. The curriculum was to include Agriculture, Hygiene, handicraft and interest in the local environment.

Secondary level which should also be for six (6) years and after which they can search for employment in any fields.

Vocational higher education level that vocational courses are to be provided and to ultimately grow to the British standard of university.

1.3 The Birth of Yaba Higher College

Following Hussey's proposal to the Nigerian parliament in 1930, eventually Yaba College was established in 1932. Yaba Higher College was the first Nigerian institution that provided higher education to train Nigerians as qualified personnel and provided the middle level manpower in the fields of medicine, engineering, teacher training, agriculture, forestry, commerce, veterinary medicine and survey. Yaba Higher College was officially opened in 1934, but admitted, accommodated its students and started academics first in 1932 at Kings College in Lagos; as a temporary campus. By the 1934 official opening of the College, students were already in their first, second and third years.

The establishment of Yaba Higher College was vehemently criticized and condemned by the Nigerians who preferred a university to the college. The reasons advanced for these criticisms and rejection were given that:

- The nationalists found the curriculum of the college too narrow, inferior to and incapable of meeting the needs of the country,
- The certificate of the college had no recognition outside Nigeria and
- The certificate only qualified Nigerians as junior staff and assistants in the colonial civil service.

With all the criticisms, Government turned deaf ears. Yaba Higher College existed for fifteen years and churned out a number of educated Nigerians who became ripe for administrative and technical positions in the Nigerian civil service as at

independence in 1960. However and despite the long period of the College's existence, the nationalists did not relent in their agitation for a university. To this extent, Colonial Government was forced to set up two distinct commissions on the prospect for the establishment of universities in British colonies and specifically in Nigeria. The Asquith and Elliot Commissions were set up in 1943.

1.4 The 1943 Commissions on Higher Education

Two different commissions were established in the colonial Africa, to actualize the establishment of universities in the British colonial territories of Africa. The Asquith Commission was set up, focusing on the whole colonial territories in Africa while the Elliot's was for the West African sub-region.

1.5 Asquith's Commission

This commission was set up to consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning, research and development of universities in the colonies; and to explore means by which UK universities and other appropriate bodies can cooperate to bring the principles to achievable ends. The Commission recommended among others, that universities should be established as soon as possible in areas not served by an existing one and should begin as University College.

1.6 Elliot's Commission

For the aggressiveness of elites in West Africa, Elliot's commission was set up in 1943, but earlier before Asquith; in response to the criticisms from West Africa, for the colonial restriction of the Africans in participating in the affairs of their own countries. The commission was set up to assess and report on the organisation and facilities of existing centres of higher education in British West Africa. Consequently, the commission was to recommend on the future development of universities in the areas.

The urgent need and development of university in West Africa was unanimously agreed by all the members. However, there were two shades of opinion on the reports of the Elliot's commission which were submitted as majority and minority reports, thus:

The majority report had it that three university colleges should be established— one in Nigeria to include faculties of arts, science and professional schools of medicine, agriculture, forestry, animal health and teacher training courses. The second university college was to be cited in Gold Coast with

faculties of arts, science and institute of education. The third was designated for Sierra Leone with courses in arts and science, as well as intermediate level and teacher training course. On the other hand, the minority report contrarily recommended for the immediate establishment of only one university for the whole of West Africa which should be named West African University and to be located in Ibadan. It however recommended territorial Colleges for Sierra Leone and Gambia. It was upon the reports that British Parliament quickly deliberated on the Asquith Report and implemented the recommendations. However, the Elliot report waited for a year before any action was taken on it. Even then, it was another set of proposals which the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent to the Governors of the West African colonies. The proposals were along the lines of the minority report.

In this regard, it became obvious that the Colonial Secretary was indeed inclined and disposed to his earlier announcement to implement the recommendations of the minority report that favoured only one university to serve the whole of West Africa which Arthur Creech Jones, a former member of the Elliot's Minority Report who, despite protests had signed for only one university in the entire West Africa. Creech Jones was appointed the Under Secretary for the Colonies, following the July 1945 General Elections in the United Kingdom which his party, the Labour party won. According to Okorosaye-Orubite (2017), this was what the British officials in Nigeria saw as another opportunity to stall the development of university education in West Africa by pressing for the implementation of the recommendations of the minority report. This was however, met with resistance from the elites, including the NUT under Rev. I.O. Ransome-Kuti who was a signatory to the majority report, requested for more than one University College in Nigeria because of its size, population and Cambridge School Certificate successes

With the resistance and oppositions by the African elites, the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies which was earlier instituted in March 1946, based on the recommendations of the Asquith Commission, sent a delegation to West Africa headed by Sir William Hamilton-Fyfe in December 1946. The delegation was to report on whether there should be only one university college or more. The Inter-University Council Memorandum on Higher Education in West Africa in 1947 and Secretary of States' Despatch of 16th August, 1947 on Higher Education in West Africa considered the resolve and willingness of the

Gold Coast Legislative Council, backed with readiness to fund both the capital and recurrent expenditures for the desired university college, soon as approval is given. Consequently, Hamilton-Fyfe's delegation recommended that a university college be established in the Gold Coast to be funded mostly from territorial funds. This, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones accepted and subsequently the University Colleges of Ibadan and Legon were established in 1948.

Immediately, the sum of £1,500,000 was made available from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for starting the University College, Ibadan; and earlier in May 1947, Dr. Kenneth Mellanby appointed principal designate (Fafunwa, 1974 and Okorosaye-Orubite, 2017).

1.7 The Birth of a University – The University College, Ibadan.

The resistances and oppositions from all angles to the implementation of minority report, of establishing only one University to serve the whole of West Africa culminated in the establishment of University Colleges in Ibadan (Nigeria) and Legon (Ghana) in 1948. For the University College in Ibadan, an approval was granted for the transfer of about 104 students of Yaba Higher College to form the foundation students of the new university. Dr. Kenneth Mellanby was appointed the first principal of the University College Ibadan.

For a very long time that Nigeria longed for the establishment of a university and that eventually one was established. One would have expected it according to Kosemani and Okorosaye-Orubite (1995) that Nigerians would see the establishment of University College Ibadan as a welcome development, but no sooner than its establishment than the general public and the press were antagonistic to this new university that the very first five years were characterised with criticisms and agitations for full university and not University College.

There were a lot of discriminations in the staff strength, condition of service, students' enrolment and admission policy, so also the curriculum was British-oriented. Between 1948 and 1949, the university had forty expatriates and six Africans. From this period till 1953, the number of expatriates increased to eighty-one while that of Africans remained stagnated at six. Also, from 1952 to 1962, the certificates issued to University College's graduates were similar to those given to private

candidates who sat for London University Exams. Persistent criticisms of the discriminatory posture of the whites and other allegations signaled the necessity of transforming the University College into a full fledged university.

In addition to the above, Okafor (1971:93-97) points out that the most constructive and lucid discussions of the university college by a Nigerian political party was “the Action Group policy paper on Higher education in Nigeria 1958”. He further explained the four serious defects of the college as put forward by Action Group Policy paper, thus:

- That the University College was completely residential and this made university education rigidly exclusive
- That the academic orientation of the college was wrong. This, the paper explained to mean “the allocation of priorities to certain faculties at the expense of others and the emphasis placed on certain courses in relation to others” while Christian Religious Knowledge was introduced right from the beginning, Islamic and Arabic Studies were not offered. Arts, pure Science, Agricultural Science and Medicine were allocated high priorities while it took the college eight years to introduce education, law, economic, engineering, geology, archaeology, anthropology, sociology and forestry. Public administration and philosophy were not available as at 1958.
- The relationship between technology and university education was poor.

The paper explained that integrating potential of higher education was not utilized by the college authority. For example, in the 1957/58 academic session of 746 students enrolled in the college, only about 15 were from Northern Nigeria, yet the Northern region provided more than half of the nation’s population.

1.8 Ashby Commission (April, 1959-September, 1960)

The Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education, other wise and popularly known as Ashby Commission was the first Nigeria’s Commission set up in April, 1959 on Higher Education; to specifically investigate and recommend to the government, among others, on the needs for higher education in Nigeria. The nine-man commission was set up by the Federal Minister of Education composed of three members each from Nigeria, Britain and America. The commission's report was so comprehensive that it embraced the

secondary, technical, commercial, veterinary and higher education needs of Nigeria. It also projected the manpower needs of the country up to the 1980's and worked out effective strategies for realising such through the various levels of our education (NOUN, 2011). In the Government’s White Paper on the Ashby’s Commissions Report, it emphasized among others: (1) concentrating higher education in university institutions through the provision of degree courses suited to Nigerian needs. (2) All universities should be national in outlook and unnecessary duplication of expensive course should be avoided, and etc.

2. Characteristics of Higher Education in the Post-Colonial (Civilian) Dispensation

The period of first civilian administration or put as the first republic spanning the period that started from independence and beyond. In a precise estimation, this was a very short lasting period of civilian regime that was witnessed after independence. It was a period which began in 1960 and truncated by the military coup that consumed a number of first generation Nigerian politicians. However, it was concluded by Okorosaye-Orubite (2017) that as short as the period was, some meaningful progress and achievements were made, particularly in the area of university education.

The emergence of full-fledged and autonomous universities which constitute the Nigeria’s first generation universities established, following the findings and recommendations of the Ashby Commission, contained in its report submitted a month before independence in 1960 which facilitated the establishment of additional universities in Nigeria, that is, from one in 1948 to five by 1962.

2.1 Independence University - University of Nigeria, Nsukka

The report of Ashby Commission was submitted in October 1960; few weeks before the opening of University of Nigeria Nsukka. Soon after independence, precisely on 7th October, 1960, University of Nigeria, Nsukka was formally opened as the first Nigerian autonomous and full-fledged university; patterned in line with American orientation. Subsequently, 3 other universities were established and University College Ibadan upgraded to a fully autonomous University alongside University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Ile Ife, 1962; Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1962 and University of Lagos, Lagos, 1962.

Table 1: The Nigeria’s First Generation Universities

S/N	University	Ownership	Location	Year Established
1	University of Ibadan	Colonial Government/Central	Ibadan	1948
2	University of Nigeria	Eastern Region	Nsukka	1960
3	University of Ife, (now Obafemi Awolowo University),	Western Region	Ile Ife	1962
4	Ahmadu Bello University	Northern Region	Zaria	1962
5	University of Lagos	Federal Government	Lagos	1962

Source: Authors’ compilation

2.3 Military Era – Post 1966

This is also a Post-Independence period when the military government took the mantle of ruling the country. This period in the educational life of Nigeria witnessed some level of educational development as regards university education.

University of Benin (UNIBEN) was later on established in 1970 which according to Gabriel (2004), it was established as Mid-West Institute of Technology and named University of Benin in 1972 with an amendment of the Institute Edict, making it a new regional university. It should be noted, as reported in Abdulrahman (2014) that: Edict No. 3 of 1st July 1971 by the State Government to gave it a legal backing as University. The then visitor and Military Governor of Mid-western State, Col. Samuel O. Ogbemudia in his *Budget Speech* in April 1972, formally announced the change of the name of the Institute of Technology to the University of Benin.

This no doubt gave a sense of belonging to the new region. The birth of Uniben was midwived by the Oregon State University in the United States and with her foundation staff which included 3 seconded staff of Oregon State University, namely – Prof. Glen Philips, Prof. John Harris and one other expatriate (Abdulrahman, 2014). Eventually on 1 April 1975, University of Benin was voluntarily handed over to the Federal Government and University of Benin became a Federal University; to level up the number of first generation Universities in Nigeria.

2.4 The Second Generation Universities

The influence of oil boom in the economy of Nigeria within the period 1970 to 1975 definitely rubbed on university development in various ways; For example, educational assistance in form of scholarships award for courses tenable in Nigerian Universities was given to citizens of other African countries, particularly those from the frontline states of Southern Africa. About fifty Namibian students benefited in 1975 and two Hausa lecturers were seconded to Algeria in 1973: Although Adebayo in Gabriel (2004) sees this aid as Gowon's attempt to launch Nigeria into African affairs; as it was an opportunity for Nigerian universities to produce the much desired indigenous manpower for other African States. The preparation of the Third National Development Plan document in 1972 for the period between 1975 to 1980 as the third phase of Government’s development plan in the country which was midwived by the Federal Ministry of Economic Development (The Central Planning Office), published in 1974. This National Development Plan gave Nigeria seven new Federal Universities, as shown in the table below:

Table 2: List of Second Generation Universities

S/N	Institution	Year	Status	Administrator	Designation
1.	University College, Port Harcourt	1975	University College of University of Lagos	Prof. Donald E. U Ekong	Principal
2.	University College, Ilorin	1975	University College of University of Ibadan	Prof. Oladipo. O. Akinkugbe	Principal
3.	University College, Kano	1975	University College of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria	Dr. Mahmud Tukur	Principal
4.	University of Calabar	1975	Autonomous	Prof. E. A. Ayandele	Vice Chancellor
5.	University of Jos	1975	Autonomous	Prof. E. O. Onuaguluchi	Vice Chancellor
6.	University of Maiduguri	1975	Autonomous	Prof. E. U. Essien-Udom	Vice Chancellor
7.	University of Sokoto	1975	Autonomous	Prof. S. A. S. Galandaci	Vice Chancellor

Source: From Federal Ministry of Economic Development,1974; Fafunwa, 1974; Osokoya, 1989 and Kosemani & Okorosaye-Orubite, 1995 and Abdulrahman, 2014.

2.5 Civilian Era, 1979 – 1983 (2nd Republic)

The period of civilian administration that was ushered in through the 1979 general election and the evolution of 1979 Constitution combined to produce the period regarded in the Nigerian context as the Second Republic. The introduction of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria heaved a sigh of relief and further favoured the development of university education in Nigeria; ultimately spurring State Government's Involvement from 1979-1984.

2.6 Emergence of State-Owned Universities

All the first and second generations' universities became Federal Government owned since 1975 under the federalization arrangement and constitutional dictate, as enshrined in the Exclusive Legislative list. However, the coming into effect of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria transferred University education from Exclusive List (of only federal legislation) to Concurrent List (of both federal and states' legislation); the states immediately began to utilise this constitutional opportunity to establish their own Universities. The involvement of the State Governments in the establishment of universities in the country was pioneered by the old Rivers State Government with the establishment of Rivers State University of Science and Technology. Other States of the federation which did not exclude the then Bendel State University, Imo State University, then Ondo State University, and others in Ogun, old Cross River, old Anambra, and Lagos States joined in the establishment of university institutions from 1979.

2.7 Federal Government's Specialised Universities 1980 – 1982 and the Reforms of 1984 -1988

The realisation and need for higher level manpower in the areas of technology and agriculture informed why between 1980 and 1982, the Federal Government approved the establishment of seven Universities of Technology in Bauchi, Makurdi, and Owerri, specifically in 1980. Also in Akure and Yola in 1981 was the establishment of University of Technology, and same in Abeokuta and Minna in 1982. Thereafter, it was in October, 1984 that four (4) of these Universities of Technology were merged with older Universities. The University of Technology Abeokuta was merged with University of Lagos, the one in Bauchi merged with Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. Similarly, the University of Technology Makurdi was merged with the University

of Jos and that of Yola merged with the University of Maiduguri.

Two of these Universities of Technology at Abeokuta and Makurdi were brought back and converted to Universities of Agriculture in 1987, which is the status they are maintaining till today. In a related manner, the Federal Government in 1987 mandated the Kaduna Polytechnic and Yaba College of Technology to run degree programmes in Education, having realised a dire need for teachers of technical subjects at the senior secondary level.

After receiving the report of the National Universities Commission on a proposal for the establishment of a National University at Abuja in 1984, the Federal Government agreed in principle to the establishment of this university, but eventually in 1988, University of Abuja was established.

2.8 Federal Government's Responsive Efforts in the 80's - Military.

The zeal of the Federal Government was also manifested in a proactive policy decision to address shortage of trained and qualified teachers in Nigerian school. In this regard, Government took a decision to ensure that qualified high-level manpower was available in the nation's educational institutions. Federal Government therefore in 1982 conferred on seven Colleges of Education located at Abraka, Kano, Ondo, Owerri, Port Harcourt, Uyo and Zaria the mandate to run programmes leading to first degree (Bachelor of Education) in affiliation to the existing university. Today several of these colleges of education have been transformed into conventional universities and Universities of Education.

Other efforts of the Federal Military Government in the 1980's included the establishment of the Nigeria Defence Academy (NDA) in 1985, to provide training at degree level to military personnel. Also in 1989, the Federal Military Government gave an approval to the establishment of Oyo State University of Technology, Ogbomosho, having recognised the need for its establishment by the government. The name Oyo State University of Technology was changed in 1991 to Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomosho. After state creation, the University became a joint property of Oyo and Osun States. Now, it is exclusively owned by Oyo State government.

2.9 State Creation and University Education – 1991

Following the creation of states in 1991, Abia State was carved out of the Old Imo State and the Old Imo State University at Uturu became an inherited property of Abia State, hence, Abia State University, Uturu. Similar scenario played out in the case of Old Bendel State, when Edo and Delta States emerged. The Old Bendel State University was broken into two and the Ekpoma Campus became known as Edo State University and later renamed Ambrose Alli University at Ekpoma in Edo State; while the Abraka Campus was transformed into Delta State University, Abraka. For the parties, that is, the States left with no university as a result of states' creation quickly established theirs. For example, in Imo state, after conceding the Old Imo State University to Abia State. The new Imo State established another Imo State University at Owerri.

Still in 1991, the Federal Government took over the Cross River State University, Uyo and renamed it University of Uyo. With the recreation of more states in the country in 1991, the headquarters and the campuses of the old Anambra State University in Enugu State (Enugu and Abakaliki) were upgraded to Enugu State University while the Awka and Nnewi campuses retained the name Anambra State University. In the same manner in 1992, the Anambra State University was taken over by the Federal Government and renamed Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. In 1992, Federal Government converted the School of Agriculture at Umudike, Abia State into a University of Agriculture. Also in the same year, 1992; Benue and Kano States established their respective state Universities.

2.10 Civilian Era: 1999 – to Date (4th Republic)

It has to be put on records that all that was anticipated for educational development in the aborted 3rd republic suffered, as noted by Ojo (2022) the 3rd republic was interjected and punctuated by the military coup. This coup came at the heels of the cancellation of the 1993 general election believed to have been won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola, and the protests that trailed it dashed Hope '93 dream. The fourth republic began in 1999 till today. This is an era that marked the end of 20th Century and the beginning of the 21st Century. The current era in the political life of Nigeria is adjudged a 'Democratic' era because of a resolve to end military incursion into governance and the people determining what happens in government indirectly through their representatives. Also, the formulation of a number of

education policies that favoured series of innovation, reforms and considerations which are in line with the global best practices. University Education in Nigeria in this dispensation received a boost and attention of government in terms of quantity and quality from the onset, but more of quantity in the current appraisal.

3. Emergence of Private Universities in Nigeria

Earlier before 1999, private had existed. What is sufficiently not in the public domain as far as private participation in the university education was the earlier establishment of a private university by Dr. Ukegbu in the second republic of Nigeria, but proscribed by military decree. This first attempt at establishing private universities in Nigeria before 1999 only fizzled out with Decree No. 19 Private Universities (Abolition and Prohibition) Act, 1984 (Gabriel & German, 2006 and Ogbondah, 2012). In 1985, Decree No. 19 of 1984 was amended allowing the establishment of higher education by Governments (Federal and States), company incorporated in Nigeria, individual, or association of individuals who are citizens of Nigeria.

In 1991, the report of the Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria popularly called "the Longe's Commission" gave credence to the establishment of universities by private organizations and individuals. The Federal Government accepted the above recommendations leading to the promulgation of the Education (National Minimum Standards and Establishment of Institutions) (Amendment) Decree No. 9 of 1993, thereby paving way for the abrogation of federal or state governments' monopoly of university education.

In 1999, private ownership of university was liberalised and individuals and religious organisations became increasingly interested in establishing university. The first generation of surviving private universities established are: Babcock University (Seventh Day Adventist), Madonna University (Very Rev. Father Prof. Emmanuel Mathew Paul Edeh) and Igbinedion University (Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, The Esama of Benin Kingdom) University. They were the first to be issued licences of operation in 1999 and followed by Bowen University (Baptist) in 2001; Covenant, Pan African and Benson Idahosa Universities in 2002 (Abdulrahman, 2014). Since 1999, there was no year that a university or more, federal, state or private was/were not being licensed established till date, even more than expected and the number of private universities has doubled those of federal and states combined.

4. Governments' Efforts of the 21st Century in the University' Education Systems

The 21st Century coincided with the return to civilian democratic rule in 1999, after the military had held sway for nearly 20 years. Since the beginning of the 21st century, FGN has not taken a break in the establishment and licensing of one university or the other to provide education for Nigerians. National

Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) was established in 2002 to provide educational opportunities for in-service education for those who are on the jobs and for whom regular degree programmes cannot be possible. One of such other institution is that for the men and officers of the Nigeria Police to further the training of officers is the Nigeria Police Academy (NPA), established in 2012.

Table 3: Summary of Established Universities and Ownership Status in the Different Government Dispensation

Era	Estab. Years	Number of Universities			Remarks
		Federal	State/Regional	Private	
Colonial	1948	01	-	-	University College, Ibadan. Established as a Colonial/Central Government university
Civilian	1960	-	01	-	University of Nigeria, established for the Eastern region
	1962	01	02		Lagos was the state capital and University of Lagos Established as a Federal owned and Universities of Ile-Ife now Obafemi Awolowo University and Ahmadu Bello University as regional universities of Western and Northern Nigeria respectively
Colonial/Civilian		05			Total number of existing universities immediately after independence
Military	1970		01		University of Benin, first established as a regional higher institution (Mid-west Institute of Technology)
	1975	06 existing } As			In addition to the existing 6 universities, including Uniben; 7 new federal universities were established and all the 13 becoming federal universities in 1975
	1975	Federal 07 added			
		13 Universities by 1975			
Civilian	1979 - 84	05	07	26	Short-lived private universities, truncated by the military
	1979		01		First state owned university following the 1979 Constitutional concurrence status of university education
	1980	01	01		First Federal University of Technology in Owerri
	1981	02	01		Fed University of Tech Akure and Yola
	1982		03		Fed University of Tech Minna
	1983		01		Lagos State University established as the last state university before the return of military government
		08	14		22 universities in the civilian regime of the 2 nd republic.
Military	1985	01			Nigerian Defence Academic as a university
	1988	04			The year University of Abuja and duo of Universities of Agriculture in Benue and Abeokuta ere established.
	1990		01	0	Ladoke Akintola of Oyo State was established
	1991	01			University of Uyo as a Federal University
	1992	02	03		Nnamdi Azikwe and Michael Okpara University of Agriculture were established. Also, the state universities established in Owerri, Makurdi and Abiraka were established.
		08	04	0	12 universities under the military rule, after truncating the 2 nd republic.
Democratic Dispensation	1999		02	03	The trio of Igbinedion, Babcock and Madonna universities in the new beginning of private universities
	2000	04	04		
	2001			01	
	2002	01	02	03	National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) established.
	2003			01	American University of Nigeria owned by Alhaji Atiku Abubakar
	2004		03		
	2005		03	14	First three Muslim Universities were established - Al-Hikmah in Ilorin, Al-Qalam in Katsina and Crescent in Abeokuta
	2006		04	01	
	2007	01		10	First and only Federal University for Petroleum Resources at Effurun
	2008		01		
	2009		02	07	
	2010		02		

2011	09	01	04	
2012	01	02	05	The Nigeria Police Academy was established by the Federal Government
2013	03	01		
2015		01	11	
2016		04	08	
2017		02	06	
2018	03	01	01	Nigeria Maritime University in Okerenkoko, Delta; Degree awarding Air Force Institute of Technology, Kaduna and the Nigerian Army University in Bui.
2019		02	04	
2020	02	02		Consistence of private universities establishment was stalled by Covid-19 Outbreak
2021	04	04	20	Highest number ever of private universities establishment which compensated for Covid-19 year
2022		04	12	
	28	47	111	
	49	59	111	Overall total number of universities in Nigeria as at Sept. 2022 is 219.

Source: Authors' Compilation

Today, no state of the federation that is not having at least a university, in addition to the existing state's university of either conventional or specialized status; established by either the military or civilian administration since Nigeria's independence. A serious commitment to democratic governance, government has within the first two decades of the 21st century considered the establishment of Federal Universities in those states that were yet to be served with federal universities before the democratic dispensation that started in 1999. In 2011, many of the states lacking federal universities began to enjoy what in the political parlance is referred to dividends of democracy, with the establishment of Federal Universities in Lokoja (Kogi State), Lafia (Nasarawa State), Kashare (Gombe State), Wukari (Taraba State), Dutsinma (Katsina State), Dutse (Jigawa State), Ndufu-Alike (Ebonyi State), Oye-Ekiti (Ekiti State), Otu-Oke (Bayelsa State). For the sake of equity and fairness, the remaining States not earlier federalized with universities were finally remembered in 2013, these Federal Universities were those established in Birni -Kebbi (Kebbi State), Gashua (Yobe State), Gusau (Zamfara State).

5. Appraisal of the Disquiet Trends in the Nigerian University Education

In the establishment of universities which continues unabated in Nigeria, there are two sides to the assessment of this situation – first, it may be considered a good development for any country to have her number of universities increasing, because of its potentials to engender developments - human, economic, physical, social, scientific, technological and other areas of development. However, looking at this issue of increase in the number of universities is to ask the question of how are the existing universities faring in all ramifications. It has

therefore been observed that establishment of universities is now indiscriminate; becoming an area of investment for the rich, politicians and groups. Government seems not to be concerned about university education any more. However, they tend to be playing to the gallery, showing concern only on the quantity and not the quality. See the Appendix. Many of the federal and state universities established in Nigeria since 2011 were more of political settlements, pacification or compensatory and my community must have, and the sitting governor's influence; as suggested by their locations.

6. The Trending Manifestations in the Nigerian University Education

An assessment of trends in the series of visibly occurring issues, developments and situations in the university education in Nigeria constitute a major thrust in this study. These issues and developments in the Nigerian university education are manifesting in such manners that they have become worrisome, for a country that prides itself as a giant in the continent. Some of these developments are ugly by all standards and continue to stare us, as people in the face; thus:

6.1 Indiscriminate Establishment of Universities

The trend in the establishment of universities is quantitatively alarming, perhaps, it will be impressive if the country is growing in much more balanced way. Ofcourse, the number of universities a country has, and contributing to her human and capital development is one of the indices of ranking in Human Development Index (HDI). However, the case of Nigeria as shown in Table 3 above; is a clear indication that government is only after quantity and not quality. More universities were established in this democratic era than a combination of colonial,

civilian and military eras had ventured. The pertinent question to ask is if being democratic is synonymous to uncontrollable impulse for upsurge in the number of universities that has played down on quality characteristics. Recently, the King David University of Medical Sciences was established at Uburu in Ebonyi State. The university was commissioned by the President and the pronouncement has also been made for its take-over by federal government. As widely reported too, Sahara Reporter (2022) and Tolu-Kolawole (2022) indicate that Government seems not tired of shouldering unnecessary burden, when about 63 universities and others have also been proposed and their bills before the National Assembly for approval; amidst the outcry of poor funding of the existing ones. The question is this - any need for this, when we are still falling short of meeting the requirements that ought to have placed many, if not all of our existing universities among the Africa's or the world's best?

Sadly, this endless proliferation of universities has even been justified in a statement by the current Education Minister - Adamu Adamu, while speaking at the event for the presentation of provisional licences to the 12 newly established private university in May, 2022; coinciding with the time ASUU was on strike for poor funding of the existing universities in Nigeria. Is this not highest level of irresponsiveness? The minister was quoted to have said that "while the number of universities may seem large, that there is need to establish more universities in the country", as the News Agency of Nigeria (2022) reported, thus:

"Government is also well aware of the need to improve the country's Human Development index ranking knowing that countries that are consistently well-ranked in human development indices have maintained a respectable number of universities relative to their population. The minister further maintains that in the 2020 UN Human Development Index, Nigeria dropped three places to 161 out of 189 countries and territories. In his conclusion, he said that these are some of the matters we aim to address. "As usual the provisional approval for these universities to operate is intended to create room for effective mentoring and qualitative growth within the first three years of operation,"

In line with the justification for this continuous proliferation, approval and licencing of universities, particularly the privately owned, the remark that the intention was to create room for effective mentoring and qualitative growth is even the crux of the matter; the country is quantitatively growing without a

commensurate and appreciable quality match. Before now, particularly in the 60s and 70s, Nigerian university education was a pride of everyone. International students were coming for higher education and expatriate lecturers (foreigners) were trooping to Nigeria from Europe, Asia, America, even from African countries to lecture in our universities. In short, everything about the Nigerian university education was attractive in those good old days. Abubakar in Nyewusira and Abdulrahman (2017:6) further corroborates this by aptly capturing the situation, noted that:

with the emergence of the first generation Universities, Nigeria was already on the road to harnessing the potentials of University education, because Nigerian Universities then were undoubtedly world class institutions, producing first class-rate graduates who left their footprints on all fields of learning. That was the outstanding testimony of the development pattern of university education in Nigeria in the past. Therefore, had the Nigerian university education continued to flourish that way; Nigerians will not be talking about the current seemingly appalling quality of 4th generation Universities. So, for us to understand and assess the present state of the Universities, we will have to re-evaluate the University system. This way, we can identify what informed the marked difference between Nigerian universities of the past and those of the present, in order to better the future of our university system in Nigeria.

Today, the story is no longer the same, as things have unimpressively changed, as human and material components of the universities in Nigeria are now open to criticisms. Increase in the number of universities is now the priority, not regaining the lost glory of abundant best brains as staff and quality university education with which we were known. The rot is so much in our system now, to the extent that revitalization of universities in Nigeria has been top most priority of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and an age-long fight between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) (ASUU Strike Bulletin, 2022). More contentious is the 2009 agreement that seemed to be the template for getting things right in the university education, but has remained a mirage, as the implementation of this agreement never received the blessings of the government till today.

The objectives of establishing universities in Nigeria, since the submission of Ashby report have now been derailed. It is more than 7 months that all public universities in Nigeria have been on strike, yet

approval continues to be given for the take-off of more universities. In the same vein, it has become a practice for the seating state governors to establish state-owned universities in their country home before end of their tenure, disregarding the reality of financial incapability of the state or the rot in the existing ones. As earlier mentioned, another 63 universities are warming up to take-off. This is a misplacement of priority.

6.2 Inadequacies in Staff Need

The carrying capacity of the Nigerian universities is roughly estimated to be about 260000 and about 2million applicants write JAMB to be in the universities, whereas, the teacher-student ratio is far below the requirement, for various factors. In a study by Ogunode & Okwelogu (2022), it was revealed among others that underfunding, poor manpower planning, poor motivation, government policy on embargo, corruption (ghost workers) and strike action problems are the causes of inadequate academic staff in the public universities in North-central Nigeria and the implications of shortage of academic staff in public universities include poor implementation of teaching programme, high student-lecturers ratio, heavy workload for lecturers, poor local and international ranking, bad international image, poor coverage of scheme of work and poor academic programmes accreditation. The study established there is significance relationship between inadequate academic staff and public universities performance in Nigeria.

The situation about inadequate number of academics in Nigerian universities is like the country is sitting on a keg of gun-powder and it is a ticking time bomb that can explode anytime. Many academics are quitting the universities in Nigeria for better opportunities overseas; mainly due to poor conditions of service. This brain-drain is so worrisome that it has escalated as a result of the ongoing strike by the Nigerian universities' teachers. As reported, over 70% of bright lecturers resigned the jobs from University of Lagos, so also a large number of academics have left Nigerian universities for other

countries. Federal University, Abeokuta; University of Uyo, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife; Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ogun State; Federal University of Technology, Akure; University of Nigeria, Nsukka and many others yet to be confirmed. The vacuum being created is regrettable. When there were low salaries in Uganda, the country experienced high attrition rates at public universities. Report has it that Makerere lost 25 high-profile lecturers in 2011 alone, forcing management to put a few postgraduate programmes on halt. Mbarara also lost 20 lecturers while Gulu was reportedly losing about 10 senior lecturers every academic year.

As revealed by Anguyo (2015), a 2012 Auditor General's report in Uganda showed that there was need for close to 3,000 additional lecturers and others in more senior positions in the four of the then five public universities. This is what a responsible government is expected to do, showing concerns and squarely addressing the trend, just as it was done by Museveni's government, effecting increase in the subvention to public universities from the previous sh120b to sh300b, to cover competitive staff salaries and some operational costs, leaving student fees to cater for utilities and other operational costs.

However, Nigerian government is not in anyway deterred or worried that we continue to experience brain-drain, while others are celebrating brain-gain, even gaining from Nigeria. Education Minister, Adamu Adamu even maintains, as monitored on a national television that nothing is wrong with Nigerian academics leaving and students going to other countries for education. The dearth of qualified staff is also not unconnected to the death and retirements of many lecturers with no replacement or recruitment to fill the vacancies.

6.3 State of the art facilities and equipment

Facilities (library, laboratory, classrooms, studios etc.) are inadequate. Most of the facilities in many of our public universities is equal to naught if TETFund is removed. The following pictures speak volume about facilities in our universities

	
<p>Hostel in the University of Abuja</p>	<p>Hostel in the University of Fed. Univ. of Tech, Owerri</p>
	
<p>Abandoned Hall still being used for Exam in IMSU</p>	 <p data-bbox="829 1352 1117 1394">Water leaks out of a bathroom in one of the hostels</p> <p data-bbox="1143 1352 1425 1394">An unkempt urinary section of a bathroom</p>
	
<p>Hostel in UNN</p>	

6.4 Staff and Students' Welfare

Lecturers in Nigeria are poorly paid and motivation is lacking. Staff development is only left with the TETFund as sponsor and very competitive, not even a routine as it ought to be. In some universities, it has been politicized. Lecturers pay through the nose for publications in articles and books, with no assistance or sponsor; so as to beat the publish or perish slogan. A university lecturer spends an average of N67,000 per paper, including preparation and publishing. This amount doubles as a minimum to publish in international journal. It may not be accepted as the true situation when it is said that some lecturers have no office in the universities; operating from their car or any corner of a university. A case of a lecturer using the premises of the worship centre to attend to her students being supervised. In many other countries, even in Africa, the welfare of academic staff is taken seriously. Nigerian academics are just not lucky. What they are paid is a stipend when it is compared with other countries, even using the African standard; Nigeria has the most frustrating condition of service in the continent.

Table 0: Comparison in the University Lecturers’ Pays in Nigeria, Uganda and South Africa.

Nigeria	Full Professor has N437,499 and after deductions he is paid N332,833 monthly. A Professor “at the bar”, is one who has spent 10 years as a professor and that is when he/she can earn consolidated pay of N555,351 and following deductions their net pay comes down to N416,743 monthly!
Uganda	Ugandan public varsities, Assistant Lecturer earns N945, 980; Senior lecturer, N1,410,560; Associate Professor, N2,256,780 and Professor, N2,351,320 per month, respectively.
South Africa	University of South Africa, a Junior Lecturer earns N10, 453,326 – N17,427,663; Lecturer, N12,547,744-N20,910,248; Senior Lecturer, N16,272,983 – N27,891,819; Associate Professor, N20,224,232 – N32,564,902) and Professor, N22,325,844 – N37,209,741 per annum.

Table 0: New Arrangement of Salary for Ugandan’s Lecturers

	Uganda	Nigeria
Rank	Pay in Uganda	Pay in Nigeria
Professor	sh15m	N381,695 – N501,680
Assoc. Prof.	Sh13m	N314081 – N417,063
Senior Lecturer	Sh11m	N257,625 – N371,292
lecturer	Sh9m	N173,333 – N223,668
Asst. Lecturer	Sh7m	N137,459 – N164,970
Teaching Assistant	Sh5m	

Before the new salary package in Uganda, mentioned in Anguyo (2015) and reiterated by Shinkafi (2002), a senior lecturer with Ph.D was earning 6m shillings which is an equivalent of 1m Nigerian naira; an amount which no Nigerian Professor ever received. As can be seen in table 0 above, this has been upwardly reviewed to 11m shillings (\$3142) which is nearly 2m naira, not for professor, but a senior lecturer. While in Nigeria, a senior lecturer earns 1350000 shillings, an equivalent of 225,000 Nigerian naira and United States Dollar USD381.

It is evident from the table that under the new salary structure in Uganda, Professors became the topmost earners, bagging sh15m every month. An associate professor earning sh13m; a senior lecturer will get sh11m, lecturer will receive sh9m, followed by an assistant lecturer (7m) and a teaching assistant (sh5m)."

As noted in the remark of Anguyo (2015), this pay rise made Ugandan professors the best paid in East Africa. Also in the 2012 report issued by a committee of all vice chancellors of public universities in Kenya, the monthly salary and allowances of a full professor in Kenya are an average of \$2,200 (about sh5.5m) compared with \$4,900 (about 12.25m) in Rwanda, \$3,200 (about sh8m) in Tanzania and \$1,150 (sh2.8) in Uganda."As captured in Shinkafi (2022), this Ugandan salary increment would come into effect in 2022. A meeting between academic staff of Makerere University with the president of Uganda mediated by the Inspector General of Uganda who brought this achievement to both academic staff and teachers in the country.

In his conclusion, Shinkafi berated the Nigerian president and wondered why this kind of meeting

between ASUU and our dear president is not possible? Do we have patriotic people like the IGP of Uganda to mediate a meeting like this? It is sad that a professor in Nigeria earns 2400000 shillings which is equivalent to 400,000 naira (\$677). How can he or she effectively work? <https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1320414/lecturers-education-ministry-agree-salary-structure>

On the part of students, they are no longer catered for in terms of quality provision of education and educational resources. The libraries no longer equipped with with current books and electronic resources. They have no amenities, not to even mention modern ones. There are other traditional students’ benefits, such as bursary, scholarships; food subsidies etc have ceased to be the feature of our universities. Many of the hostel or halls of residence are in a sorry state – no water supply, epileptic power, poor sanitary situation etc.

6.5 Post-University’s Unemployment - After School Experience

The commitment of the Nigerian government to the changing world of knowledge is so appalling. For the universities education to be sustainable and drive the economy of the nation, it has to be locally patronized in terms of the array of products it offers. It is wickedness of the highest order, because the government itself knows that she is killing university education, yet, they are comfortable with it. They have no confidence in anything that will come out of the universities in Nigeria. The very glaring example is the uncontrollable passion and taste of the political class for sending their children offshore for university education, since they are conscious of the damage

that they have created for their own system at home. Research is one of the mandates of the universities, but they are never patronized, many breakthroughs and important discoveries are made, but the government is never enthused.

How reasonable is it when indigenous companies are not patronized? Projects and contracts are awarded to expatriate contractors and companies. The resources of the country are pushed out, consequently being used in the development of other countries. In this type of situation where foreign products and services are patronized, how will it be possible to come out of economic kwashiorkor that has rendered young graduates endlessly in search for jobs. All the developed countries of the world have history of using education to catapult themselves into the limelight of who they are today, but Nigeria is yet to sit herself down and practically use education for the much needed development.

Nigerians who are experts in various fields of knowledge are not recognized and there is lack of confidence in the Nigeria university system, as it has become a sing song that standard of education in Nigeria is falling or has fallen. Attention has therefore been shifted away from what the Nigerian universities and their personnel can offer. The consequences of this misplacement of priority are the exodus of the brilliant brains, but uncelebrated and neglected by their own country;resorted to leaving Nigeria. These competent and Nigerian trained professionals are jetting out of Nigeria in drones, finding their ways into Europe, America, Asia,

Oceania, even finding greener pastures in some favourable countries in Africa. Regrettably, Nigerian nurses, doctors, IT experts, auto/mechanical engineers, brilliant university teachers, development experts etc. have abandoned their fatherland to where they can function well and be happy for it.

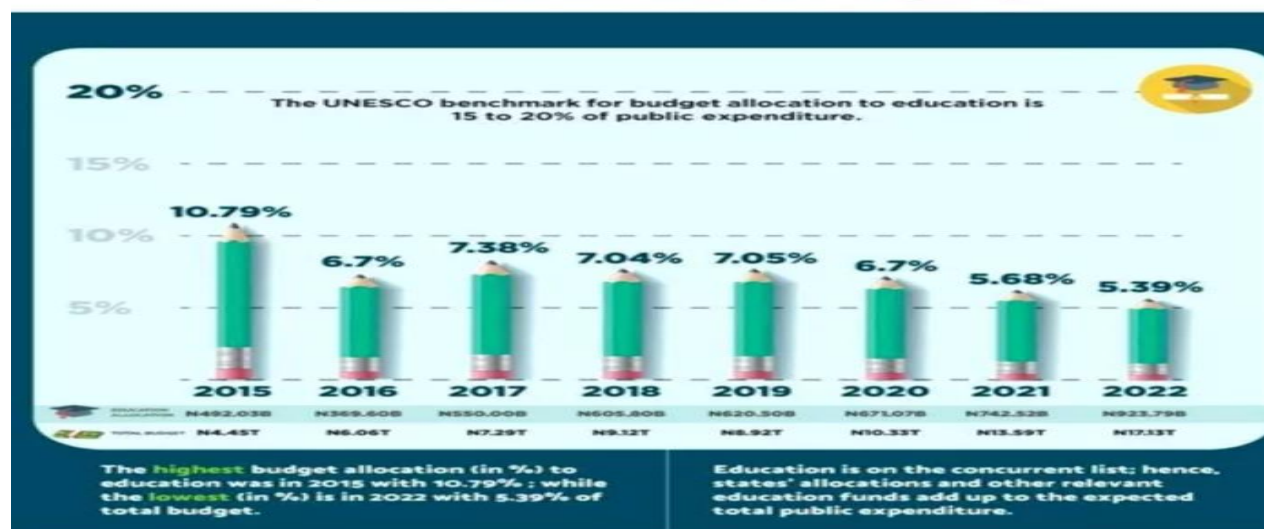
6.6 Poor Funding

Poor funding of education has its own history in Nigeria. The IMF and SAP totally collapsed the funding pattern of the university education consequent upon which everything is now wrong with the system. In his assessment of the situation, poor funding of education has led to the ugly manifestation which Enemu in Abdulrahman (2007) revealing that:

our educational system over the years has experienced phenomenal expansion in terms of enrolment figures without a corresponding increase in funding and provision of facilities. Consequently, be it at the primary, secondary or tertiary levels, our educational system is characterized by problems of dilapidated or non-existent infrastructures, poorly stocked library, inadequate laboratories and equipment, poor condition of service, prompting brain drain, poor quality of teaching and poor quality of graduates, especially in science and technology.

Poor funding of university education over the years have left the system begging for attention in the universities' needs, to meet international standard, attracting global patronage and attain world recognition

Budget Allocation to Education (2015 - 2022)
(Federal Government of Nigeria)



Poor funding of education is so worrisome that outside the dilapidating and rot in the facilities, the academic personnel are also treated with disdain. The salaries of the Nigerian academics is so ridiculous that they are a laughingstock among the African academics on their condition of service. A compilation by Shinkafi (2022) in an online platform has shown that Nigerian academics are poorly paid, thus:

6.6.1 Implications of Poor Funding of Education

Underfunding or poorly financed education in Nigeria has been identified as an hydra-headed problem, as the situation has always provoked other unwholesome characteristics in our university system. Adekola (2019) maintains that gross underfunding of the educational sector and, more specifically, the poor financing of higher education accounts for most of the other challenges facing education in the country including student protests, staff strike actions, lack of quality researches from institutions, social vices in the society and the inability of graduates to favourably compete with other graduates across the globe, especially with regards to self-reliance and science based careers. Neglect of the maintenance of the physical facilities, instructional and living conditions have deteriorated in many of these schools; classrooms blocks, libraries and laboratories are nothing to write home about, all leading to a decline in academic standards.

It needs not be overemphasized that funding is paramount in educational institution. No educational system can develop beyond the level of its funding. In an educational institution, fund is needed to pay the salaries and allowances of staff, purchase the needed facilities, construct and repair buildings and administer the institution on daily basis. UNESCO declared that for effective funding of education, 26% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of each country in the world must be allocated to education. The case of Nigeria over the years however portends a non-compliance with this standard. Allocation to education sector has been very low when compared to the annual budget.

6.7 Brain Drain

Brain drain is an exodus of skilled professionals drifting out of their country of origin for their services to be continuously or temporarily offered to another country of residence. Brain drain is common amongst such skilled personnel as medical doctors, pharmacists, nurses, medical laboratory scientists, industrial chemists and pilots. Others are computer scientists, engineers, university lecturers, researchers, technologists and lawyers. The term “brain drain” originally referred to technological workers leaving a nation (Emeghara, 2013). In a more elucidating way,

the application or meaning of brain drain has been widened to include the migration of educated and professional people from one country, economic sector or field for another usually for better remuneration and/or living conditions (Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2010).

The term brain drain, according to Emeghara (2013) is also known as human capital flight. It means large scale movement or migration of top flight manpower from various developing countries (predominantly African countries) to more developed countries, notably the United States of America, Canada, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Holland, New Zealand and Australia. As earlier stated, the chief reason for this movement is the quest for better opportunities. From the academic perspective, Utile (2008) conceptualizes brain drain as “the mass exodus of highly trained and well experienced academics from countries with poor conditions of service to those with better work conditions in search of greener pasture”.

Because we are yet to get it right in Nigeria, many things are really wrong, including shortages of competent personnel and professionals in the different disciplines drifting into the advanced countries for greener pastures. Between 2016 and 2018, revealed in Ajour (2022), Nigeria lost over 9,000 medical doctors to the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America. At the Maiden NMA Annual Lecture Series held in Abuja, the President of the association, Professor Innocent Ujah, stated that the loss of these specialists to other countries has left Nigeria with only 4.7 per cent of its specialists to service the healthcare needs of the population. This brain drain is worsening the already depleted healthcare resources in developing countries like Nigeria and widening the gap in health inequities worldwide.

ASUU has been adjudged the most patriotic union in Nigeria. The only body of intellectuals remaining in the vanguard for the betterment of education system. In 2021 and 2022 alone, 727 doctors and 7256 nurses who were trained in Nigeria became tired of the system and left for UK. Can anyone imagine if such number of professors or senior academics are the ones divorcing Nigeria to search a new ground for meaningful livelihood, what do we think the implications could be?

6.7.1 Causes of Brain Drain

The peculiarity of brain drain in Nigeria is captured in Emeghara (2013) to have been mostly resulted due to:

- Poor State of Infrastructure, Equipment, and Facilities in Institutions
- Inadequate Equipment/Teaching Facilities
- Inadequate Funds/Support for Researches
- Abuse of power/too much concentration of power:
- Incessant Student Unrest, Strike, and Cultism in Campuses
- Conflict among Staff
- Disciplinary Action(s) on Staff
- Non-Accreditation of Programmes/Courses
- Lack of/Irregular Promotion of Staff
- Lack of/Limited Opportunity for Staff to Rise to Top Positions
- Inadequate Funding of Education Sector

6.8 Capital Flight

According to data from UNESCO, about 76,338 Nigerians were studying abroad as of 2018, which is the highest recorded by an African country. Oyekanmi (2021) and Aondofa (2022) in review of the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) data which revealed that Nigeria's educational sector has suffered massive capital flight in the last 10 years. Specifically, using the CBN's balance of

payment statistics; Nigerian parents and guardians have spent a hefty sum of \$28.65 billion on foreign education in the past 10 years (2010 to 2020). Another online report revealed that about 75,000 Nigerian students are spread across African universities, including Ghana, Egypt, South Africa, Sudan etc. increasing their income through the school fees they pay.

The exchange rate has become the focal point for the economy, considering the direct impact it has on the cost of goods and services. It is also the major reason why there are multiple exchange rates and a widening disparity between the parallel market rate and the official rates. For Nigeria, data shows that whilst Nigeria(ns) have remitted over \$28 billion to foreign academic institutions, there does not appear to be significant reciprocation in form of inflows from foreign sources towards Nigeria's education sector. This situation of huge NET dollar outflows towards foreign academic institutions without any reciprocity has dual adverse effects of resulting in underinvestment in Nigeria's domestic educational sector whilst simultaneously creating pressure on the Naira exchange rate.

Needless to say, that the high demand for dollars to pay these foreign educational institutions has affected the country's foreign reserve (which currently stands at \$33.39 billion), and contributed immensely to piling pressure on the exchange rate.

Check out the rich list of the top 20 unis with the biggest incomes below:

The unis with the biggest incomes (£millions)	
Oxford	£2,450.14
Cambridge	£2,192.05
UCL	£1,487.08
Edinburgh	£1,101.50
Manchester	£1,097.89
Imperial	£1,073.75
King's College London	£901.97
Leeds	£791.85
Birmingham	£716.30
Sheffield	£715.70
Bristol	£706.89
Nottingham	£701.23
Warwick	£688.52
Glasgow	£687.90
Southampton	£584.31
Liverpool	£577.66
Newcastle	£570.61
Cardiff	£538.50
Queen Mary	£483.86
Exeter	£449.28

Source: HESA provider-level data for 2018/19 financial

The above is possible in Nigeria, after government must have invested so much into the university system, thereby reaping the fruit of the investment and government herself will not be under any pressure from the universities and its unions. Currently as it is, there is nothing attractively on ground to attract both the foreign lecturers and students into the universities in Nigeria. How can university without what it takes to attract grants or win endowments to increase her

resources base survive the test of time, meet her needs internally or compete with others in the comity of universities in the world?

6.9 Lecturers' Agitations and Industrial Strikes

From the foregoing, it is clear that weak financial commitment of government to education is responsible for so many things in the smooth

operations of university education in Nigeria, including a continuous break-down in the relationship between government and the universities' teachers. As a union of university teachers, Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) cannot fold its arms and watch the government annihilate university education which successive government have no sympathy for, since their own children are not attending universities at home, but abroad. This university teachers have only a potent weapon of strike (down tools) and boycotting works. One may be tempted to conclude that there are too many strikes or industrial actions by this union. However, the attitude of government that can be described as lukewarm has always led to these avoidable strikes.

In 1988 the union organized a National Strike to obtain fair wages and university autonomy. As a result, the ASUU was proscribed on 7th August 1988 and all its property seized. It was allowed to resume in 1990, but after another strike, it was again banned on 23 August 1992 (Wikipedia, 2022). However, an agreement was reached on 3 September 1992 that met several of the union's demands including the right of workers to collective bargaining. The ASUU organized further strikes in 1994 and 1996, protesting against the dismissal of staff by the Sani Abacha led military regime. More worrisome is that the trend which was expected to be a thing of the past under the democratic dispensation, where we run

government of the people by the people for the people; the story is not different.

The frustration of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASSU) in the series of valid agreements signed with the Federal Government has always ended up in industrial disputes, one of such was a valid agreement with the Federal Government in June 2001 which would have produced a significant change in the capability of Nigerian universities to meet the challenges of knowledge creation through funding of research had it been faithfully implemented. Again, the Federal Government reneged on its commitment to this agreement as Sule-Kano (2005:38) noted. It was agreed that the following billions of naira:20, 22, 24 and 24 be allocated to federated universities for the following years respectively: 2001,2002,2003 and 2004. It was only in 2004 that only 12 billion naira was provided. Nothing was provided for 2001 to 2003. This shows a clear neglect to the sector that has the potential in human, that can bring about everything that will accelerate the growth of the country in all areas of development. This lackadaisical attitude and cold feet disposition of government have always provoked strike by the universities' teachers. Table below shows the response pattern of governments in attending to our universities' need and how they have been turning deaf ears and rendering the system grounded.

Table 0: ASUU Strikes, Years and Duration in the Democratic Dispensation, 1999-2022

Government in Power	Year	Duration	Remark
People's Democratic Party (PDP) President Obasanjo	1999	5 Months	
	2000	3 Months	
	2002	2 Weeks	
	2003	6 Months	
	2005	2 Weeks	
	2006	3 Days	
	2007	3 Months	
	Total	18 Months and 3 days	
President Yar'Adua/Jonathan	2008	1 Week	2009 Agreement was negotiated
	2009	4 Months	Partly fulfilled
	2010	5 Months	
	2011	59 Days	
	2013	5 Months	
	Total	16 Months and 6 days	
President Buhari	2017	1 Month	2009 Agreement renegotiated under 3 different Committees – Babalakin, Munzali and Briggs.
	2018	3 Months	
	2020	9 Months	
	2021	11 Months	
	2022	8+ Months	
Total	32 Months and counting		

Source: Authors' Compilation, 2022.

Currently, the strike by Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) which has entered its eighth month and still counting, was declared as a warning strike on the 2009 agreement for 4 weeks (1month)

after renegeing onhonouring the Memorandum of Action since 2020 December and June 2021. It has to be noted that government maintained a stance of incommunicado till the expiration of the 1month

necessitating a roll-over of the strike for another 8 weeks and not until after 3 months that government first reacted and the reaction was the setting up of another committee after the Dr. Wale Babalakin and Emeritus Prof. Munzali Jibril Committees who finished and submitted their reports to the government, but not implemented. The latest of the Committee was the one led by Emeritus Prof. Nimi D. Briggs to further renegotiate the 2009 agreement. The report was submitted and still thrown in the trash bin, as a paltry was offered, even as promisory. Regrettably, university education has not received the deserved attention from successive governments, including the military, forcing ASUU to often resurrect the strike.

7. Revelations

For anyone who may not know that so many things are wrong in our university education, the following may provide insights, as at 2020/2021 session, thus:

- Kano University of Science and Technology Wudil, established in 2011 (11 years old) only 1 Professor and 25 holders of Ph.D.
- Kebbi State University of Science and Technology, Aliero, established in 2006 has only 2 Professors and 5 Ph.Ds
- Ondo State University of Sci & Tech Okitipupa, established in 2008, has a total of 29 lecturers.
- Make-Shift Lecturing System: Out of a total of 37,504 lecturers, only 28,128 (75%) are engaged on full-time basis.
- 9,376 (25%) Nigerian Lecturers are recycled as Visiting, Adjunct, Sabbatical and Contract lecturers.
- In Gombe State University, only 4 out of 47 Profs are full-time and all 25 Readers are visiting.
- In Plateau State University, Bokokos, 74% of the lecturers are visiting.
- In Kaduna State University, only 24 out of 174 Ph.D holders are full-time staff.
- 700 Ex-Militants in Nigeria are receiving more funds annually than 20 Nigerian universities under 'Amnesty Scam'
- 80% of published journals by Nigerian University lectures have no visibility in the international knowledge community.
- No Nigerian academic is in the league of Nobel Laureates or a nominee of Nobel Prize.
- There are only 2 registered patents owned by Nigerian Academics in the last 3 years.
- Numerically more support staff in the services of Nigerian universities than the teaching staff they are meant to support.
- More expenditure is incurred in administration & routine functions than in core academic matters in Nigerian Universities.
- There are 77,511 full-time non-teaching staff in Nigeria's public universities 2 Times number of academic staff.
- University of Benin, there are more senior staff in the Registrar cadre (Dep. Registrars, PARs, SARs) than Professors
- Almost all the universities are over-staffed with non- teaching staff
- There are 1,252,913 students in Nigerian Public Universities. 43% female 57% male.
- There is no relationship between enrolment and the tangible manpower needs of Nigeria.
- Nigerian Universities' Horrible hostel facilities, overcrowded, overstretched lavatory and laundry facilities, poor sanitation, etc.
- Except Nigerian Defence Academy Kaduna, no university in Nigeria is able to accommodate more than 35% of its students.
- Some universities (e.g. MOUAU), female students take their bath in the open because the bathrooms are in very poor condition.
- Laundries and common rooms in many universities have been converted into rooms where students live, in open prison style.
- In most improvised cage called hostels in Nigerian Universities, there is no limit to the number of occupants.
- Most State universities charge commercial rates for unfit and unsuitable hostel accommodation.
- In off-campus hostels, students are susceptible to extraneous influences and violence prostitution, rape, gang violence.
- Nigerian University Students sitting on bare floor or peeping through windows to attend lectures.
- Over 1000 students being packed in lecture halls meant for less than 150 students.
- Over 400 Nigerian University students being packed in laboratory meant for 75 students.
- University administrators Spend millions to erect super-gates when their Libraries are still at foundation level; Expend millions to purchase exotic vehicles for university officers even though they lack basic classroom furnishings; Spend hundreds of millions in wall-fencing and in-fencing

when students accommodation is inadequate and in tatters;

- Government interested in spending money on creation of new universities, instead of consolidating and expanding access to existing ones;
- Keen to award new contracts rather than completing the abandoned projects or standardizing existing facilities; Expend hundreds of millions paying visiting and part-time lecturers rather than recruiting full-time staff.
- Government spending hundreds of millions in mundane administration cost instead of providing boreholes and power supplements; Government hiring personal staff, including Personal Assistants, Special Advisers, Bodyguards, Personal Consultants, etc.

All the above may not be admitted as devastating or recognize as sickening by anyone who is not familiar with the operations of university system, not only as tradition in Nigeria; but global conventional practices.

8. Conclusion

From colonial to post-colonial Nigeria, that is, after independence; all past and current Nigerian governments, federal or state have become indiscriminate in the establishment of universities. Although, the fact remains that university education is synonymous to development, but the trends in the emergence of universities in Nigeria have left us with many disappointments that reduce or steadily vanishing the once enjoyed prestige by the frontrunner universities of the good old days of the late 1960s and early 1970s. As governments would be expected to prioritize university education and support everything that will make it sustainable, but the government continuously stifle education at this level, by poor funding; leading to lack of motivation on the part of personnel who are trooping out of the country in large number for greener pastures abroad, for reason of poor welfare; poor infrastructure, obsolete and unattractive equipment and facilities. Despite the ugly trends in the university education, government still continues to establish more universities. This has shown now that the priority is for quantity and not quality.

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