



ASSESSMENT OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A STUDY ON TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH-SOUTH REGION (1967 – 1999)

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Article history:	Abstract:
Received: 26 th June 2021 Accepted: 8 th July 2021 Published: 10 th August 2021	The study investigated military government and educational development in Nigeria: A study of tertiary institutions development in South-South Region, 1967 – 1999. The need for this study is to ensure continuous and effective educational policies that will relate to effective manpower development that will drive the economy of the State towards sustainable development. Based on this, three research questions were used as guide to the study. Again, the study adopted the functionalist theory, which was made prominent by scholars like; Augustine Comte, Herbert Spencer Emile Durkheim, and Talcott Parsons. The study adopted a historical research design, and also in-depth interviews and the use of research assistants were instrumental in the data collection. The qualitative method was used as a method of data analysis. The content analysis was used for data analysis. The study finds out that the military established many tertiary institutions in South-South Nigeria. However, these institutions were poorly funded and had the problem of infrastructural development. However, the study concluded and recommended that the civilian government should incorporate some effective educational policies of the military government and formulate workable educational policies of tertiary institutions to ensure development of the system.

Keywords: Herbert Spencer Emile Durkheim, military government and educational development, educational policies, civilian government, tertiary institutions development in South-South Region

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria as a nation, since independence, in 1st October 1960 has been led by democratically elected and military heads of states. During each epoch, there have been various educational policies that were targeted towards ensuring quality education. The first democratically elected Government of Sir. Abubakar Tafawa Belewa continued with the educational policies inherited from the colonial government within the university education level, especially the Regional University were established at Nsukka in the Eastern Region, and in the Northern Region was the Abu Zaria University and the University of Ife in the Western Region (Ogbeide 2004, Kosemani & Osokoya, 1995).

A military government, according to Merriam Webster dictionary, is a government established by a military commander in conquered territory to administer the military laws declared under military authority applicable to all persons in the conquered territory and superseding any incompatible local law. After six years of civil rule, the military took over the government in 1966. However, the military took over power due to the inadequacy of civilian government. The civil war brought to the fore the dangers of regional and control of education, which affected the

unity and integration of the nation; as a result, ushering in the need of educational system, especially the tertiary institutions as a panacea to address these social issues or problems.

Within the Southern and Northern Regions, there was the clarion call to bridge the educational inequalities among these two regions. In light of the foregoing, the situation got more complex with the dwindling resources of the regional government and the desire by the federal military government to ensure a uniform and more centrally coordinated educational system. The various regions transferred the regional universities to federal control and the situation prevailed until power was restored to the civilian or the democratically elected government (Ogbeide, 2004, Fafunwa, 2002, Kosemani & Osokoya, 1995, and Ejiogu & Ajeyani, 1987). The period witnessed more proliferation of universities; as such various state governments within the western and former Eastern regions established state owned universities and upgraded their state colleges of education. Equally, this period witnessed the establishment of federal universities of science and technology by federal military governments in those states that lack federal universities.

The military government is said to have played a vital role in the development of tertiary institutions. Development in this context means improvement in the educational institutions. Again, Kalagbor cited in Emeodu, (2019) assert that development is multi-dimensional, multi-faceted and ramifying. He added that development involves man's control of his environment to increase production and productivity. He concluded that development involves enhanced personality – creative, organized and discipline geared towards the social economic transformation of the society. Extrapolating from the above concept, it reflects the aspirations of the military government towards the development of tertiary institutions in South-South region of Nigeria. The aspiration of the military government towards education is to ensure national integration, peace and unity which will lead to socio-economic growth and development.

Therefore, the South-South region of Nigeria was not left out in this educational development as this period of military government witnessed the establishment of tertiary institutions such as Rivers State University of Science and Technology (1979), University of Port Harcourt (1975), University of Benin (1970), Federal College of Education Technical Omoku (1986), University of Calabar (1975), Ambruse Ali University Ekpoma, Edo State (1981), Auchi Poly, Edo (1963), and Rivpoly now Kenpoly (1988), etc. Hence, led to this research on military government and the development of tertiary institutions in South-South Nigeria to x-ray and analyze the educational policies of the military government from 1967 – 1999, in order to establish their achievements and further indicate how educational policies formulated by the military government influence educational development in Nigeria.

In Nigeria and specifically the South-South region of the country have not been able to develop her Educational system. This occurs due to various challenges and military government policies that could not be well implemented. The resultant effects in South-South are disastrous as it affects general development of the people, leading to migration of some people to another country for quality education. It is disheartening that Nigeria educational system is seen as pseudo and naive, the reason behind such criticism is reflected through the products of Nigeria tertiary institutions. There have been laudable educational policies targeted towards achieving the National Policy on Education. The emergence of a democratically elected government in 1979 and the adoption of the 1979 constitution which returned education to the concurrent legislative list gave power to private agencies and states to establish owned and manage universities and other tertiary institutions led to the failure of military government in achieving their educational aspirations. Some study on impact of military government on the development of tertiary Education reveals that the era of military regime heralded the period of indiscriminate expansion of tertiary institutions with little resources or funding to standardize them. The establishment of state and privately owned universities gains more prominent in Eastern and western states as against the South-South region of Nigeria.

Within the South-South region (as well as other regions in Nigeria), were shrouded with the problem of inadequate funding, which has given way to inability of universities and other tertiary institutions to purchase new equipments and the maintenance of those equipments. The South-South region of Nigeria did not benefit more from the establishment of tertiary institutions. Nevertheless, there was a perception that the government action has not yielded the expected changes of the Nigerian society. It was observed that the military government policies on tertiary institutions were rather myopic, non-dynamic, therefore, did not achieve the desired result, instead it ushered in instability, poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, greed, tribalism. In the light of this, it reduced the claims of military government towards ensuring normalcy in the system. Extrapolating from the above problem, the study seeks to fill a gap in providing more data on issue of military government and development of tertiary institutions in South-South region of Nigeria. The study aims at looking at the impact of military government towards the development of tertiary institutions in South-South region of Nigeria.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions are posited as a guide to the study;

- (i) What are the various tertiary institutions established by the military government in South-South region of Nigeria from 1967 – 1999?
- (ii) What are the various educational policies of the military government towards developments of tertiary institutions in South-South Nigeria from 1967-1999?

- (iii) Does funding constituted a challenge to military government tertiary institutions development in South-South region of Nigeria from 1967-1999.

3.GEOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY AREA

The study covers the South-South region of Nigeria which comprises of six States and is strategically located at the points where the Y-tail of River Niger joins the Atlantic Ocean, through the Gulf of Guinea. Though a relatively small stretch of land, the South-South region of the country provides the economic mainstay of the economy, which is crude oil. In addition to oil and gas, the region also has potential huge investment opportunities in tourism and agriculture. The six states of the study have been x-rayed as;

Akwa-Ibom State slogan is the Promised Land. The state is located in the coastal part of the country with land mass of 7,081km² and a dense population of almost five million. The state shares boundaries with Cross River State, Rivers State, Abia State and the Atlantic Ocean, with Uyo as its capital city. The state has many tertiary institutions such as University of Uyo, Akwa-Ibom State University, Akwa-Ibom State polytechnics, etc.

Bayelsa State whose slogan is pride of the nation is located in the lower southern part of the Niger Delta region, and its capital is Yenagoa, with a land area of 10,733km². There are 10 languages spoken in the state with one federal university located at Otuoke and one state owned university located at Wilberforce Island and many other tertiary institutions.

Cross River State which has the slogan "The people's paradise has Calabar as its capital. The state is located in a coastal region. It shares boundaries with Benue State to the west, Abia State to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. The major languages spoken in Cross River State are Ejagham and Efik. Cross River State also houses many tertiary institutions such as University of Calabar, Cross River State University of Science and Technology etc.

Delta State known with the slogan "The Big Heart" has Asaba as its capital and has 25 local government areas, with so many deposits of solid minerals such as clay, limestone, kaolin, lignite, silica, crude oil and tar sand. Delta State has tertiary institutions of learning.

Also, Edo State which has the slogan "Heart-beat of the Nation" with its capital city in Benin is blessed with abundant natural resources such as crude oil, clay, chalk, marble, natural gas, and limestone. Edo is the home of several ethnicities with 18 local government areas. Edo state also has many institutions owned by both state and federal governments.

Finally, Rivers State with the slogan "Treasure Base of the Nation", has Port Harcourt as its capital city which makes it the second largest commercial Centre in Nigeria. Rivers State boasts of a diverse ethnic population of over six million people and occupies an area of 11,077 km². The state accounts for over 40% of the nation's crude oil and food production. It has many higher institutions such as Rivers State University, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, University of Port Harcourt, Ken Poly, Elechi Amadi Polytechnics and Rivers State College of Health Science and Technology.

4.LITERATURE REVIEW

Education: The term "education" although used by many, is difficult to define, partly because it has a wide variety of meanings, partly because it involves not only one but several complex processes. Due to the complex nature and broadness of education, it is difficult for any definition to be comprehensive enough to satisfy the numerous concepts and interpretations, Ogbondah (2002). It is indeed difficult to give a concise and straightforward definition of the term "education" because education is a multi-faceted phenomenon (Elobuikie, 1986). To this end Peters (1996) who did so much to clarify the concept 'education' averred that education is not a word to which a single precise meaning can be attached. It is necessary to give some definitions of education and examine them as an illustration to the ongoing arguments.

Plato (1993) who is one of the earliest moral philosophers, defined education as "that training which is given by suitable baits to the first instinct of virtue in children when pleasure and pain are rightly implanted in rational souls." As a moralist, Plato conceives education in terms of moral training. His definition of education, however, is in tune with the then Athenian concept of education, which emphasized the development of right conduct. This goes again to illustrate the views expressed earlier that the society, to a large extent, influences the definition of education. In the same vein, Aristotle (1905) viewed education as "the development of a sound mind in a sound body". As a moralist, like his teacher, Plato, Aristotle laid emphasis on the body, arguing that there is a common relationship between the body and the mind. According to Aristotle, he averred that it is necessary for the mind and the body be trained to be sound. Aristotle definition was consequent upon the Athenian view of education at his time, which combined physical training popular in Spartan education, with character training of the Athenian educational system.

To Rousseau (1762) sees "education is the development of the individual from within (educere), by interacting with the natural environment with the aim of fitting him properly into the society." Rousseau's definition above strengthened the etymological foundation of the word, educere, which means "to lead out from within". In his radical approach to education, Rousseau sees the child at birth, as innocent and incorrupt but born into a corrupt society. He holds that education should help the child to develop his innocence and good qualities that are inborn in him so as to sanitize the already corrupt society, but how the child learns from a corrupt environment without being corrupt becomes a big question, which Rousseau alone can answer. However, he made us to know that the child's

early education (period of formation) should be through interaction with his environment (personal experience) not through a teacher as it is in other educational system.

Again, definitions of education are either sociological or humanistic. In other words, education is either applied as an acculturation of the child to do the will of the society of leading the child to develop his in-built potentials, taking into cognizance his age, interest and ability, among others. Each of the two approaches has its interest and ability as well as the methods of transmitting what is considered desirable and worthwhile to the individual. For the sociologists, the method and content are regarded as satisfactory by the society. Invariably, such content may not take full cognizance of the learner's needs and inborn qualities. According to the humanists, the learner is the focus of education. He is given enough freedom in the pursuit of knowledge as well as determining what knowledge could benefit him within the content of his society; (Amaele, 2005).

Military Government: According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, military government is the government established by a military commander in conquered territory to administer the military law declared under military authority applicable to all persons in the conquered territory and superseding any incompatible local law. Also, Nwankwo (1990) defined military government as a type of government formed by seizing state power by force in a military coup. The term military is a heavily-armed, highly organized force primarily intended for warfare, also known collectively as armed forces. It is typically authorized and maintained by a sovereign state, with its members identifiable by their distinct military uniform. It may consist of one or more military branches such as an Army, Navy, Air Force, Space Force, and Marines. The main task of the military is usually defined as defense of the state and its interests against external armed threats.

The military organization in Nigeria and world over is characterized by a strict command hierarchy divided by military rank, with ranks normally grouped (in descending order of authority) as officers (e.g, colonel), non-commissioned officers (e.g sergeant) and personnel at the lowest rank (e.g Private soldier). While senior officers make strategic decisions, subordinated military personnel fulfil them. (Jordan, Kiras, Lonsdale, Speller, Tuck and Walton, 2016). The military are not part of democratic system and therefore are dictatorial and authoritarian in their leadership. It is also on record that the first military coup in Nigeria took place on 15th January, 1966 which was spear-headed by late Major Kaduna Nzeogwu. The coup took the lives of some civilian politicians some of which include: Sir Abubakar Tafawa Belewa, S.I Akintola and Festus Okotie-Eboh who were Prime Ministers, of the different regions of the country.

Nwankwo (1990), stated that the reasons for the 1996 military intervention in Nigeria was as a result of so many factors, amongst which are; ineffectiveness of the civilian government to maintain law and order e.g 1965 Western Nigerian Election crisis, bribery and corruption of government officials and politicians, census crisis e.g 1962/1963 census, undermining the constitution, Nepotism and tribalism that perverted justice, suppression of legal opposition e.g Action Group (AG) and insensitivity to public opinion on the part of government of that day. Nwankwo (1990), also identified the achievement of the military government in Nigeria from 15th January 1966 to the present day as follows:

- The army kept and defended the sovereignty and unity of Nigeria during the civil war which South-South Nigeria was part and parcel.
- The military government embarked on the policy of reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation at the end of the civil war which has healed the wounds and aftermath of the war.
- The military created more states e.g 12 States in 1967, 19 states in 1976, and 12 states in 1987, 30 states in 1991, which the people of the South-South region of Nigeria benefited from.
- The army provided modern infrastructures in the country, especially in the rural areas e.g they built more roads, hospitals, electricity, markets, airports and seaports
- The military revived the ailing or supported economy of the country through the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) by introducing Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) and the Foreign Exchange Market (FEM).
- The military placed a ban on the importation of certain commodities and thus encouraged the growth of local industries.
- The military government successfully handed over power to the civilians in 1979 and introduced a new constitution for the country and a presidential system of government in the country which persist till date.
- Above all, the military government made a big progress in the education industry in South-South in particular and Nigeria at whole e.g they built more tertiary institutions and post primary institutions and introduced the universal primary education (UPE) programme in Nigeria.

Regimes of Various Military Leaders and their contributions to Educational Development: The inclusion of the military into Nigeria politics in January 1966 was a historical event in the annals of the Nigerian state. It is worthy to note that the process did not only halt the development of the country, nascent democratic institutions which the tertiary institutions were not an exception but also laid the foundation for the contemporary issues in the building of

the nation. The following are the various military regimes in Nigeria and their contributions to the development of tertiary education:

(a) Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (16 January, 1966 – 12 July, 1966):

Major – General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi was senior Nigerian officer in the military who led the 1966 military coup against the first president of Nigeria, President Nnamdi Azikiwe. During the coup, General Aguiyi-Ironsi and his army killed highest ranked politicians in the North and West of the country which include the first Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Aguiyi-Ironsi only lasted for 194 days (January of 1966 until June of 1966), before he was murdered in a counter coup by his perceived opponents in the Nigerian armed forces. According to Fagbamiye (1982), the military government led by General Aguiyi-Ironsi did not achieve much in educational development more especially at the tertiary institution level.

(b) General Yakubu Gowon (1 August, 1966 – 29 July, 1975)

Yakubu Gowon who ruled from 1966 – 1975 spent 8 years, 362 days in office. He led the coup against major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi. He implemented genocidal tactics against the Igbo people in the North. After the tension has reached a boiling point, in 1967, the Nigerian civil war started, which was caused by the Eastern Nigerians (the Igbos) who desires to split from Nigeria and form their own country which they called Biafran Republic. During the civil war, over 100,000 soldiers and 1,000,000 civilians were killed (Nwankwo, 1990). After the end of the war in 1970, there was a boom in the prices of oil in the country, that made Gowon to endorse modernization of Nigeria, which was achieved through creating infrastructure, such as international airports, a stadium, and an arts theatre and others too numerous to mention which still stand till today. During this period, educational development was one of Gowon's Agenda to reposition the country, this was achieved through the initiation of Federalization of education policy in the country in order to correct the imbalance that existed between the North and the South. The period witnessed the control of schools more especially the tertiary institutions by the federal government of Nigeria, schools at all levels during this time was taken over by the Federal government to eradicate statism and to input the spirit of unity and proper integration. From 12th July 1996 to 31st July 1996 was the successful prosecution of the civil war which save Nigeria from breaking up and was characterized by creation of 12 states which replaced the four regions of the country. Also this period witnessed effective programmes that help rehabilitate the effects posed by the civil war. The programme was achieved through the introduction of 3Rs which are: Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reintegration policy.

With phenomenally increased government revenue from petroleum exports and foreign aid, the Gowon administration also rebuilt schools, secured and distributed relief materials, constructed new oil refineries and thousands of kilometers of tarred roads and promoted sports and culture. On the 22nd of May, 1973 under decree No. 24, The National Youth Service Corps was introduced mostly to foster unity, encourage ethno-religious marriage among Nigerians and encourage university enrolment, as the universities and other institutions of higher learning are normally expected to be a training ground for the youths who are the future leaders, which would help to give the youths a proper guidance and orientation necessary to the needs of the country. The administration also inaugurated housing programmes in all Nigeria's states, and expanded education at all levels. The expansion include the creation of six(6) new federal universities in April, 1975 which include; University of Jos, University of Port Harcourt, University of Calabar, Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto, University of Maiduguri, and university of Ilorin. The administration at this time also made impact in the area of the takeover of four existing state universities, and plans to introduce free and compulsory primary education across the country.

(c) General Murtala Mohammed (29 July, 1975 – 13 February, 1976)

Murtala Mohammed who ruled from 1975 – 1976 spent 199 days in office as Nigeria head of state after the third military led coup in Nigeria against Gen. Yakubu Gowon on 29th July 1975, General Murtala Mohammed was put into power. Murtala Mohammed removed many former high-ranking politicians and officials an effort to distinguish his government from that of General Gowon many of these fired top politicians were jailed for their corrupt practices. During his stay in office, General Murtala Mohammed borrowed a lift from his predecessor, Gen. Yakubu Gowon by making sure that the Nigerian government took over all broadcasting and media, creating a monopoly of communications for the government as well as maintaining the Federalization policy which was instituted during the administration of Gen. Yakubu Gowon as the head of state, which left the control of all schools in the hands of Federal Government. In February, 1976, Murtala Mohammed's vehicle was ambushed on his way to his office and he was killed.

(d) Major General Olusegun Obasanjo (13 February, 1976, 1 October, 1979)

Major General Olusegun Obasanjo spent 3 years, 258 days in office. History also has it that Obasanjo did not actively participate in the coup of 1975 that led to the death of Murtala Mohammed, although, he supported it. Obasanjo who was Mohammed's deputy during his administration was also targeted for assassination but he escaped it. After the successful elimination of General Murtala Mohammed, Obasanjo came to power, before this time, the programme that will restore civil rule has been established and it was sustained by major General Olusegun Obasanjo. Despite the short period in office Obasanjo maintained the Federalization Policy of education to bridge the imbalance between the North and the South and promote educational equality among the regions and established the Joint

admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) in 1978 to solve the problem of multiple admission placement and institutionalized quota system and federal character. On the first 1st of October 1979, Obasanjo handed over power peacefully to a civilian ruler, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, marking the first time in the history of Africa.

(e) Major-General Muhammadu Buhari (31 December, 1983 – 27 August, 1985);

After taking from the democratically elected government of Shehu Shigari, major-General Mohammadu Buhari, who ruled the country for 1 year, 239 days justified the military's actions in 1983 by removing the civilian government led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari for being corrupt and hopeless. Buhari suspended the Nigeria's 1979 constitution indefinitely. Buhari's government increased interest rates, the government also involved in major cut back to public and government spending, and prohibiting the government from borrowing more money. Buhari also cut tied with international monetary fund (IMF) during this period all in a bid to encourage economic stability. The government under review was marred with harsh policies formulated by the government to protect itself, with many Nigerians, who he perceives as a security threat were detained, jailed, and even executed during his rule. To this note the government of major- General Mohammadu Buhari achieved little or nothing on the area of educational development as he merged some of the universities carelessly established by the second Republic Civilian Government led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari (Ejiogu, 1988). That notwithstanding, the government of Buhari at this period also scrapped all the private tertiary institutions during this period. Buhari's government also stopped the establishment of universities of science and technology and state owned universities. Although this gesture helped to restore normalcy and uniformity into the system, which helped in solving the problem of imbalance among the south and the North.

(f) General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (27 August, 1985 – 26 August, 1993)

When Nigerians, particularly the military leadership, were becoming uncomfortable with Buhari's harsh pattern of leadership, there came a bloodless coup that ushered in Babangida as the head of state who ruled 7 years, 364 days with the help of loyal mid-level military offices which he placed strategically into positions to benefit his aspirations of power. In 1990, there was a counter coup against the government of General Ibrahim Babangida by the Army. In June 1993, there was a presidential election in Nigeria that ushered in President Ernest Shonekan, although the election was nullified which led to civil unrest and labour strikes in the country. The government of Babangida was described as the most corrupt in the history of Nigeria. From 1980's and beyond, the decay of all tiers of education was monumental, facilities had almost collapsed, teachers and lecturer's morale was at its lowest. Enabling environment for conducive teaching and learning was absent. The administration of president, Ibrahim Babangida mindful of the reality of the situation took measures to arrest the menace. In December 1990 the Federal Government constituted the commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria (The Gray Longe Commission) to review the post independence Nigeria Higher Education after Lord Ashby's Commission of 1959.

The Longe Commission recommended among others the funding of higher education through earmarked tax to be borne by companies operating in Nigeria. An implementation committee under the chairmanship of professor Olu O. Akinkugbe was constituted to implement Gray Longe's Commission report recommendations. Also an agreement was signed between the Federal Government and the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) on the 3rd September, 1992 on funding of universities. In January 1993, the Education Tax Act No. 7 of 1993 was promulgated alongside other education related Decrees. The Decrees imposed a 2% tax on the assessable profits of all companies in Nigeria. This was a home grown solution to addressing issues of funding to rehabilitate decaying infrastructure, restore the lost glory of education and confidence in the system as well as consolidate the thereto; build capacity of teachers and lecturers; teacher development; development of prototype designs etc. Despite the corrupt nature of the government educational sector was not left aside especially the tertiary institutions. The government during this period established many Federal universities such as the University of Abuja (1988), Federal University of Agriculture (1988), Abeokuta, and the National Open University in Lagos (1983).

(g) General Sani Abacha (17 November, 1993 – 8 June, 1998)

This government lasted for 4yrs, 203 days in office. Shortly after overthrowing President Ernest Shonekan, General Abacha issued a decree that gave his regime an absolute power and immunity to prosecution. Abacha was the one of the organizers of the 1966 counter-coup, the 1983 military coup, and the 1985 coup. He led the 1993 military coup against, the interim government. Abacha's political legacy rests upon his remarkable economic achievements which overshadowed the controversial aspects of his administration such as corruption and human rights abuses. Owing to the fact that Abacha was reckoned on the Economic development, Abacha's government made a lot of impacts on the establishment and development of tertiary institutions in the country. Before this period, there was decentralization of power which empowered state governments, and private individual to establish schools which helped in bringing education closer to the people. The quota system which was also enforced to accord the citizens the chances of gaining admission into higher institutions of learning. The government achieved much in education, Abacha died mysteriously in 1998 and many Nigerian celebrated his death due to his corruption nature and human rights abuses.

(h) General Abdulsalami Abubakar (9 June, 1998 – 29 May, 1999):

Abubakar who was reluctant to accept the leadership of Nigeria after the death of Abacha was sworn in on the 9th of June 1998. He ruled for 355 days, during this period Nigeria needed a leader of Abubakar's caliber to avoid plunging the country into another civil war, as he was known to be a peaceful man who had Nigeria's best interests at

heart. He created a new constitution for the country which would be implemented once a democratically elected leader was sworn in shortly after his arrival, Abubakar promised to hold general elections and step down as a leader of the country within a year. There was critics of other military leaders during this period and they doubted him that he would not keep this promise, but he did and handed power over to President Olusegun Obasanjo as the democratically elected president of Nigeria on 29 May, 1999. Although, he did not achieve much because of his short period in office but he contributed to the development of tertiary institutions in Nigeria during the period of his administration as the military head of state.

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Functionalist Theory: The functionalism theory derives from the English word, function. Its proponents include Augustine Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons. However, Durkheim is often cited as having had profound influence on the development of functionalism (Okodudu, 2007) as well as Talcott Parsons. According to the theory, it assumes that societies were made up of interrelated social elements. The key points of the functionalist perspective may be summarized by a comparison drawn from Biology which compare society like the human body system that is made up of various components which works together to function effectively. According to the theory if a part of the body is dysfunctional the whole system suffers. Hence there is an extrapolation that all the system must be in good order for effective functioning. This means that if Biologists wanted to know how an organism such as the human body worked, they might begin by examining the various parts such as the brain, lungs, heart and liver. Hence, the functionalist theory extrapolates this idea and relates it to the function of the society.

According to Haralambos and Holborn (2008), it avers that functionalism explains how social structure of the society functions for the effective sustainability of the society. This involves an examination of the relationship between the different parts of the structure and relationship to society as a whole. Hence, reveals the functions of institutions. In practice, the term function is usually used to indicate the contribution an institution makes to the maintenance and survival of the social system. Furthermore, the functionalist sees the society as a system. A system is an entity made up of interconnected and interrelated parts. From this viewpoint, it follows that each part will in some way affect every other part and the system as a whole. It also follows that, if the system is to survive, its various parts must have some degree of compatibility. Hence, there is need to integrate with other parts. They added that if any of the parts suffers or faces abnormality, it affect the whole part.

Durkheim (1961) posited and gave more functionalist perspectives on educational system. He tends to explain and focus on the positive contributions education makes to the maintenance of the social system. There, he maintained that: "society can survive only if there exists among its members as sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities which collective life demands". Hence, Durkheim (1961) added that education teaches individual's specific skills necessary for their future occupations. Thus, schools transmit both general values which provide the necessary homogeneity for social survival and specific skills; which provides the necessary diversity for social cooperation. Equally, Parsons (1961) gave what has become the accepted functionalist view of education. Writing in the late 1950s, Parsons argued that after primary socialization within this family, the school takes over as the focal socializing agency. The school acts as a bridge between the family and society as a whole, preparing children for their adult role.

Extrapolating from the functionalist view, it explains that society is made up of various institutions. These institutions are the military and the educational sector. As part of society these contributions cannot be overemphasized. The military government played vital and immense role towards the establishment of tertiary education in South-South region of Nigeria. They are aware of the role of education in development of Nigeria. Hence, the government established various universities, colleges of education and polytechnics. These developments have led to the generation of manpower for industrialization in Nigeria to ensure the survival of the nation.

6. METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a historical research design. Hence, the approach or design will help to describe and analyze factors that have affected educational development and others. The nature and sources of data used in this study are primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data includes: oral testimonies, personal/official/legal document and wares, focus group discussion, Archaeological materials, reports, photographs, certificates, decrees and edicts, etc. while the secondary data includes: Journals, review research and other references, textbooks, encyclopedia, Newspapers & magazines, periodicals, T.V Documentary, Internet information (web sources), monographs, projects, dissertation and thesis. The in-depth interview method was used for data collection. Since the study is qualitative, the content analysis was used for data analysis.

7. RESULT/DISCUSSION

1). What are the Various Tertiary Institutions Established by the Military Government in the South-South, Nigeria?

According to Ogbeide (2004) and Oko-Otu (2019) the military government established various tertiary institutions across Nigeria. These institutions range from universities, polytechnics, Colleges of Education, and Monotechnics. However, the study reviewed various tertiary institutions established by the military government in South-South Nigeria. These include:

Table 2.1 Universities established by the military government in South-South

S/No	Name of universities	State/location	Year Founded
1	University of Benin	Edo state, Benin city	1970
2	University of Calabar	Cross River, Calabar	1975
3	University of Port Harcourt	Rivers state, Choba,	1975
4	University of Uyo	-Akwa-Ibom, Uyo	1991

Source: Compiled by National Universities Commission (NUC) in Chukwu (2020)

Table 2.2 Polytechnics Established by the Military Government in South-South

S/No	Name of Polytechnics	State/location	Year Founded
1	Petroleum Training Institute	Effurun, Delta state	1973
2	Auchi Polytechnic	Auchi, Edo state	1973
3	Federal Polytechnic, Ekowe	Ekowe, Bayelsa state	1990
5	Kenule Beeson Saro-Wiwa Polytechnic, Bori	Bori, Rivers state	1988
6	AkwaIbom state Polytechnic	Ikot-Osurua, Akwa-Ibom state	1991
7	Rivers state college of Arts and Science, Rumuola	Rumuola Port Harcourt	1991

SOURCE: Compiled by National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) in Chukwu (2020)

Table 2.3 Colleges of Education Established by the Military Government.

S/No	Name of Colleges of Education	State/location	Year Founded
1	Federal College of Education (Technical) Asaba	Delta state, Asaba,	1987
2	Federal College of education (T) Omoku	Rivers state, Omoku	1986
3	Federal College of education Obudu	Cross Rivers state, Obudu,	1983
4	College of education, Ekiadolor	Edo state, Ekiadolor	1979
5	Dekta state college of education, Agbor	Delta state, Agbor.	1979
6	Akwa-Ibom state college of education, Afahansit	Akwa-Ibom state, Afahansit,	1990
7	Rivers state college of education, Rumuolumeni	Rumuolumeni, Rivers state	1971

Source: Compiled by National Commission of Colleges of Education (NCCE) in Chukwu (2020)

2). what are the Various Educational Policy of Military Government towards Development of Tertiary Institutions in South-South from 1967 – 1999?

The various educational policies of the military government geared towards development of tertiary institutions in South-South particularly and Nigeria at large are;

The Centralization Policy: The centralization policy is one of the tertiary educational policy introduced by the military government which affected educational development of the South-South region. The reason for this policy was due to the importance of education towards national development. Succinctly, considering the importance of education, Kosemani and Orubite (1995) citing South (1971) posited that “education can influence so profoundly (importantly) the thought and character of individuals and of nations that “it matters greatly what its aims and principles are”.The assumption of power by the military government initiated the centralization policy as the conditional focus of their education policy, however, this policy adopted by the military government is premised on the general view that education constitutes the bedrock towards national development.

Again, Ogbeide, (2004), Otiti (1990) and Dike (1966) averred that the emergence of the military government especially in 1983 used education as a template to ensure national integration, unity and reduction of political thuggery, ethnic tension and conflict. Again, to ensure advancement or breakthrough on technology. However, the centralization policy of the military government were targeted towards training South-South and other Nigerian citizens to be patriotic and loyal to the Nation. Furthermore, they observed that ethnic bias among various ethnic groups in Nigeria breeds insecurity and underdevelopment, led to the policy of centralization to instill or inculcate morality and good value system in South - South region and other parts of the country.

Federalization Policy: The Federalization policy constitutes one of the numerous tertiary education policies in Nigeria which influenced tertiary education in South-South region. The adoption of this federalization policy was encouraged or necessitated by the desire to ensure ethnic equality. However, it was targeted at abolishing geographical or ethnic domination against one ethnic group over another. The policy gives minimum standards and

the establishments of institutions such as the Nigerian Universities Commission (NUC), of Decree 16 of 1985 which was later amended in 1993 the power to accredit Universities in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the NUC annual report of July 1975 to June 1977 described the Federalisation policy and the power given to them by the military government as an attempt to stop geographical parochialism in Nigerian universities and to halt the indiscriminate proliferation. Therefore, concerned about giving our universities a true national outlook and also to ensure a coordinated, efficient and sustainable development. Despite this there was more tertiary institutions established in South-South region.

In a nutshell, the emphasis on the Federalization policy was motivated by the urge to balance geographical or ethnic clamour against domination. This led to the establishment of various tertiary institutions within the period of 1984 to 1999 to satisfy the geographical or ethnic demands with equal opportunities. Succinctly, Ogbeide (2004) emphatically, commented that the essence of Federalisation education policies of the military government was hinged on geographical equality.

This policy reflects this view as found in the Nigerian constitution of 1980 section 14:3 which states that the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such manner that will reflect the needs to promote national unity and also to command national loyalty, hereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in any of its agencies.

Finally, the result or effect of federalization education policy was that all the tertiary institutions were controlled by the federal government. The military take over the control of education at all levels had the intention to discourage statism and to encourage unity and proper integration. So far, Ifemeje (1979) highlights the importance of the Federalisation policy and the dangers of regionalization, statism or leaving the control of education to voluntary agencies. He rightly urged that: Nobody should doubt the good service done to this country by the voluntary agencies in offering opportunities for western type of education to millions of Nigerians for more than 100 years. Regrettably, we cannot fail to recognize some devastating injuries which they inflicted in the social fabrics for national existence; members of communities hitherto began to manifest different sympathy for one or the other of competing agencies. Youths of the same communities were robbed opportunities for growing up together so in thought and in actions, children in the same local environment became strangers to one another; some became Irish while others became English or Scottish in thought and action. Therefore, adopting federalization policy was seen as a better option towards reducing educational imbalance and better integrations of South-South region of Nigerians.

Quota System Policy: The quota system educational policy was a system policy adopted by the military government, which was aimed at balancing the educational disparities that exist among various ethnic groups and states in Nigeria. The quota system denied South-South region tertiary institutions the freedom to select their own students. However, the educational policy using the quota system was an idea to balance the ethnic equation as well as ensuring even or equal educational development in the country. Ogbeide (2004) lamented that the quota system policy itself was motivated by the desire to satisfy the ambition of some political groups from the North, hence its effects on the South-South cannot be overemphasized. In support of the above assertion, Ojo (1992) felt dissatisfied and stated that any attempt to introduce the quota system into the educational system is a violation of section 39(3) of Nigeria constitution of 1999 and would be regarded as ultra-vires and void.

Furthermore, Ike (1976) confirmed that the application of the quota system resulted in denying a brilliant student admission on a federal tertiary institution in South-South region and in his own country, in preference of or less brilliant student, purely on the ground of birth. However, the implication of this quota system policy by the federal military government could hardly expect a high level of loyalty from the brilliant students. Extrapolating from the quota system policy of education in South-South region, the quota system failed to achieve the aims of its establishment. The failure led to establishment of state universities and other tertiary institutions, the other state owned, tertiary institutions established countered the effects of quota system policy on its citizens. Further, Ogbeide (2004) lugubriously stated that instead of the quota system policy producing quality manpower, because of its rivalry amongst the ethnic groups, the institutions produced half-baked graduates which led to high level of ethnic rivalry, religious intolerance as well as destroying the standard of higher education in the country.

Federal Character Policy: Federal character educational policy of the military government made huge impact in Educational development of the South-South region. It was geared towards the satisfaction or promotion of national unity and promote national loyalty, thereby ensuring that the existence of no predominance of persons from few states or groups in that government or its agencies. In-depth interview conducted reviewed that federal character has wide implication for higher education. In relation to tertiary or higher education, federal character was being considered not only in terms of student's admission into academic programme but also in terms of staff of academics, technical and administrative divisions in the tertiary institutions in South-South region. However, the policy is not only concerned with the equitable distribution of federal positions among various geographical and ethnic regions but aims at national integration through participation and interaction.

According to the Federal government, the aim of federal character is to achieve even or equal spread in the economic benefits accruing from tertiary education (Ogbeide, 2004). Thus, the process of federal character

introduced the attempt on the part of government to create a geo-political equilibrium in tertiary education in Nigeria and South-South region were not left out.

Ranging from 1971, there have been political considerations above education and this have played most significant role in the distribution of tertiary institutions in South-South region of Nigeria. Drive by the mandate of federal character to adopt expansion of tertiary institutions in Nigeria, led to damaging results for standard. The federal character policy on education had some advantages and disadvantages in South-South region. Tertiary education was no longer the prerogative of the upper class, the affluent or the wealthy people. The federal character policy also bridges the gap between the North and the South. This led to more introductions of tertiary institutions in the South-South region. Regrettably, the federal character policy was observed with high level of tribalism, favoritism and discrimination in South-South region. People were appointed into offices on tribal or ethnic bases instead of merit and excellence, paper qualification became the order of the day and many could not defend their certificates. Again, it ushered in unemployment and under-employment in South-South region.

3). Does funding constitute a challenge to military government tertiary institutions development in South-South region of Nigeria 1967-1999?

The emergence of military government and educational development of tertiary institutions was hit up with high level of politics and corrupt practices. Within the South-South region despite being the oil rich region suffered set-back of tertiary education development due to funding crisis or challenges. Funds actually according to Ogbinaka (2012) were in some cases raised, but some elites and school heads embezzled the funds meant for development of tertiary institutions.

Again, funding challenge was also an issue due to proliferation of more tertiary institutions within the region. It was from 1970 that the first tertiary institution was established in South-South region, specifically at Edo State. After which more institutions were established amounting to 19 tertiary institutions in South-South region. Funding of these institutions was not easy considering the aspiration and objective of its formation. The availability of funds would have helped to secure conducive learning environment good salaries to lecturers, more buildings and laboratory equipment. Absence of these funds made the system to produce half-backed graduates.

According to Uche and Okoli (2011) in their analysis on the conditions of infrastructure in Nigeria tertiary institutions, lamented that during the military government educational development claim, equipment, facilities, infrastructures and utilities are dilapidated, outdated and grossly inadequate. Classrooms are overcrowded and students lack motivation to learn. In fact, comparing the educational challenges in South-South region led Uche & Okoli (2011) to opine that military government generates problems to educational development and this has caused flight of talents to another country in this new dimension today. They added that it is not known how much funds the NUC has been able to attract to the universities. Hence, inadequate funding has been the malady with the various tertiary institutions in South-South region.

Still on funding, federalization gave to excessive centralization of educational planning that the crises of educational funding led to incessant strike actions on the part of the academic staff and demonstrations and riots by students. In the South-South region, precisely throughout 1993, various tertiary institutions, especially universities were shut at will. The effect was that all undergraduates lost a year. Further, more strike actions followed so much that up till date Nigerian tertiary institutions, specifically within the South-South region have not recovered the usual calendar that put the session in place ahead of time.

Adamu (1989) posited that from 1979-1985 there was series of inflation which affected tertiary educations funding and development. In the South-South region, funds were in a very sharp drop. Each University in South-South received the following funds:

Table 4.1: Funding of federal Universities in South-South Region

YEAR	CAPITAL	RECURRENT
1979	150,000,000	200,000,000
1980	183,879,000	261,381,000
1981	382,218,725	320,000,000
1982	199,575,00	334,000,480
1983	40,600,000	433,380,480
1984	45,548,881	433,380,480
1985	150,000,000	433,810,630

Source: Adamu (1989: 49) cited in Chukwu (2020)

Akanbi (2015) posited that plans were made for new formula but was suspended at a moment. In the early seventies, the federal government under military gave grants and scholarships to deserving students. Accommodation and meals were subsidized. This was also replicated by state government. All the students admitted into teachers training college were given automatic scholarship. Regrettably, in 1978, these scholarships were withdrawn; students demonstrated vehemently against such withdrawal and took to the streets. The military government responded with guns and tear gases, and both students and civilians were killed (Akanbi, 2015). The military government decided to

take loans from International Monetary Fund (IMF) and it was heavily opposed by academic class. This affected education automatically in South-South region, which led to withdrawal and drop out of many students from schools.

The federal universities were under a state of financial emergency since 1983. Physical developments slowed considerably in the various established tertiary institutions. The various newly established tertiary institutions needed to develop quickly to their minimum operational level, since most institutions were having about 1,500 students and thus insufficient funds led to many project being stalled and remained uncompleted (Alabeke, 2018).

8.CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, the study has shown the impact of military government towards the establishment and development of tertiary institutions in the South-South region. Their major aims were to ensure national integration, unity and tolerance amongst Nigerians and also to ensure the development of manpower which will serve as a veritable source to national development. This is in line with some scholarly statement that no society can develop above her educational system. Considering the importance of education to national development, there is need to review Nigerian tertiary educational system in its entirety. This will aid in restoring merit and adequate educational curriculum that will address the pressing needs of the people as well as promoting good value system in the society. The military government has made a bold effort in advancement of education which should serve as a template for civilian government to build upon and ensure equalization, development and effective supervision of tertiary institutions in South-South and also in Nigeria at large.

Addressing the need for development using education as instruments, the educational review in Nigeria should give priority to those who are desirous for education and not for those who are weak intellectually. Those who meet educational standard should be admitted into Nigeria tertiary institutions so as to produce quality and standard graduates and reducing half-baked products as currently seen in South-South region and Nigerian tertiary institutions today. Equally, the federal government led by the civilian, should adopt most of the military educational policies especially the federalization and centralization of education as this will help to reduce ethnic crisis and tolerance among Nigerians. However, the study also recommend that, the civilian government should incorporate some effective educational policies of the military government and formulate workable educational policies of tertiary institutions to ensure development of the system.

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