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Comparative Analysis of Funding of Education in Nigeria

Uhunmwuangho, Sunday Okungbowa, Ph.D.

Institute of Public Administration and Extension Services University of Benin, Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria E-mail: uhunmwuangho4you@yahoo.com

> **Diakpomrere, V. O., Ph.D.** Department of Theatre Arts

University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria

Abstract

Some of the obstacles to the nascent democracy In Nigeria include the neglect of education for Its citizens, the spate of armed robbery attacks, political assassinations, religious conflicts and lack of proper education funding coupled with the seeming helplessness of security agencies to handle criminal acts. The focus of this paper is to comparatively analyse the funding of Education in Nigeria tertiary institutions. In the 19 years since Nigeria returned to civil rule under the Fourth Republic, University teachers in the country have embarked on strikes 14 times that saw them stay away from work for about 40 months. The latest strike by the teachers under the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) began in November 2018 lasted till February 2019, in spite of several rounds of meetings between leaders of the Union and the Federal Government all because of funding of education. ASUU has been locked in a protracted dispute with the Nigerian government over issues connected to poor funding of public universities. In the course of this study, the Comparative Analysis of Funding of Education in Nigeria were brought to the fore while the objectives of the study were well spelt out. Hypotheses were postulated and the Group Theory was used to explicate the works. Data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. From the primary sources, the survey method was adopted. Data obtained from this method were analysed with the aid of Simple Percentage. Thereafter, the five researchable hypotheses were tested and accepted while the null hypotheses were rejected. The implication is that there was relationship between the

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dependent and independent variables. Generally, the paper brought to focus that effective funding of education in Nigeria is a task that must be done with collective efforts of all stakeholders for the growth and development of universities in Nigeria. In a nutshell, this paper suggested policy prescription and recommendations which are aimed at repositioning universities in Nigeria. Finally, this paper however, painstakingly appraised several of these issues and concluded that all stakeholders in the federal polity should thread softly, be objective, rational, altruistic and magnanimous in order not to make the existence of true federalism (social, education, political and economic cohesive existence of the people, peace and tranquillity) a fleeting illusion and a mirage.

Key Words: Education, Funding, Strikes, Federal, State, Government

Introduction

Nigeria sovereign nation, more than anything else, the greatest obstacle to the nascent democracy is the neglect of education for Nigerian citizens in nation building, as evidenced by the spate of armed robbery attacks, political assassinations, religious conflicts and education funding coupled with the seeming helplessness of security agencies to handle criminal acts (Uhunmwuangho & Epelle, 2011). The situation is worsened by the increasing number of uneducated Nigerians some of whom are ready recruits for criminal activities (Nigerian Tribune, 2002). The above statement from an editorial comment by a national daily in Nigeria indeed epitomises the central focus of this paper, the aim of which is to analyse the importance of education to democratic sustainability in Nigeria.

The focus of this paper is to comparatively analyse the funding of Education in Nigeria tertiary institutions. Universities all over the world and particularly in Nigeria often provide the philosophical drive, and in some cases, the front-line troops for social change, including revolutions and, occasionally centre of excellence. In the 19 years since Nigeria returned to civil rule under the Fourth Republic, University teachers in the country have embarked on strike 14 times that saw them stay away from work for about 40 months. The latest strike by the teachers under the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) began on the 4th of November 2018 and there is yet no end in sight, in spite of several rounds of meetings between leaders of the Union and the Federal Government all because of funding of education. ASUU has been locked in a protracted dispute with the Nigerian government over issues connected to poor funding of public universities (Wikipedia, 2018).

The history of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU)'s strike can be traced back to 1978, the period of the beginning of the decline in the oil boom, when the country faced the consequences of the failure by its rulers to use the oil wealth to generate production and a social welfare system. Military dictatorship had eroded deeply the basic freedoms in the society. Academic freedom and university autonomy were casualties of military dictatorship. The funding of education, and so of universities, became poorer. The factors required a changed orientation of the union of academics, from 1980. Asia's orientation became radical, more concerned with broad national issues, and stood firmly against oppressive, undemocratic policies of the country (UNIBEN Strategic Plan, 2010).

Therefore, the development of political and administrative institutions in Western Europe has shown that other countries that have modernized or developed politically and those new and old nation states that strive towards modernization or development have developed political system. These features have made the demands for their societies. On the other hand, the

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problem of the developing world primarily lies in the historical perspective e.g. the colonial and post-colonial era. The current civilian regime in Nigeria has been in place since May 1999. It would be expected that the relationship between the Government and the Universities stakeholders as regards funding would be more cordial and more productive. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Therefore, it is an incontrovertible fact that most governments in the third world countries regard people as the real wealth of the nation, and the basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy, poverty-free and creative lives. This is the focus of education for all in the year 2000, a policy statement of the government and development in the late twentieth century. Whether viewed from economic, social, political or cultural perspective, education is pivotal to development and is now assessed on what people are capable of doing or how best they can mobilize their local resources to meet domestic needs (Akintoye & Uhunmwuangho, 2018).

University worldwide is regarded as the citadel of learning, the fountain of intellectual development and a ground for the production of leaders of tomorrow. According to Fafunwa (1999) a university fulfils, one major function, it is a knowledge and value provider, in other words, a university progresses when it is able to provide knowledge and value and when it is not properly managed by the administrators and staff, it then fails in its function of providing knowledge for service and value. Accordingly, this explains why merit has been the watchword in the university system, an institution in which a student must first be certified worthy in character and learning before being admitted into the Honours' Degree.

Problems

It is not difficult to see that our country is brimming with frustrated young men and women. The more desperate among them form cult, kidnapping and armed robbery groups and take it out on the society. Sadly, their victims are not in a position to make things better for them. You are looking at the unacceptable face of a monumental national scandal. So many institutions, so few opportunities for the training of our leaders of tomorrow. The problem is that the big people do not see this as a major national scandal.

One is tempted to argue that the under-funding of educational institutions in Nigeria is deliberate. It started under the military era, realizing that ideas were more powerful than the guns, the military pauperized and under-developed tertiary education so as to make tertiary institutions lecturers subservient to their antics, whims and caprices (Iyayi & Momoh, 2015). Therefore, under-funding of tertiary education is a deliberate state strategy for the imposition of ruling elite hegemony for the purpose of social and political control and domination. It was also designed to reverse the adage that says "the pen is mightier than the sword", to "the sword is mightier than the pen". It came in the context of the role of what Antonio Gramsci calls the organic intellectuals have played in Nigerian policy, they manifested as Nigerian public intellectuals and they had organic links to new social movements and Labour Movement, and involved in popular struggles for political transformation (Iyayi & Momoh, 2015).

The approach of the Government is to challenge the Universities to manage their finances better, and to generate funds from other sources. As a result, this logical argument is being met with extreme resistance by university staff, and of course, the students, who claim that the Government is perfectly capable of funding education fully if proper prioritization was applied to the Nation's expenditure and if corruption was eliminated (Makanjuola, 2003).

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Consequently, there is multiple and hydra-headed crises in tertiary education in Nigeria, and generally our education has become mundane, moribund and backward as regards underfunding. It is also suffering the crisis of relevance and unable to respond to the challenges of the times, and it has huge technological and cultural deficits. It is also unable to empower the people and bring about rapid technological development in ways in which education, especially research, has led to the rapid development of China, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. More often, the rapid technological development of those countries is attributed to the specific kind of leadership they had, but the secret to their success is the kind of educational system and their ability to valorise and give special attention and preference to knowledge produced by their various tertiary institutions, which are also well funded (Iyayi & Momoh, 2015)

The majority of students in most of the higher institutions in the West African sub-region are Nigerians. These are the young men and women whose parents can afford to parcel them off every year to more educationally salubrious institutions of higher learning. If they do not do that, their children and wards would remain here and be subjected to the yearly trauma of taking JAMB and IJMB (*Guardian*, 2017). We have neglected education at the peril of our nation. We may continue to pretend that all is well. But a nation that lives a lie lives to regret it in the long term.

However, in a world Bank study of budgetary allocation to the education sector of 20 countries, Nigeria had the lowest allocation for the year 2012. Ghana, Cote D''Ivoire, Uganda, Morocco, South Africa and Swaziland constituted the top 6, respectively; while Kenya placed 8th behind Mexico. Nigeria's 2012 education allocation was 8.4%.

Country	% Budget	Position
Ghana	31	1 st
Cote D'Ivoire	30	2^{nd}
Uganda	27	3 rd
Morocco	26.4	4 th
South Africa	25.8	5 th
Swaziland	24.6	6 th
Mexico	24.3	7 th
Kenya	23	8 th
United Arab Emirates	22.5	9 th
Botswana	19	10 th
Iran	17.7	11 th
United States of America	17.1	12 th
Tunisia	17	13 th
Lesotho	17	14 th
Burkina Faso	16.8	15 th
Norway	16.2	16 th
Columbia	15.6	17 th
Nicaragua	15	18 th
India	12.7	19 th
Nigeria	8.4	20 th

Annual Budgetary Allocations to Education of 20 World Bank Sampled Countries - 2012

Source: World Bank, 2012

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A careful study of table one above reveals that Nigeria is at the lowest ladder with 8.4 percent of budgetary allocation. In the words of Okebukola (2003),

the benefits of the acquisition of any higher education programme now went largely to the individual as a private good for which beneficiaries and their families should pay ... a additional co-commitant of the private good is that, grants have been changed to loans, placing major burdens on many university graduates.

University worldwide is regarded as the citadel of learning, the fountain of intellectual development and a ground for the production of leaders of tomorrow. According to Fafunwa (1999) a university fulfils, one major function, it is a knowledge and value provider, in other words, a university progresses when it is able to provide knowledge and value and when it is not properly managed by the administrators and staff, it then fails in its function of providing knowledge for service and value. Accordingly, this explains why merit has been the watchword in the university system, an institution in which a student must first be certified worthy in character and learning before being admitted into the Honours' Degree.

The major problem is that funding to the Universities has become progressively more inadequate. In actual sense, even dollar terms, the funding has increased. However, a series of salary increases has had disastrous effects on the financial situation. Almost all the funds available are being utilized for the payment of salaries, and many institutions have difficulty in meeting even this obligation (Ita, 2007)

It is against this background that the following hypothetical questions needs to be answered:

- 1. What is the concept of ASUU in academic administration in Nigeria?
- 2. What are the causes of frequent ASUU strike in Nigerian Universities?
- 3. Who are the most affected whenever there is strike in Nigeria universities?

Objectives

The specific objectives are:

- 1. To ascertain if inadequate funding hinders effective University administration in Edo State.
- 2. To examine whether the dispute with Government is connected to poor funding of Nigerian Universities in Edo State.
- 3. To investigate the impact of incessant strike on academic performance of students in Universities in Edo State.
- 4. To ascertain the problems associated with the implementation of agreement between ASUU and Federal Government
- 5. To examine whether the on-going strike by ASUU is connected with under-funding of Universities in Nigeria.

Hypotheses

In order to achieve the above objectives, the following research hypotheses were formulated:

1. There is no significant relationship between inadequate funding and University

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administration in Edo State.

- 2. There is no significant relationship between the dispute with Government and poor funding of Nigerian Universities in Edo State
- 3. There is no significant relationship between the impact of incessant strike and academic performance of students in Edo State.
- 4. There is no significant relationship between the problems associated with the implementation of ASUU agreement and the Federal Government
- 5. There is no significant relationship between the on-going strike by ASUU and underfunding of Universities in Nigeria.

Theoretical Exposition

The particular theories that can sufficiently act as a guide for the analysis of issues in this paper are Pluralist and Unitarianism theories. Each theory offers a particular perception of workplace relations and will therefore interpret such events as workplace conflict, the role of unions, strike or industrial action and job regulation differently.

(a) **Pluralist Theory**

Pluralist theory tends to see conflict as inherent in workplaces. In pluralism, the organization is perceived as being made up of powerful and divergent sub-groups, each with its own legitimate loyalties and with their own set of objectives. In particular, the two predominant sub-groups in the pluralist perspective are the management and trade unions (Moja, 2007). Consequently, the role of management would lean less towards enforcing and controlling and more toward persuasion and co-ordination. Trade unions are deemed as legitimate representatives of employees; conflict is dealt by collective bargaining and is viewed not necessarily as a bad thing and, if managed, could in fact be channelled towards evolution and positive change. The theory of pluralism is a by-product of the concern of bourgeois oriented social scientists for "democratic" and "stable" political institutions in the face of the threats posed to the continued survival of capitalist democracies (parliamentary or military dictatorship) by the pressures of the struggles of the deprived working masses. The Pluralist doctrine is therefore a political theory which seeks to redress the shortcomings of a capitalist political order with a view to prevent its overthrow and safeguard the status-quo, (Natufe, 2006).

(b) Unitarianism Theory

In Unitarianism theory, the organization is perceived as an integrated and harmonious whole with the ideal of "one happy family", where management and other members of staff all share a common purpose, emphasizing mutual cooperation. Furthermore, unitarianism has a paternalistic approach where it demands loyalty of all employees, being predominantly managerial in its emphasis and application, (Morgan, 2007). Conflict is perceived the pathological result of agitators, interpersonal friction and communication breakdown. The unitary approach posits the least amount of conflict. The unitary approach sees no conflict except as a pathological condition. This approach does not accept that there is any intrinsic conflict involving industry, labour and society. It sees industrial actions as a harmonious means of organizing society under normal circumstances. Unitary theory disputes that there is a meaningful role for conflict in the workplace. Unitarianism posit that management should set the rules and workers should cooperate in complying with the rules. Conflict is seen as

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disruptive. Managers and workers share a common interest and there is no need for "third party" interventions, (Ekong, 2007).

The goal of the Unitarianism is to domesticate the whole of the social unit under his control (Hinchcliffe, 2012). The unitarist ruler alone can determine how society is to be organized, what the goals should be and what changes are desirable. Sectarian agitations/activity by workers, students, peasants, professionals, market women, etc., can only dissipate the national will and energy.

Literature Review

Several scholars have written on the comparative analysis of funding of education in Nigeria. However, we shall review few of them. In the 19 years since Nigeria returned to civil rule under the Fourth Republic, university teachers in the country have embarked on strike 14 times that saw them stay away from work for about 40 months. The latest strike by the teachers under the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) began on 4th November, 2018 and there is yet no end in sight, in spite of several rounds of meetings between leaders of the union and the Federal Government. In fact, the teachers have warned students and parents to be prepared for a very long strike this time around (Adedigba, 2018).

ASUU has been locked in a protracted dispute with the Nigerian government over issues connected to poor funding of public universities. Every time the dispute boiled over to strike by the teachers, negotiations between the two parties always produced agreements. However, the government's failure to meet the teachers' expectations within the context of the agreements have been a primary reason ASUU has been on strike almost every year since 1999. Analyzed below is the timeline of ASUU strike since 1999 to date:

(1) 1999

At the end of Military rule in 1999, Nigerians ushered in democracy and a government that promised to be people-oriented. However, it did not take long for Nigerian students to experience a disruption in their academic schedules. A few months after the Obasanjo-Atiku administration was sworn-in, ASUU embarked on a nationwide strike that lasted five months (Adedigba, 2018).

(2) 2001

In 2001, ASUU declared another strike over the sack of 49 lecturers by the University of Ilorin. The industrial action happened after the then President, Olusegun Obasanjo, described Nigerian University Lecturers as "a bunch of lazy and ungrateful people." The strike lasted three months.

(3) 2002

The 2001 strike ended after an agreement between the union and government. However, ASUU embarked on another strike on December 29, 2002 after the Obasanjo administration failed to implement the agreement. The strike lasted two weeks. The issues in contention were the underfunding of universities and the need to reinstate the "unjustly" sacked 49 lecturers of the University of Ilorin (Adedigba, 2018).

(4) 2003

In 2003, Nigerian university students were at home for six months as ASUU embarked on another industrial action over the non-implementation of previous agreements related to poor funding of universities and disparity in salary and retirement age of teachers. The union alleged

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that despite revenue from fees, the ASUU-FG agreement on funding was not implemented. ASUU also accused the government of violation of laws.

(5) 2005

University Lecturers went on another industrial action which lasted two weeks (Adedigba, 2018).

(6) 2006

All academic activities were put on hold in public universities across the country when ASUU declared a three-day warning strike in 2006. The strike eventually lasted one week.

(7) 2007

The 2006 industrial action was followed by another one on March 26, 2007. The reasons for the strike which lasted three months were pretty much the same as for the previous strikes.

(8) 2008

ASUU went on strike for one week in 2008 in demand of an improved salary scheme and reinstatement of the 49 lecturers dismissed in 2001 from the University of Ilorin. A Court ruled that the University of Ilorin should reinstate the Lecturers but the university ignored the ruling (Adedigba, 2018).

(9) 2009

Lecturers in public universities across the country embarked on an industrial action that lasted four months over the implementation of the agreement government reached with ASUU about two and a half years earlier. The strike which started in June was called off in October, 2009. Before the strike was called off, the Federal government and the union entered into a new agreement. The 2009 ASUU/FG agreement later became the reason for subsequent industrial action.

(10) 2010

ASUU embarked on another indefinite strike that lasted over five months. The strike started on July 22, 2010, and was not called off until January 2011 (Adedigba, 2018).

(11) 2011

Saying the FG had failed to honour the 2009 agreement to adequately fund universities and implement the 70-year retirement age for professors, ASUU again paralyzed academic activities nationwide in December 2011. The strike lasted 59 days and was called off in 2012.

(12) 2013

The government's failure to review the retirement age for professors from 65 to 70 years; approve funding to revitalize the university system; increase the budgetary allocations to the education sector by 15 - 20 per cent among other demands led to another industrial action. The strike began on July 1, 2013, and was only called off on December 17, 2013. It lasted for five months, 15 days (Adedigba, 2018).

(13) 2017

On August 17, 2017, ASUU again declared an indefinite strike over unresolved and contentious issues with the Federal Government. The strike was called off in September. Earlier in February

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of the year, the Minister of Education, Prof. Adamu Adamu, constituted a committee "to engender sustainable peace, industrial harmony in tertiary institutions and resolve impending issues."

(14) 2018

ASUU declared an indefinite nationwide strike on November 4 after a meeting of its National Executive Council at the Federal University of Technology, Akure, Ondo State (Adedigba, 2018).

The strike was over poor funding of Nigerian universities, an alleged plan by the federal government to increase students' fees and introduce an education bank, as well as non-implementation of previous agreements. Government set up a committee to interface with the university-based labour unions – the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Non-Academic Staff Union (NASU), Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities (SSANU) and National Association of Academic Technologists (NAAT) over the contents of the agreement the unions reached with government in 2009. But in August, ASUU described the chairman of the committee, Adewale Babalakin as "a stumbling block in the renegotiation process" and called for the suspension of the committee (Adedigba, 2018).

Methodology

This research adopted a descriptive survey method. The method was based on selected Universities, University of Benin and Ambrose Alli University both in Edo State, Nigeria. The scope of the study is therefore restricted to only two Universities, University of Benin and Ambrose Alli University, Benin City which are the focal point. The population of the study consist of 1,054 respondents, based on two categories (Academic staff and Students) (see table two). Out of this number, nine hundred and seventy-one of them met our criteria and therefore form our sample size as can be seen in table two below:

S/No	Universities	Category of	No. of Returned	No. of Not	Total No. of
		Respondents	Questionnaires	Returned/Invalid	Sampled
				Questionnaires	Respondents
1.	University of	Academic	420	31	
	Benin	Students	180	09	640
2.	Ambrose Alli	Academic	230	26	
	University,	Students	141	17	414
	Ekpoma				
TOTAL			971	83	1,054

Table 2: Population of the Study/Rate of Returned Survey Questionnaire

Source: Field Survey 2018

Both Primary and Secondary sources of data were explored in trying to generate data for this study. The specific information required for the study was poor funding of education in Nigeria, poor reading habits of students among others. The questionnaire formed the main instrument used in generating primary data, while documented information on prints that are relevant to this study, constituted the secondary source of data. To compliment the information received through the questionnaire, respondents were also interviewed. As the research is based on attitude and opinions, the statistical tools employed in analysing responses include, tables and simple percentages. Out of the one thousand and fifty-four copies of the questionnaire

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distributed to the respondents, nine hundred and seventy-one studied were duly completed and returned in a useable form. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for the data analysis.

Data Analysis

Of all the nine hundred and seventy-one respondents, eighty (47%) of them are married; fifty (29%) are single while twenty-one (13%) are divorced and the remaining nineteen (11%) are either widow or widowers. Thirty (18%) of them are within the age bracket of 18 - 25, Fifty (29%) are between the age bracket of 26-35; while eighty (47%) are within the age bracket of 36-45 and the remaining forty-six years and above are ten (6%).

Table 3: Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between inadequate funding and

 University administration in Edo State

Responses	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	670	65
No	301	35
Total	971	100

Source: Statistical Analysis

Table 3 above shows that 670 (65%) of the total respondents agreed that inadequate funding of Universities hinders poor academic performance of students conversely responsible for the dwindling academic activities in Nigeria.

Therefore, the hypothesis one which states that there is no significant relationship between inadequate funding and University administration in Edo State is accepted.

 Table 4:
 Hypothesis 2: There is no significant relationship between the dispute with Government and poor funding of Nigerian Universities in Edo State

Responses	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	715	62
No	256	38
Total	971	100

Source: Statistical Analysis

Table 4 shows that 715 (62%) of the respondents agreed that the dispute with Government is responsible for poor funding of Nigerian Universities in Edo State conversely led to students' poor academic performance while 256 (38%) were not satisfied or disagreed.

Table 5: Hypothesis 3: There is no significant relationship between the on-gong ASUU strike and under-funding of Universities in Nigeria.

Responses	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	740	71
No	230	29
Total	971	100

Source: Statistical Analysis

Table 5 shows that 740 (71%) of the respondents agreed that the on-gong ASUU strike is related and/or contributed immensely to poor academic performance of Universities in Nigeria while 230 (29%) disagreed with the opinion.

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Therefore, the hypothesis which states that there is no significant relationship between the ongoing ASUU strike and academic performance of students is accepted.

Findings Based on Hypotheses

Based on the analysis of the hypotheses, all the research hypotheses were positive which implies that (H_r) 1-3 were accepted.

More so, the study revealed that poor funding of tertiary institution impacted negatively on poor academic performance of students. However, the desire of every university student is to complete his or her academic programmes without any hitch, but as it turns out in contemporary Nigeria society, ASUU strikes have placed limitations on this aspiration, apart from the fact that the strikes elongate the study duration of university students, the performance of students in academic activities are hampered, so much so that good and brilliant students end up graduating with poor grades. See figure 1 below for more details of Nigeria Political map.



Figure 1: Political map of Nigeria

Source: Wilkipedia catched 20 November, 2018.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusively, this paper revealed that poor funding of Nigerian Universities, an alleged plans by the Federal Government to increase students' fees and introduce an education bank, as well as non-implementation of previous agreement and also the epileptic academic calendar in Nigerian Universities, particularly University of Benin and Ambrose Alli University which are

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the focal points; is responsible for poor academic records as per the attestation in the hypothesis and findings of this paper,

Consequently, Education must e viewed as serving a public good rather than an individual good. It must be seen as having use-value rather than a commodity. The Federal Government had failed to honour the 2009 agreement to adequately fund Universities and implement the Memorandum of Action. This avoidable conflict between the government and ASUU must not be allowed to jeopardize the academics and future of Nigerian students. Education in Nigeria must be given its pride of place; the government must strive hard to meet the United Nation's minimum standard. Nigerian Universities cannot be locked up permanently and think ASUU and government will move about comfortably.

Arising from the result of the analysis and the conclusion made there from, the following recommendations are hereby made:

- a. Adequate measures should be put on ground by government and the Academic Staff Union of Universities and other stakeholders to check incessant strike in the educational system.
- b. Academic staff of Universities should ensure that a cordial relationship exists between them and their employer.
- c. Wealthy individuals and indigenous foundations should be encouraged to support endowments. This is one secret to the financial solvency of many Ivy-League schools in the United States of America.
- d. Alumni of tertiary institutions must play a proactive role beyond annual dinners and token interventions. It is incumbent upon tertiary institutions to connect and communicate well with individual members of their alumni and encourage them to render better assistance, individually and collectively (Iyayi & Momoh, 2018).
- e. Government at both Federal and State Levels must separate recurring expenditure of staff emolument from capital expenditure and ensure that they give weighted premium to both.
- f. Government should not make TERTFUND take over its statutory obligation to fund tertiary institutions. It should also give Grant-In-Aid to deserving institutions both Federal and State, using set criteria including diversity, inclusiveness, scholarship, protection of rights of minorities and needs (Iyayi & Momoh, 2018)

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