



Integrating Military Values into the Nigerian NCE Curriculum

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Abstract

The Nigerian education system faces significant challenges in producing graduates equipped with the values, discipline, and civic consciousness necessary for national development. This manuscript examines the potential of integrating military values into the Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) curriculum as a strategic approach to addressing deficiencies in citizenship education and character formation. Drawing on theoretical frameworks of citizenship education and empirical evidence from Nigeria's educational history, this study argues that carefully selected military values—including discipline, patriotism, service orientation, integrity, and leadership—can enhance the NCE curriculum's effectiveness in preparing teachers who will shape future generations. The analysis reveals that while military regimes introduced significant educational policies in Nigeria, implementation challenges undermined their effectiveness. By examining the intersection of military values, citizenship education, and teacher preparation, this manuscript proposes a comprehensive framework for curriculum integration that balances military virtues with democratic principles. Recommendations include developing specific NCE courses on civic-military values, establishing experiential learning programs modeled on the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), and creating assessment mechanisms that evaluate both cognitive and affective dimensions of military values integration. This approach aims to strengthen the NCE curriculum's capacity to produce teachers who can effectively transmit civic competencies, ethical standards, and national consciousness to Nigerian youth, thereby contributing to sustainable national development.

Keywords: Military values, NCE curriculum, citizenship education, teacher education, curriculum integration, Nigeria, sustainable development

Received 12 Jan., 2026; Revised 23 Jan., 2026; Accepted 25 Jan., 2026 © The author(s) 2026.

Published with open access at www.questjournals.org

I. Introduction

Education serves as the cornerstone for national development, social cohesion, and the transmission of societal values across generations (Ezeamama et al., 2025; UNESCO, 2009). In Nigeria, the education system has undergone numerous reforms aimed at addressing the multifaceted challenges facing the nation, including corruption, ethnic tensions, religious violence, and the erosion of civic values (Alutu & Ifedili, 2012; Ofozoba & Ofozoba, 2023). Despite these efforts, significant gaps remain in the preparation of teachers who can effectively instill the values, knowledge, and skills necessary for responsible citizenship and national transformation (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013). The Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) represents the minimum teaching qualification in Nigeria and serves as the foundation for teacher preparation, particularly for primary and junior secondary education levels (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004). Teachers graduating from Colleges of Education are entrusted with implementing citizenship education curricula and shaping the civic consciousness of young Nigerians (Edozie, 2009). However, research indicates a disconnect between the citizenship education curriculum taught in schools and the preparation teachers receive in Colleges of Education (Olunyi, 2011). This gap raises critical questions about the adequacy of the NCE curriculum in equipping teachers with the competencies required to foster civic awareness, ethical behavior, and national unity among students.

1.1 Background

Nigeria's educational trajectory has been significantly influenced by military governance, which spanned approximately three decades of the nation's post-independence history (Ofozoba, 2014). During this period, military regimes introduced several educational policies and programs, including the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme, the National Policy on Education, the 6-3-3-4 education system, and the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) (Ofozoba & Ofozoba, 2024; Umar & Alkanchi, 2023). While these initiatives demonstrated the military's recognition of education as a tool for national development, their implementation was often hindered by poor planning, inadequate funding, politicization, and corruption (Adeyemi, 2010; Nwagwu, 1998).

Nevertheless, certain values associated with military culture—discipline, patriotism, service orientation, integrity, leadership, and sacrifice—have proven effective in other contexts for character formation and civic development (Mhlauli, 2012a). The NYSC, a military-initiated program requiring Nigerian graduates to serve their nation for one year, has become institutionalized as a mechanism for promoting national unity and civic responsibility (Anene et al., 1998). This suggests that carefully selected military values, when properly adapted to educational contexts, could enhance the effectiveness of teacher preparation programs.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the existence of citizenship education curricula in Nigerian primary and junior secondary schools (Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council [NERDC], 2007), several challenges persist. These include inadequate teacher preparation, insufficient coverage of contemporary citizenship issues, limited emphasis on civic dispositions, and weak linkages between educational content and national development goals (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013; Oluniyi, 2011). Current NCE programs typically include citizenship education as a general course, often limited to basic political science concepts such as organs of government, democracy, and political systems (Oluniyi, 2011). This narrow approach fails to adequately prepare teachers to address the diverse citizenship competencies required in contemporary Nigeria. Furthermore, Nigeria continues to grapple with significant social challenges that reflect deficiencies in citizenship values: pervasive corruption, ethnic and religious conflicts, vandalization of public facilities, electoral malpractices, and declining respect for constituted authority (Ajiboye, 2009; Mogbor & Mogbor, 2002). These problems suggest fundamental gaps in how citizenship education is conceptualized, delivered, and assessed within the education system. As Akpan (2001) and Edozie (2009) argue, the absence of informed and participatory citizenship is partly responsible for Nigeria's developmental challenges. The integration of military values into the NCE curriculum presents a potential solution to these challenges. Military values emphasize discipline, service, sacrifice, integrity, and patriotism—qualities essential for effective citizenship and national development (Adams & Shuaibu, 2024). However, this integration must be carefully designed to avoid the authoritarian tendencies associated with military governance while harnessing the positive aspects of military culture for educational purposes.

1.3 Research Objectives

This manuscript aims to:

1. Examine the conceptual foundations for integrating military values into civilian teacher education curricula
2. Analyze the current state of citizenship education in the Nigerian NCE curriculum and identify gaps
3. Identify specific military values appropriate for integration into the NCE curriculum
4. Propose a comprehensive framework for integrating military values into NCE programs
5. Recommend implementation strategies, assessment mechanisms, and policy interventions

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study holds significance for multiple stakeholders in Nigerian education. For curriculum developers, it provides a theoretical and practical framework for enhancing the NCE curriculum's capacity to produce civically competent teachers. For policymakers, it offers evidence-based recommendations for strengthening teacher education and citizenship education. For teacher educators, it presents pedagogical approaches for transmitting both military values and democratic principles. For the Nigerian military, it demonstrates how military culture can contribute positively to national development through education rather than political intervention.

Moreover, this study contributes to the broader discourse on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) by demonstrating how value-based education can address the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainability (UNESCO, 2009). By producing teachers equipped with strong civic values, ethical standards, and commitment to national development, an enhanced NCE curriculum can contribute to creating "a more sustainable future in terms of environmental integrity, economic viability and a just society for present and future generations" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 1).

II. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Frameworks for Citizenship Education

Citizenship education encompasses the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens, particularly through schooling, teaching, and learning processes (Kerr, 2004). Effective citizenship education teaches individuals how to participate actively in civic life and effect positive change within their communities (Magstadt, 2009; Mathews & Dilworth, 2008; Mhlauli, 2012a). According to Oluniyi (2011), citizenship education aims to develop young people into responsible citizens who understand their rights and responsibilities and can play active roles in society. Several theoretical frameworks inform citizenship education. The civic republican tradition emphasizes active participation in public affairs, civic virtue, and commitment to the common good (Davies, 2006). The liberal tradition focuses on individual rights, freedoms, and the rule of law. The communitarian perspective highlights the importance of community values, social cohesion, and collective identity. For developing nations like Nigeria, an integrative approach that combines elements from these traditions while addressing context-specific challenges appears most appropriate (Ali, 2008).

UNESCO's framework for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) provides additional theoretical grounding for this study. ESD "enables people to develop the knowledge, values and skills to participate in decisions about the ways we do things, individually and collectively, both locally and globally, that will improve the quality of life now without damaging the planet for the future" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 1). This framework aligns closely with comprehensive citizenship education, as both seek to develop informed, engaged, and responsible individuals capable of contributing to societal transformation.

2.2 Components of Effective Citizenship Education

Research identifies several essential components of effective citizenship education curricula. Olibie and Akudolu (2013) categorized these into three main areas:

- I. Civic Knowledge: This includes understanding of democratic principles, governmental structures, constitutional frameworks, rights and responsibilities, political processes, and the relationship between national and global affairs. In the Nigerian context, civic knowledge should encompass the federal constitution, the federal character principle, the structure of government at federal, state, and local levels, and Nigeria's role in regional and international organizations (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013).
- II. Civic Skills: These encompass intellectual skills (identifying, describing, explaining, analyzing, evaluating), participatory skills (monitoring public affairs, influencing policy, building coalitions), and communication skills (listening, deliberating, negotiating, persuading) (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2012; Olibie & Akudolu, 2013). Mhlauli (2012b) emphasizes that citizenship education must move beyond passive knowledge transmission to active skill development through experiential learning.
- III. Civic Dispositions: These represent the traits of private and public character essential for maintaining and improving democratic societies. They include respect for individual worth and human dignity, concern for the common good, civic-mindedness, tolerance, patriotism, willingness to compromise, persistence, and civic courage (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013). Soyinka (1999) argues that citizenship education should foster understanding that national development requires responsible contributions from each individual, regardless of rank or status.

2.3 Military Values: Conceptualization and Relevance

Military organizations worldwide cultivate specific values that enable them to fulfil their missions effectively. While the specific articulation of these values varies across nations, common themes include discipline, integrity, service, patriotism, duty, honour, courage, loyalty, and sacrifice (Adams & Shuaibu, 2024). These values serve both instrumental purposes (enabling military effectiveness) and moral purposes (defining appropriate conduct for military personnel). Discipline represents adherence to established standards, self-control, and orderly conduct. In military contexts, discipline ensures operational effectiveness, safety, and mission accomplishment (Bonny, 2020). When appropriately adapted to educational settings, discipline can foster self-regulation, respect for rules and authority, time management, and goal-oriented behaviour. Patriotism involves love for one's country and willingness to serve national interests. While military patriotism has sometimes been associated with authoritarianism or jingoism, constructive patriotism emphasizes critical loyalty—supporting one's nation while working to address its shortcomings (Ali, 2008). For citizenship education, cultivating thoughtful patriotism can counter ethnic and religious divisions while promoting national unity.

Service orientation reflects commitment to serving others and contributing to collective welfare beyond personal interests. The NYSC program institutionalized this value in Nigerian education, requiring graduates to serve in states different from their origins to promote national integration (Anene et al., 1998). Service orientation

aligns closely with civic-mindedness and concern for the common good. Integrity encompasses honesty, moral uprightness, and consistency between values and actions. In a society plagued by corruption, cultivating integrity among future teachers—and through them, among students—represents a critical intervention point (Ofozoba & Ofozoba, 2023). Leadership involves the ability to inspire, guide, and enable others to accomplish collective goals. Military leadership training emphasizes both position-based leadership and leadership by example (Adams & Shuaibu, 2024). Teachers inherently occupy leadership positions, and enhancing their leadership competencies can amplify their impact on students and communities.

2.4 Military Interventions and Educational Development in Nigeria

Nigeria experienced extended periods of military rule from 1966 to 1999, with brief interludes of civilian governance (Ofozoba, 2014). During this time, military regimes significantly influenced educational policy and practice. Understanding this history provides important context for considering how military values might be integrated into civilian education.

A. Educational Policies Introduced by Military Regimes:

- I. The military government introduced the National Policy on Education in 1977, which articulated comprehensive educational goals and restructured the education system (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004). This policy emphasized education as a tool for national integration, socio-economic development, and individual empowerment (Fafunwa, 1990). The policy established the 6-3-3-4 education structure (six years primary, three years junior secondary, three years senior secondary, and four years tertiary education), which aimed to introduce vocational and technical training at the secondary level to address unemployment and promote self-reliance (Nnaji, 1997).
- II. The Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme, launched in 1976, sought to provide free primary education to all Nigerian children, dramatically increasing enrollment and promoting mass literacy (Nwagwu, 1998). The military also established the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in 1973, requiring graduates to serve in states different from their origins to promote national integration and provide skilled manpower to underserved areas (Anene et al., 1998).
- III. Additionally, military governments expanded higher education by establishing numerous universities, transforming regional universities into federal institutions, and promoting Colleges of Education and Polytechnics nationwide (Fafunwa, 2002). They also created key educational administrative bodies, including strengthening the National Universities Commission (NUC) and establishing the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) to standardize university admissions (JAMB, 2020; NUC, 2021).

B. Challenges in Implementation:

Despite these initiatives, implementation faced significant challenges. The hasty implementation of UPE led to critical shortages of qualified teachers, prompting the introduction of "crash programs" that produced underqualified educators, colloquially termed "UPE teachers," whose presence reportedly lowered teaching standards (Mgbodile, 1986). Inadequate funding, particularly after economic decline in the 1980s, undermined educational quality across all levels (Adeyemi, 2010). The politicization of education, including the introduction of quota systems in university admissions and location of institutions based on political rather than practical considerations, created inefficiencies and inequities (Nwosu & Ofoegbu, 1991).

Furthermore, corruption in the education sector diverted resources away from their intended purposes, with poor planning and consultation characterized many military educational initiatives, as policies were often formulated and implemented without adequate stakeholder input or consideration of local contexts (Chinweizu, 1991; Umar & Alkanchi, 2023).

C. Lessons for Contemporary Education:

This historical analysis yields several important lessons. First, well-intentioned policies require careful planning, adequate resources, and genuine stakeholder engagement to succeed. Second, educational reforms must balance centralized coordination with local adaptation. Third, the values underlying educational initiatives matter as much as their structural or curricular components. Fourth, sustainability requires transitioning from military-style command structures to participatory, accountable governance. Ofozoba and Ofozoba (2024) concluded that while military involvement in Nigerian politics had both positive and negative effects on education, the negative consequences often stemmed from poor implementation, politicization, and self-interest rather than from the policies themselves. This suggests that carefully selected military values, divorced from authoritarian governance structures, could enhance educational outcomes when integrated thoughtfully into civilian curricula.

III. Current State of Citizenship Education in Nigerian NCE Programs

Citizenship education in Nigerian Colleges of Education typically takes the form of a general studies course covering basic political science concepts (Oluniyi, 2011). The limited scope of these courses creates several problems:

- I. Insufficient Coverage of Civic Competencies: Current NCE citizenship courses often fail to adequately address the full range of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions identified as essential for effective citizenship (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013). While students may learn about governmental structures, they receive limited training in participatory skills, civic engagement strategies, or ethical reasoning.
- II. Disconnect from School Curricula: The NERDC (2007) developed comprehensive civics curricula for primary and junior secondary schools, covering themes including civic education fundamentals, national symbols, values, national consciousness, rights and responsibilities, representative democracy, and social issues. However, the citizenship education courses in Colleges of Education do not adequately prepare teachers to deliver these curricula effectively (Oluniyi, 2011).
- III. Limited Emphasis on Contemporary Issues: NCE citizenship courses often neglect contemporary challenges such as corruption, religious extremism, environmental degradation, gender inequality, and cybersecurity—issues that students will encounter in their teaching careers (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013).
- IV. Weak Assessment of Civic Dispositions: While cognitive knowledge can be assessed through traditional examinations, civic dispositions and participatory skills require different assessment approaches. Current NCE programs typically lack robust mechanisms for evaluating whether students have internalized civic values or developed participatory competencies (Mhlauli, 2012b).
- V. Insufficient Experiential Learning: Effective citizenship education requires opportunities for practice and reflection, not just theoretical instruction (Edozie, 2009). Current NCE programs provide limited opportunities for students to engage in community service, civic projects, or other experiential learning activities that could develop civic competencies.

IV. International Perspectives on Values Education in Teacher Preparation

Examining international approaches to values education in teacher preparation provides useful insights.

Many European countries integrate explicit citizenship education into teacher training programs, emphasizing both knowledge transmission and pedagogical strategies for facilitating civic learning (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2012). Some Asian nations incorporate character education into teacher preparation, drawing on cultural traditions while adapting to contemporary contexts. The United States emphasizes service-learning in teacher education, requiring pre-service teachers to engage with communities and reflect on civic responsibilities (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008). These international examples suggest several principles for Nigerian NCE reform: explicit integration of citizenship competencies into teacher education curricula, emphasis on both content knowledge and pedagogical approaches, inclusion of experiential learning components, assessment strategies that evaluate both cognitive and affective dimensions, and cultural adaptation that respects local values while promoting universal human rights principles.

V. Conceptual Framework for Integrating Military Values

The integration of military values into the NCE curriculum must be guided by several foundational principles to ensure educational appropriateness and democratic compatibility:

- I. Selective Adaptation: Not all military values or practices are appropriate for civilian education. The integration process must carefully select values that enhance citizenship and character development while excluding authoritarian or militaristic elements inconsistent with democratic education (Ali, 2008; Davies, 2006).
- II. Democratic Orientation: Military values must be reframed within democratic contexts. For example, discipline should emphasize self-regulation and respect for democratic rules rather than unquestioning obedience to authority. Patriotism should involve critical loyalty and civic engagement rather than uncritical nationalism (Mhlauli, 2012a).
- III. Contextualization: Military values should be adapted to Nigerian cultural contexts and educational needs. This requires consideration of Nigeria's federal character, cultural diversity, religious pluralism, and developmental challenges (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013).
- IV. Integration, Not Replacement: Military values should enhance rather than replace existing citizenship education content. The goal is to strengthen the NCE curriculum's capacity to develop civic competencies, not to militarize teacher education (Oluniyi, 2011).
- V. Evidence-Based Practice: Integration strategies should draw on research evidence regarding effective citizenship education and values transmission. Implementation should include mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation, and continuous improvement (UNESCO, 2009).

VI. Specific Military Values for Integration

Based on the literature review and the Nigerian educational context, the following military values are proposed for integration into the NCE curriculum:

I. Discipline and Self-Regulation

Military discipline, when appropriately adapted, can enhance teachers' professional conduct and students' learning behaviors. In educational contexts, discipline should emphasize:

- Time management and punctuality
- Adherence to professional ethics and standards
- Goal-setting and persistence in achieving objectives
- Self-control and emotional regulation
- Respect for rules and procedures while maintaining capacity for constructive critique

II. Patriotism and National Consciousness

Constructive patriotism involves love for one's country combined with commitment to its improvement. This value can help address ethnic and religious divisions while promoting national unity (Soyinka, 1999). Educational applications include:

- Understanding and appreciation of Nigerian history, diversity, and potential
- Commitment to national development and social justice
- Respect for national symbols and institutions
- Critical engagement with national challenges
- Balance between national loyalty and global citizenship

III. Service Orientation and Civic Responsibility

The NYSC demonstrates how service orientation can be institutionalized in Nigerian education (Anene et al., 1998). Expanding this value in the NCE curriculum involves:

- Commitment to serving students, communities, and the nation
- Willingness to work in challenging environments
- Orientation toward public good rather than only private interests
- Community engagement and social responsibility
- Professional dedication and work ethic

IV. Integrity and Ethical Conduct

In a society challenged by corruption, integrity represents a critical value for teachers and students alike (Ofozoba & Ofozoba, 2023). Educational dimensions include:

- Honesty in academic and professional conduct
- Consistency between professed values and actual behaviour
- Resistance to corruption and unethical practices
- Moral courage to address wrongdoing
- Modelling ethical behaviour for students

V. Leadership and Initiative

Teachers inherently occupy leadership positions in classrooms and communities. Enhanced leadership competencies can amplify their positive impact (Mgbodile, 1995). This value encompasses:

- Ability to inspire and motivate students
- Taking initiative to address educational and community challenges
- Leading by example
- Facilitating collaborative problem-solving
- Mentoring and developing others' potential

VI. Teamwork and Cooperation

Military effectiveness depends on coordinated team action. In educational contexts, this translates to:

- Collaboration with colleagues, parents, and community members
- Building supportive learning communities
- Effective communication and conflict resolution
- Appreciation for diverse perspectives and skills
- Contributing to collective goals while respecting individual differences

VII. Resilience and Adaptability

The ability to persevere through challenges and adapt to changing circumstances serves teachers well, particularly in resource-constrained environments. This includes:

- Persistence in pursuing educational goals despite obstacles
- Creative problem-solving with limited resources

- Emotional resilience in demanding situations
- Adaptability to diverse student needs and contexts
- Growth mindset and continuous professional development

VII. Curriculum Integration Framework

The integration of military values into the NCE curriculum can occur through multiple mechanisms:

I. Dedicated Courses

Develop specific NCE courses on civic-military values and citizenship education. These courses could cover:

- Historical analysis of citizenship and civic values
- Theoretical frameworks for citizenship education
- Military values in democratic contexts
- Contemporary citizenship challenges in Nigeria
- Pedagogical approaches for teaching civic competencies
- Assessment strategies for citizenship education

II. Infusion Across Existing Courses

Integrate relevant values across the NCE curriculum rather than limiting them to designated courses. For example:

- Educational psychology courses could address character development and moral reasoning
- Teaching methods courses could emphasize leadership and classroom management informed by military values
- School administration courses could incorporate discipline, integrity, and service orientation
- Subject-specific methods courses could address how to teach citizenship through various disciplines

III. Experiential Learning Components

Establish structured opportunities for NCE students to practice and internalize these values:

- Community service requirements modeled on NYSC principles
- School-based practicum experiences emphasizing civic engagement
- Leadership development programs and simulations
- Mentoring relationships with experienced educators who model these values
- Reflective practice journals documenting value integration

IV. Co-Curricular Activities

Design extra-curricular programs that reinforce military values in educational contexts:

- Student government and leadership positions
- Community service clubs and projects
- Cultural and civic celebrations
- Debate and deliberation forums on contemporary issues
- Environmental and social action initiatives

V. Institutional Culture and Modelling

Ensure that Colleges of Education model the values they seek to transmit:

- Faculty and administration demonstrating integrity, service, and professionalism
- Institutional policies reflecting discipline, fairness, and respect
- Campus culture emphasizing civic engagement and social responsibility
- Recognition systems rewarding exemplary civic conduct
- Transparent governance structures promoting accountability

VIII. Methodology

I. Research Design

This manuscript employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating documentary analysis, comparative analysis, and synthesis of empirical studies. The research draws on multiple data sources to develop a comprehensive framework for integrating military values into the NCE curriculum.

II. Data Sources

Primary Sources:

1. National Policy on Education (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004)
2. NERDC Civics Education Curriculum for primary and junior secondary schools (NERDC, 2007)
3. Current NCE curriculum documents from selected Colleges of Education
4. NYSC Act and program documents (NYSC Act, 1993)

III. Secondary Sources

- i. Published research on citizenship education in Nigeria and internationally
- ii. Studies of military interventions in Nigerian education (Adeyemi, 2010; Ofozoba & Ofozoba, 2024; Umar & Alkanchi, 2023)
- iii. Research on NCE curriculum and teacher preparation (Olibie & Akudolu, 2013; Olunyi, 2011)
- iv. International literature on values education and citizenship education (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2012; Mhlauli, 2012a; UNESCO, 2009)

IV. Empirical Evidence

- i. Data from Olibie and Akudolu's (2013) study of citizenship education needs in Anambra State Colleges of Education
- ii. Findings from Ofozoba and Ofozoba's (2024) investigation of military impacts on Nigerian education
- iii. Comparative data on citizenship education in other African contexts (Mhlauli, 2012b)

V. Analytical Approach

The analysis proceeded through several stages:

- i. Gap Analysis: Systematic comparison of citizenship competencies required by school curricula with those developed in NCE programs, identifying specific deficiencies.
- ii. Value Mapping: Identification and classification of military values potentially relevant to teacher education, distinguishing those compatible with democratic education from those incompatible.
- iii. Integration Modelling: Development of theoretical framework showing how selected military values could be integrated into NCE curricula through various mechanisms.
- iv. Contextualization: Adaptation of general principles to Nigerian educational, cultural, and political contexts, considering factors such as federal character, religious diversity, and developmental priorities.
- v. Validation: Cross-referencing proposed frameworks against international best practices, theoretical principles of citizenship education, and empirical evidence from Nigerian educational research.

VI. Limitations

This study's limitations include its reliance primarily on secondary data and documentary analysis rather than primary data collection from NCE institutions and stakeholders. While empirical studies by Olibie and Akudolu (2013) and Ofozoba and Ofozoba (2024) provide valuable insights, additional primary research would strengthen the evidence base. The study also focuses primarily on conceptual and curricular dimensions rather than detailed implementation planning, requiring further research on resource requirements, faculty development, and assessment instruments. Finally, the long-term effectiveness of the proposed integration framework requires empirical validation through pilot programs and longitudinal studies.

VII. Results: Proposed Framework for Integration

Core Courses on Civic-Military Values

Based on the analysis of citizenship education needs and military values, the following core courses are proposed for inclusion in NCE programs:

A. Course 1: Citizenship Education and National Development (2 credits)

Course Description: This course examines the theory and practice of citizenship education, with emphasis on Nigeria's constitutional framework, federal character principle, civic rights and responsibilities, and the role of education in promoting national unity and development.

- i. Learning Outcomes: Upon completion, students will be able to:
 - Explain theoretical foundations of citizenship education from republican, liberal, and communitarian perspectives
 - Analyze Nigeria's constitutional framework and governmental structures
 - Identify rights and responsibilities of Nigerian citizens
 - Evaluate the relationship between citizenship education and national development
 - Design learning experiences that promote civic competencies
- ii. Content Modules
 - a. Theoretical frameworks for citizenship education
 - b. The Nigerian Constitution and federal character principle
 - c. Structure and functions of government (federal, state, local)
 - d. Rights and responsibilities of citizens
 - e. Nigeria in regional and global contexts
 - f. Education for Sustainable Development and citizenship
 - g. Contemporary citizenship challenges in Nigeria
- iii. Pedagogical Approaches

- Case studies of citizenship education successes and failures
- Analysis of current events through citizenship education lens
- Simulations of democratic processes and civic engagement
- Guest lectures from civic leaders and public officials
- Field trips to governmental institutions

iv. Assessment

- Examination testing civic knowledge (40%)
- Civic action project design (30%)
- Reflective essay on citizenship development (20%)
- Class participation and deliberations (10%)

B. Course 2: Values, Ethics, and Character Education (2 credits)

Course Description: This course explores the role of values and character in education, examining how teachers can promote ethical development, civic dispositions, and positive character traits among students. Special emphasis on discipline, integrity, service orientation, and leadership in educational contexts.

i. Learning Outcomes: Upon completion, students will be able to:

- Explain theories of moral and character development
- Identify core values essential for citizenship and personal development
- Analyze the role of discipline in learning and character formation
- Design educational experiences that promote ethical reasoning and character development
- Model integrity and ethical conduct in professional practice

ii. Content Modules

- a. Theories of moral and character development (Kohlberg, Gilligan, etc.)
- b. Military values in democratic educational contexts
- c. Discipline: from external control to self-regulation
- d. Integrity and ethical conduct in education
- e. Service orientation and civic responsibility
- f. Leadership development for teachers and students
- g. Addressing contemporary ethical challenges (corruption, cheating, etc.)

iii. Pedagogical Approaches

- a. Ethical dilemmas and case analyses
- b. Character education program design
- c. Moral reasoning exercises
- d. Service-learning projects
- e. Leadership development activities
- f. Reflective journaling on value development

iv. Assessment

- a. Character education program design (35%)
- b. Ethical case analysis (25%)
- c. Service-learning project and reflection (25%)
- d. Professional ethics portfolio (15%)

C. Course 3: Civic Pedagogy and Community Engagement (2 credits)

Course Description: This course develops students' capacity to teach citizenship education effectively and engage with communities as civic educators. Emphasis on participatory pedagogy, deliberative methods, community-based learning, and assessment of civic competencies.

i. Learning Outcomes: Upon completion, students will be able to:

- a. Apply participatory pedagogical methods for citizenship education
- b. Facilitate classroom deliberations on public issues
- c. Design and implement community-based learning projects
- d. Assess students' civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions
- e. Engage parents and community members as partners in civic education

ii. Content Modules

- a. Pedagogical approaches for citizenship education
- b. Deliberative methods and classroom discussion
- c. Community-based learning and service-learning
- d. Assessing civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions
- e. Controversial issues in the classroom

- f. Technology and citizenship education
- g. Parent and community engagement

iii. Pedagogical Approaches

- Practice teaching citizenship education lessons
- Facilitating deliberations on controversial issues
- Community asset mapping and partnership development
- Design of community-based learning projects
- Development of assessment instruments for civic competencies

iv. Assessment

- Citizenship education lesson design and delivery (30%)
- Community engagement project (30%)
- Civic assessment instrument development (25%)
- Reflection on pedagogical growth (15%)

VIII. Infusion Across Existing Courses

Beyond dedicated courses, military values should be infused throughout the NCE curriculum:

i. Educational Foundations Courses

- a. History of Education: Include analysis of military impacts on Nigerian education, NYSC's role in national integration
- b. Philosophy of Education: Examine philosophical foundations of discipline, service, and civic virtue
- c. Sociology of Education: Analyze education's role in promoting national unity and civic culture

ii. Educational Psychology Courses

- a. Developmental Psychology: Examine moral and character development, civic identity formation
- b. Learning Psychology: Apply discipline and self-regulation concepts to classroom management
- c. Motivation: Explore service orientation and intrinsic motivation for civic engagement

iii. Teaching Methods Courses

- a. General Methods: Incorporate leadership, teamwork, and ethical pedagogical practices
- b. Subject-Specific Methods: Identify opportunities for citizenship education within various disciplines
- c. Classroom Management: Apply discipline principles while maintaining democratic classroom culture

iv. Practicum and Teaching Practice

- a. Require demonstration of professional integrity, punctuality, and service orientation
- b. Include civic engagement component (e.g., community service project with students)
- c. Assess leadership development and ability to promote civic competencies

IX. Experiential Learning Components

NCE Civic Service Program (Modelled on NYSC)

Structure: All NCE students complete a civic service component during their program, involving structured community engagement integrated with academic study.

i. Components

- a. Orientation: Introduction to civic service principles, community assessment methods, and reflection practices
- b. Service Activities: Minimum 60 hours of community service over the NCE program, which might include:
 - Adult literacy programs
 - Environmental conservation projects
 - Health education campaigns
 - Youth mentoring and tutoring
 - Civic education workshops for community members
 - Voter education and civic participation initiatives
- c. Reflection: Regular journaling and group discussions connecting service experiences to citizenship education concepts
- d. Integration: Service experiences linked to coursework, with assignments requiring students to apply theoretical concepts to real-world civic challenges

ii. Learning Outcomes

- Develop service orientation and civic responsibility
- Practice community engagement and collaboration

- Apply citizenship education concepts in authentic contexts
- Build relationships across ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic differences
- Reflect critically on civic challenges and potential solutions

iii. Assessment

- **Service completion and quality (40%)**
- **Reflection journals and essays (30%)**
- **Community partner feedback (15%)**
- **Integration with coursework (15%)**

iv. Leadership Development Program

Structure: Progressive leadership opportunities throughout the NCE program, enabling students to develop and practice leadership competencies.

Components:

- Year 1: Participation in peer mentoring program for incoming students; introduction to leadership concepts
- Year 2: Leadership roles in student organizations, co-curricular activities, or community service projects
- Year 3: Advanced leadership opportunities such as coordinating programs, mentoring junior students, or leading civic initiatives

v. Learning Outcomes

- Develop leadership skills applicable to teaching and civic life
- Practice leading by example and inspiring others
- Build team-building and collaboration skills
- Reflect on leadership experiences and growth

vi. Assessment

- **Leadership portfolio documenting experiences and growth**
- **Peer and supervisor feedback**
- **Reflective essays on leadership development**
- **Demonstration of leadership in teaching practice**

X. Co-Curricular Programming

1. Student Government and Civic Organizations

Colleges of Education should establish robust student government structures and civic organizations that:

- Provide authentic opportunities for democratic participation
- Enable students to address campus and community issues
- Develop deliberative and collaborative skills
- Model democratic governance and civic engagement

2. Civic Dialogue Series

Regular forums bringing students, faculty, and community members together to discuss contemporary civic issues:

- Monthly deliberations on current national and local challenges
- Structured dialogues following deliberative democracy principles
- Opportunities to hear diverse perspectives and practice respectful disagreement
- Connection to coursework on citizenship education and controversial issues

3. Community Service Days

Organized campus-wide service events addressing community needs:

- Quarterly service days with multiple project options
- Partnerships with community organizations
- Reflection and celebration of service contributions
- Integration with academic study of civic engagement

4. National Celebrations and Civic Observances

Meaningful observances of national holidays and civic events:

- Independence Day (October 1) celebrations emphasizing national unity and civic values
- Democracy Day (June 12) programs on democratic principles and civic participation
- Veterans' appreciation events recognizing military service to nation
- Civic education weeks focusing on contemporary citizenship challenges

XI. Institutional Culture and Modeling

For military values integration to succeed, Colleges of Education must embody these values institutionally:

1. Faculty Development
 - Professional development on citizenship education pedagogies
 - Modeling of integrity, service, and professionalism
 - Mentoring relationships demonstrating civic values
 - Research and scholarship on citizenship education
2. Administrative Practices
 - Transparent, accountable governance structures
 - Policies reflecting fairness, discipline, and respect
 - Support for civic engagement and community partnerships
 - Recognition systems rewarding exemplary civic conduct
3. Campus Environment
 - Physical spaces promoting civic interaction and deliberation
 - Displays celebrating Nigerian diversity, history, and civic achievements
 - Resources supporting citizenship education and civic engagement
 - Culture of service, integrity, and professional excellence

IX. Discussion

9.1 Theoretical Contributions

This study makes several theoretical contributions to understanding citizenship education in teacher preparation programs. First, it demonstrates how values traditionally associated with military culture can be adapted for democratic educational purposes when carefully selected and contextualized. The framework distinguishes between authoritarian military practices incompatible with democratic education and positive military values—such as discipline, service orientation, integrity, and leadership—that can enhance civic competencies when properly adapted. Second, the study extends existing citizenship education frameworks by explicitly integrating character formation with civic knowledge and skills. While much citizenship education literature emphasizes knowledge of political systems and participatory skills, this study foregrounds the dispositional dimensions—the values, attitudes, and character traits necessary for effective democratic citizenship. This aligns with UNESCO's (2009) framework for Education for Sustainable Development, which recognizes that sustainable societies require not only knowledgeable citizens but also those committed to values such as respect, responsibility, and social justice. Third, the study contributes to understanding how teacher education programs can address national challenges through value-based education. By demonstrating how NCE curricula could simultaneously prepare teachers and contribute to national development goals such as reducing corruption, promoting national unity, and strengthening democratic institutions, this research illustrates education's potential as a transformative social force.

9.2 Practical Implications

The proposed framework offers concrete guidance for curriculum developers, educational administrators, and policymakers seeking to enhance citizenship education in Nigerian teacher preparation programs.

For Curriculum Developers: The study provides detailed course outlines, learning outcomes, and pedagogical approaches that can be adapted by Colleges of Education. The framework's multi-layered integration strategy—through dedicated courses, infusion across existing courses, experiential learning, co-curricular programming, and institutional culture—offers multiple entry points for curriculum enhancement. For Educational Administrators: The emphasis on institutional culture and modeling highlights administrators' crucial role in creating environments where civic values are lived, not just taught. Administrators can support integration through faculty development, resource allocation, community partnerships, and institutional policies promoting integrity and civic engagement. For Policymakers: The study demonstrates the importance of aligning teacher education curricula with school-level citizenship education requirements. Policymakers should ensure that accreditation standards for Colleges of Education include robust citizenship education components and that funding formulas support experiential learning and community engagement programs.

9.3 Addressing Potential Concerns

Several concerns might be raised about integrating military values into civilian teacher education:

Concern 1: Risk of Authoritarianism

Critics might worry that emphasizing military values could promote authoritarian tendencies incompatible with democratic education. This concern is addressed through careful value selection, democratic reframing, and

institutional safeguards. The framework explicitly excludes authoritarian elements of military culture while adapting positive values for democratic contexts. For example, discipline is framed as self-regulation and respect for democratically established rules, not blind obedience to authority. Patriotism is presented as critical loyalty and civic engagement, not uncritical nationalism.

Concern 2: Cultural Appropriateness

Some might question whether military values align with Nigerian cultural traditions and educational philosophies. However, many of the values proposed—service to community, integrity, respect for elders and authority, collective responsibility—resonate strongly with African communitarian traditions (Ali, 2008). The framework explicitly calls for contextualization to Nigerian cultural contexts while also promoting universal human rights principles.

Concern 3: Militarization of Education

There is a legitimate concern about militarizing civilian education. This framework does not propose military training, uniforms, drills, or command structures in Colleges of Education. Rather, it advocates selectively adapting positive values that have proven effective in military contexts for civilian educational purposes. The NYSC provides a successful model of this approach—utilizing military-derived concepts of national service while maintaining civilian character.

Concern 4: Implementation Challenges

The proposed framework is ambitious and would require significant resources, faculty development, and institutional transformation. However, implementation can be gradual, beginning with pilot programs in selected Colleges of Education, developing model curricula and learning materials, and scaling successful approaches based on evidence. The framework is designed to be flexible, allowing institutions to adapt based on their contexts and capacities.

9.4 Adressing Implementation Challenges Identified in Previous Military Educational Initiatives

The analysis of military educational policies revealed several implementation challenges: poor planning, inadequate funding, politicization, corruption, and insufficient stakeholder engagement (Adeyemi, 2010; Chinweizu, 1991; Umar & Alkanchi, 2023). The proposed framework addresses these challenges through several mechanisms:

- i. **Participatory Planning:** Unlike top-down military decrees, curriculum reform should involve extensive consultation with teacher educators, teachers, students, community members, and education experts. This participatory approach increases stakeholder buy-in and ensures contextual appropriateness.
- ii. **Adequate Resourcing:** Successful implementation requires dedicated funding for curriculum development, faculty training, learning materials, community partnerships, and program evaluation. Policymakers must commit sustained resources rather than launching initiatives without adequate support.
- iii. **Accountability and Transparency:** Clear learning outcomes, assessment criteria, and evaluation mechanisms promote accountability while reducing opportunities for corruption. Regular program reviews and public reporting ensure transparency.
- iv. **Professional Expertise:** Rather than viewing education as a secondary concern, successful reform requires recognizing teaching as a complex profession requiring specialized expertise. Faculty development programs should prepare teacher educators to effectively implement citizenship education curricula.
- v. **Political Insulation:** While education inevitably has political dimensions, protecting educational institutions from partisan manipulation promotes quality and equity. Merit-based admissions, professional autonomy for educators, and non-partisan governance structures help insulate education from destructive politicization.

9.5 Connections to Sustainable Development

The proposed integration of military values aligns closely with Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) goals. UNESCO (2009) identifies several key competencies for sustainability: systems thinking, anticipatory thinking, normative thinking, strategic thinking, collaboration, critical thinking, self-awareness, and integrated problem-solving. Many of these competencies relate to the military values and citizenship education components discussed in this study. Discipline and Self-Regulation support self-awareness and strategic thinking, enabling individuals to align behavior with values and long-term goals. Service Orientation reflects normative commitment to collective welfare and social justice—core sustainability values. Integrity promotes accountability for environmental and social impacts of individual and collective actions. Leadership enables strategic thinking and the ability to mobilize others toward sustainability goals. Teamwork and Collaboration directly support the collaborative competencies essential for addressing complex sustainability challenges. By developing these competencies in future teachers, the proposed NCE curriculum enhancements could contribute to broader ESD goals, producing educators capable of helping students understand and address interconnected social, economic, and environmental challenges facing Nigeria and the global community.

9.6 Comparative Perspectives

Examining how other nations integrate values education into teacher preparation provides useful insights. Many Asian countries, particularly Singapore and Japan, incorporate character education into teacher training, emphasizing both traditional cultural values and contemporary citizenship competencies (Mhlauli, 2012b). European nations, while varying in approach, generally include explicit citizenship education components in teacher preparation, with increasing emphasis on addressing diversity, promoting democratic values, and preparing students for active civic participation (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2012). The United States emphasizes service-learning in teacher education, with many programs requiring community engagement components like those proposed in this framework (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008). However, American approaches tend to emphasize individual rights and volunteerism rather than collective responsibility and national service, reflecting different political cultures. What distinguishes the Nigerian context is the intersection of several factors: post-colonial nation-building challenges, religious and ethnic diversity requiring explicit attention to national unity, developmental challenges demanding educated citizens capable of contributing to economic and social transformation, and a history of both military governance and democratic aspirations. The proposed framework attempts to address this unique context by drawing on military values that emphasize service, discipline, and patriotism while firmly situating them within democratic educational principles.

X. Recommendations

Based on the analysis and proposed framework, the following recommendations are offered:

- A. For Curriculum Developers and Colleges of Education
 1. Pilot Program Implementation: Establish pilot programs in selected Colleges of Education to test and refine the proposed curriculum integration framework. Begin with one or two dedicated courses and experiential learning components before full-scale implementation.
 2. Curriculum Development Task Force: Create a national task force involving representatives from Colleges of Education, the National Commission for Colleges of Education (NCCE), NERDC, teacher unions, and civic education experts to develop detailed curricula, learning materials, and assessment instruments.
 3. Faculty Development: Invest in comprehensive professional development for teacher educators, including:
 - Workshops on citizenship education theory and pedagogy
 - Training in experiential learning and service-learning facilitation
 - Exposure to international best practices
 - Communities of practice for ongoing learning and collaboration
 4. Learning Resources: Develop high-quality learning materials specifically designed for Nigerian contexts, including:
 - Case studies of Nigerian citizenship challenges and successes
 - Video materials featuring civic leaders and model citizens
 - Assessment instruments for civic competencies
 - Community engagement guides and partnership templates
 5. Assessment Innovation: Move beyond traditional examinations to assess civic dispositions and participatory skills through:
 - Portfolios documenting civic engagement and leadership development
 - Performance assessments of deliberative and participatory skills
 - Community partner feedback on service-learning
 - Reflective journals and essays
- B. For Educational Policymakers
 1. Accreditation Standards: Revise NCCE accreditation standards to require robust citizenship education components in all NCE programs, including dedicated courses, experiential learning, and assessment of civic competencies.
 2. Funding Support: Allocate dedicated funding for:
 - Curriculum development and piloting
 - Faculty professional development
 - Learning materials and resources
 - Community partnership development
 - Program evaluation and research

3. Policy Alignment: Ensure alignment between NCE curricula, school-level citizenship education requirements, and national development goals. Create clear pathways from teacher preparation through teaching practice to student civic competencies.
4. Federal Character Implementation: While maintaining meritocratic admission standards, ensure that Colleges of Education reflect Nigeria's diversity, creating environments where students engage with difference and develop appreciation for cultural and religious pluralism.
5. Quality Assurance: Establish robust mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating citizenship education in NCE programs, including:
 - Regular program reviews
 - Graduate tracking to assess long-term impacts
 - Research on citizenship education effectiveness
 - Public reporting on program quality

C. For the Nigerian Military

1. Partnership Development: Collaborate with educational institutions to share expertise on leadership development, character formation, and service orientation while respecting civilian educational autonomy.
2. NYSC Enhancement: Strengthen the NYSC program as a model for integrating service values into education, addressing current challenges such as security concerns, placement equity, and program relevance.
3. Mentoring Programs: Establish mentoring relationships between retired military officers (who exemplify positive military values) and College of Education students, providing role models and practical wisdom.
4. Resource Sharing: Where appropriate and desired by educational institutions, share resources such as leadership training facilities, character development programs, and expertise in values education.

D. For Researchers

1. Empirical Validation: Conduct rigorous research on the implementation and effectiveness of military values integration, including:
 - Longitudinal studies tracking NCE students' civic competency development
 - Comparative studies of different integration approaches
 - Assessment of impacts on teaching practice and student outcomes
 - Cost-benefit analyses of various program components
2. Contextual Adaptation: Research how integration approaches need to be adapted for different contexts within Nigeria, considering factors such as:
 - Urban versus rural Colleges of Education
 - Regional variations in political culture and civic traditions
 - Religious and ethnic composition of student bodies
 - Resource availability and institutional capacity
3. International Comparison: Conduct comparative research examining how other nations integrate values education into teacher preparation, identifying lessons for Nigeria.
4. Unintended Consequences: Monitor for potential negative consequences of integration, such as:
 - Emergence of authoritarian teaching practices
 - Uncritical nationalism or ethnic favoritism
 - Superficial compliance without genuine value internalization
 - Displacement of other important curricular content

E. Implementation Timeline

A phased implementation approach is recommended:

Year 1: Planning and Development

- Establish national task force
- Conduct needs assessment and stakeholder consultation
- Develop detailed curricula, learning outcomes, and materials
- Select pilot institutions
- Begin faculty development

Year 2-3: Pilot Implementation

- Launch pilot programs in 3-5 Colleges of Education
- Provide intensive support and monitoring
- Collect data on implementation challenges and successes
- Refine curricula and approaches based on evidence
- Continue faculty development

Year 4-5: Scaled Implementation

- Expand to additional institutions based on pilot results
- Establish learning networks connecting implementing institutions
- Develop comprehensive evaluation framework
- Begin longitudinal tracking of graduates

Year 6+: Full Implementation and Continuous Improvement

- Universal implementation across Colleges of Education
- Regular program reviews and updates
- Ongoing research on effectiveness
- Integration into broader educational reform efforts

XI. Conclusion

This study has examined the potential for integrating military values into the Nigerian NCE curriculum as a strategy for strengthening citizenship education and teacher preparation. The analysis reveals that carefully selected military values—discipline, patriotism, service orientation, integrity, leadership, teamwork, and resilience—when appropriately adapted to democratic educational contexts, can enhance the NCE curriculum's capacity to develop civic competencies in future teachers. The historical analysis demonstrates that while military regimes introduced significant educational policies in Nigeria, implementation challenges often undermined their effectiveness. These challenges—poor planning, inadequate funding, politicization, corruption, and insufficient stakeholder engagement—offer important lessons for contemporary curriculum reform. The proposed framework addresses these challenges through participatory planning, adequate resourcing, accountability mechanisms, professional expertise, and political insulation. The framework for integration operates at multiple levels: dedicated courses providing foundational knowledge and skills; infusion across existing courses reinforcing values throughout the curriculum; experiential learning components enabling practice and reflection; co-curricular programming creating opportunities for civic engagement; and institutional culture modeling the values being taught. This multi-layered approach recognizes that effective values education requires more than knowledge transmission—it demands authentic opportunities to practice, reflect on, and internalize civic competencies.

The study contributes to broader discussions of Education for Sustainable Development by demonstrating how value-based teacher education can address interconnected social, economic, and environmental challenges. By producing teachers equipped with strong civic values, ethical standards, and commitment to national development, an enhanced NCE curriculum can contribute to creating a more sustainable future for Nigeria.

Implementation will require sustained commitment from multiple stakeholders: curriculum developers creating detailed programs and materials, teacher educators facilitating transformative learning experiences, educational administrators fostering supportive institutional cultures, policymakers providing resources and enabling policy environments, and researchers generating evidence to guide continuous improvement. The integration of military values into civilian teacher education represents neither a militarization of education nor a naive embrace of military culture. Rather, it constitutes a thoughtful attempt to harness positive aspects of military tradition—discipline, service, integrity, patriotism, leadership—for democratic educational purposes. By learning from both the successes and failures of military educational initiatives, while grounding reform in sound educational theory and participatory planning, Nigerian Colleges of Education can strengthen their capacity to prepare teachers who will shape engaged, ethical, and empowered citizens capable of contributing to national transformation.

The challenges facing Nigerian education and society are significant: corruption, ethnic and religious tensions, environmental degradation, economic inequality, and weak democratic institutions. Addressing these challenges requires not only policy reforms and institutional changes but also cultural transformation—changes in values, attitudes, and behaviors. Education, and particularly teacher education, represents a critical leverage point for such transformation. By equipping teachers with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to promote civic competencies, the proposed NCE curriculum enhancements can contribute to building the informed, engaged, and responsible citizenry Nigeria needs for sustainable development.

Future research should examine the implementation of these proposals, assessing both intended outcomes and unintended consequences. Longitudinal studies tracking NCE graduates into teaching practice and evaluating their effectiveness in promoting student civic competencies would provide valuable evidence. Comparative research examining different integration approaches and contextual adaptations would generate insights for continuous improvement. And ongoing attention to the broader political, economic, and social contexts within which education operates would ensure that curriculum reform remains responsive to evolving national needs.

Ultimately, the integration of military values into the NCE curriculum is proposed not as a complete solution to Nigeria's educational and developmental challenges, but as one component of a comprehensive reform

strategy. Combined with adequate funding, improved infrastructure, professional working conditions for teachers, effective governance, and sustained political commitment to educational quality, curriculum enhancement can contribute to realizing Nigeria's potential as a prosperous, united, and democratic nation.

Acknowledgements

This research has been funded by the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND), Nigeria. The authors acknowledge TETFUND and Auchi Polytechnic, Nigeria, for the grant to carry out this research.

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