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TOPIC:
POPULATION AND
DEVELOPMENT: MYTHS
AND REALITIES IN
NIGERIA



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By
PROFESSOR FELICIA A. D. OYEKANMI

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POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT: MYTHS AND REALITIES IN NIGERIA

An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of
Lagos Main Auditorium on Wednesday, 17th August
2011

by

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Dedication

To God Almighty, the author and giver of all good things and to my father, Mr. G. B. Durojaiye and mother, Mrs. I. B. Durojaiye, both of blessed memory who died in 1999 and to all my children and grandchildren who represent my future.

Distinguished Members of Council
Provosts and Deans
Members of Senate
My Children, Biological and Intellectual
Staff of the National Population Commission
My Lords, Temporal and Spiritual
My Colleagues from Unilag and other Universities
Gentlemen/Ladies of the Press
Ladies and Gentlemen, you are welcome to this Inaugural
Lecture.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, I thank God that this is the appointed date and that all things went according to His plans. Glory and Honour be to His name.

I am going to discuss a topic that has been of interest to me for a long time and I crave your patience as I do my utmost to expose you to it step by step. Thank you for your attention.

Protocol

Mr. Vice-Chancellor (Prof. Adetokunbo Babatunde Sofoluwe), the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic and Research) Professor Modupe Ogunlesi, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Management Services) Professor Rahmon Ade Bello.

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Introduction

The multi-disciplinary nature of the problems related to human population and development has made it expedient that the topic is studied from many angles (Kitching, 1982). The social scientists study population from the aspect of its relationship with development in such fields as demography, sociology, economics, geography, politics, psychology, communications and social welfare. Other professionals may consider the issues in relation to law and governance, music/drama and historical antecedents of societies, language and cultural portrayal of life as well as other humanities. This, of course, does not ignore the sciences, including medicine and pharmacy which take other views of the effects of nature and nurture on the human being and indeed the ways in which the activities of human beings affect all these other fields. Hence this lecture takes cognisance of several angles through which one can look at population issues.

It leans more on the demographic and sociological aspects and how these interact with forces that bring about or inhibit development in societies. Demography is the statistical study of population, such as the number of people in a defined territory, their characteristics or composition, rate of growth or change in numbers, geographic distribution as well as the nature and effects of their activities which may have repercussion on their welfare now and in the future. To achieve this, demographers look at three major components of human population; namely: **fertility, mortality and migration** (Oyekanmi, 1999a). Population change occurs through the interaction of these three components in such a way that is depicted by the equation below:

$$P_1 - P_0 = F - M \pm N \quad (i)$$

where

P_0 = population at time zero or the beginning of a period for consideration;

P_1 = population at time 1 or a time period later than time 0, which might be a year later as in equation (i).

F = Number of live births during the period;

M = Number of deaths during the period;

N = Net migration during the period which represents immigration minus emigration.

The expression in equation (i) states that population growth during the one year period is due to fertility minus mortality plus or minus net migration in the designated territory. In this case we can take the territory to be a country which would have defined national boundaries.

Growth as used in this case can be negative or positive growth of population. Negative growth would occur when there is a decrease in the numbers of people whereby the mortality and emigration outnumber fertility and immigration. Such situations can occur in cases of conflicts or war in which a lot of people die or people are forced to move out of their countries as well as epidemics that cause considerable loss of lives. Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo are ready examples within Africa. However, the occurrence of positive growth implies that there is an increase in the number of people through the excess of fertility and immigration over mortality and emigration. This is the case for most countries of the world including Nigeria, Ghana, United Kingdom and United States of America to

name a few. In the developing regions, attention has been mainly on the countries with rapid population growth and the debates on whether population would or would not hinder their development. In general attention has been focused on the mal-effect of rapid growth of population on development especially in the developing countries; while in the developed countries there has been much consideration of ageing population and paucity of youths to reinvigorate the societies (UN, 2009:8).

In the most simplistic case it is assumed that the territory is closed to migration, hence population growth is the result of fertility minus mortality in the designated period. Therefore the equation population growth would be

$$P_1 - P_0 = F - M; \text{ assuming that } N \text{ is zero} \quad (\text{ii})$$

where P_1 , P_0 , F , M and N are as defined above.

This is shown diagrammatically in figure 1 as postulated in the demographic transition theory. However, we know that in real life there is no country whose borders are completely closed to international migration.

Nevertheless, planners and policy makers often use measurements of fertility and mortality as quick indicators of changes in population and gauge how these affect development parameters.

In general we can talk of time t in which the interval between time t and time $t-n$ may be any number of years specified by the researcher/planner. Under such a situation then growth can be measured by the equation

$$P_t - P_{t-n} = F - M \pm N \quad (\text{iii})$$

which is reiterated over the period $t-(t-n) = n$, where n = number of years in the interval. For example if censuses

are held at ten-year intervals then n may be 10. Otherwise n can take on any value except zero, i.e. $n \neq 0$

P_t = population at time t

P_{t-n} = population at time $t-n$

F , M and N are as defined above.

$$\text{This can also be written as } P_n = P_0(1+r)^n \quad (\text{iv})$$

Where P_n is population at time n , P_0 is population at time zero or the beginning of the time period for which census data are available for the projection, r is the annual rate of population growth and n is the number of years for the population projection.

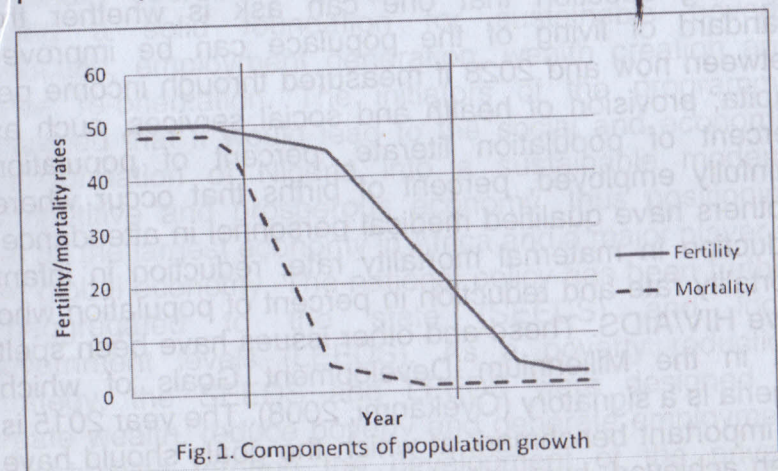


Fig. 1. Components of population growth

The growth of population in the n -year interval between P_t and P_{t-n} would be accounted for by births, deaths and net migration during the period. In countries where censuses are undertaken at regular intervals and vital statistics on births and deaths are available on a continuous basis there is usually no argument about the validity of data on population which can be used as inputs for developmental planning purposes.

Similarly, it is possible to make projections of population for a future designated time if one has the needed parameters especially the annual growth rate of the population and time interval. The most used projection is that of the doubling time of the population which is computed as 70 divided by annual growth rate. Hence for a country like Nigeria with annual growth rate of population estimated at 3.18% (NPC, 2009) the population doubling time is $70 \div 3.18 = 22.08$ years. In other words, the population of Nigeria which was 140 million according to the 2006 national population and housing census (NPC, 2009), is expected to be about 280 million by the year 2028.

The big question that one can ask is whether the standard of living of the populace can be improved between now and 2028 if measured through income per capita; provision of health and social services, such as percent of population literate, percent of population gainfully employed, percent of births that occur where mothers have qualified medical personnel in attendance, reduction in maternal mortality rate, reduction in infant mortality rate and reduction in percent of population who have HIV/AIDS. These and other issues have been spelt out in the Millennium Development Goals of which Nigeria is a signatory (Oyekanmi, 2008). The year 2015 is an important benchmark at which the goals should have been achieved, but we know that given the current level of development in this country these goals appear to be like a mirage. Today, the recurrent budgets of all the tiers of government far outstrip the capital budgets. This is why the government is not making any meaningful impact on the life of Nigerians. As of mid-2011 only 39 percent of births are attended by skilled personnel. Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births were 840 in 2008. This implied that the chances of dying from maternal causes were

1:23 in Nigeria compared to 1: 11,400 in Sweden in the same year. The percentage of adults aged 15-49 years with HIV/AIDS in 2009 was 4.4 among females and 2.9 among males. The proportion of the population that was gainfully employed among the population aged 15+ years was generally low as shown by the fact that only 39 percent of females and 77 percent of males in these ages was economically active (PRB, 2011).

As part of the strategies for achieving the millennium development goals in Nigeria, the federal government had enunciated the National Economic Empowerment and Development Goals (NEEDS). NEEDS is seen as a response to Nigeria's development challenges. It is a nationally coordinated programme of action aimed at laying a solid foundation for sustainable poverty reduction, employment generation, wealth creation and value re-orientation. The initiators of the programme assumed that it would lead to the social and economic transformation of Nigeria into a sustainable modern, competitive and prosperous economy, thus positioning her as the largest economy in Africa and a major player in the global economy. The national policy has been further disaggregated to the state (SEEDS) and local government levels (LEEDS). As a poverty reduction strategy, the SEEDS and LEEDS were designed to create wealth, reduce poverty and generate employment opportunities through the development of the private sector but whose implementation and results have been doubtful.

Furthermore, the federal government has formulated another policy to get Nigeria to be among the twenty top developed economies in the world by the year 2020. Again the implementation of the latter policy is as much immersed in confusion and policy summersaults as the

earlier ones. Presently it is estimated that about 70 percent of the Nigerian populace live on less than one dollar (US \$1.0) per day. Moreover, 35.9 percent of the population aged 6 years and above have no formal education and only 15.24 percent of the households reside in houses where the toilet has water closet and 49.23 percent use pit latrine as shown in Table 1 (NPC, 2009: 275). Moreover about 19.79 percent of households reside in structures that use nearby bush/beach/field known as shotput or bush attack as toilet. This would have negative implications for the health of the people. The available evidence indicates that the level of poverty as well as unemployment among the people in the country is higher now than in the 1970s. So the question which one can ask is whether population growth is impeding development of the country or can the population if properly harnessed contribute to the development of the nation. In other words, is it a myth or reality that population is the clog in the wheel of development of this country?

Table 1: Distribution of regular households by type of toilet facility

Toilet Facility	Number	percentage
Water closet	4,292,654	15.224
Pit latrine	13,882,485	49.234
Bucket/Pan	1,053,753	3.737
Toilet facility in another dwelling	686,218	2.434
Public toilet	2,573,611	9.127
Nearby bush/beach/field	5,581,159	19.793
Others	127,205	0.451
Total	28,197,085	100

Source: NPC (2010) 2006 Population and housing census of the federal Republic of Nigeria. Housing characteristics and amenities tables. Priority Tables Volume II. Published by National Population Commission Abuja, March 2010, p. 202.

The meanings of development

The arguments about the relationship between population and level of development have been generating debates for several centuries. It has been postulated by some scholars that population and development are inversely related. In other words, as the number of people in a defined territory increase, the means of providing for them becomes constrained, thus leading to a decline in the standard of living of the average person, all other things being equal. In the process of daily existence, man is using up all available natural resources without leaving anything for the sustainable development of coming generations. As postulated by Thomas Malthus (1798) population grows in geometric progression while the means of subsistence grows in arithmetic progression as observed from events in England. He said that population would continue to increase at a faster rate than the means of subsistence unless it is curtailed through positive or negative checks. The positive checks include postponement of marriage and abstinence within marital unions i.e. family planning, coupled with abstinence from sexual relations before marriage (Van de Walle, 1958). The negative checks include famine, war and pestilence. For several centuries the theory by Malthus was greatly debated. Those who supported Malthus theory pointed to events in mainland Europe in form of waves of epidemics and later on wars which wiped out large segments of the population to buttress his argument. The neo Malthusians also saw the occurrence of wars in other parts of the world as being largely accounted for by pressure of population on natural resources such as land, water, food and non-renewable resources which man is depleting without plans for replacement.

The opponents of Malthus theory highlighted the discovery of new lands and colonies, which supplied the European countries with raw materials needed in the factories and which gave the metropolitan countries access to improved standards of life hitherto unimaginable. At the same time the colonies provided outlets for out posting of populations that would otherwise have caused population pressure in Europe. Hence development in fact took place in European countries while their populations increased in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Literature on how Europe underdeveloped Africa must be familiar to many of us. Not only were able bodied people carted away as slaves, the traditional economic activities were disrupted and replaced with alien ones and societal controls which had held together much of the African territories were broken as communities; got separated into various nations. First the African peoples were governed as colonies with their human and material resources deployed to enrich Europe, America and even Asia. Next the African nation states were given political independence but economic strangulation. Up till the first decade of the 21st century the economic policies and even social programmes pursued by many countries on this continent are orchestrated, managed and controlled from either the former colonial masters or their partners, euphemistically called multinational corporations. For example 40% of the annual budgets of Burkina Faso came from donor agencies as of 2010. Other countries which rely heavily on international donor assistance include Ghana where even technocrats and political leaders are beginning to express concern about the sustainability of their social welfare programmes when the donor funds dry up in 2014 and beyond even amidst the euphoria about becoming a petroleum exporting country by the end of 2010. Examples of rising level of

poverty and increasing inequality among the peoples in petroleum oil rich Nigeria (Oluwasuji, 2007), diamond exporting Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia as well as other sub-Saharan African countries, point to the necessity for us to take a look at definitions of development and how they relate to human existence.

Under such policies as structural adjustment programmes introduced by the Breton Wood institutions in the 1980s to most developing countries of the world and later globalization, what most scholars of development issues have noted is that African countries continue to be on the margin of the global economy. Decisions are still being taken in the developed metropolitan countries, sold to our leaders as advice for which they have no choice but to accept even if it hurts the citizenry. You can ask why the leaders do not refuse, and then one can tell you that democracy has its dark side especially where corrupt and kleptomaniac individuals seek to hide their ill-gotten gains in these same countries which demand good governance in Africa. Moreover, for much of the global events that have ramifications for our societies, Africa is viewed only as collateral damage.

Development is both an ambiguous term and an ambitious practice. The term is used descriptively or normatively to depict a present condition or to project a desired alternative (Goulet, 1992). Moreover, "development" refers either to the ends or the means of social change. Development is simultaneously the vision of a better life - a life which is materially richer, institutionally more "modern" and technologically more efficient - and an array of means to achieve that vision. These means range from economic planning to propaganda campaigns, from comprehensive social engineering to sectoral

interventions of all sorts with a view to altering values, behaviours and social structures. Keynes cited in Higgins (1968) acknowledged the purely instrumental value of the measurement of development. Translated into contemporary idiom, "economic development" is valuable only to the degree that it creates possibilities for "human development".

There has been a progression from the myth of development to the antidevelopment outlook. After World War II, with spectacular success of the Marshall Plan, people viewed development as an unalloyed good. Sociologist Lerner writing in 1958 noted in his research throughout six countries in the Middle East (Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iran and Turkey) that people viewed development as unalloyed good. For them the term development evoked images of a better life and hope for improvement. Twenty years later (Lerner, 1977), Lerner returned to the site of his earlier studies and discovered that the same people he had interviewed earlier – merchants, peasants, goat herders and village home makers – had now come to view development as a mixed blessing and not as an unalloyed good. A growing body of fiction coming from the Third World likewise highlights the ambiguous nature of development as a mixture of goods and evils. For the Senegalese writer Cheikh Hamidou Kane (Goulet, 1992: 468), development is an ambiguous adventure undertaken at great risk and uncertainty. The Nigerian novelist, Chinua Achebe, describes development around the title *Things Fall Apart*. The experience which villagers have of what Westerners call technical or economic progress is that the values which matter to them – religious institutions, local practices and extended family solidarity networks – fall apart under the impact of technology, monetization of the economy and specialization of tasks.

By the 1990s, development was increasingly seen as an evil thing, which was referred to as misdevelopment or maldevelopment. For Dumont (Bergmann, 1987) misdevelopment is the mismanagement of resources and it is the main cause of world hunger and afflicts "developed" countries as severely as it does to the Third World countries (Harrison, 1987; Shaw, 1985; Husa, 1985; CETIM, 1975). In the case of Nigeria, whereas the country is amply endowed with rich natural resources for sustainable human-centred development, recent patterns have shown incessant systematic obstacles to potentialities for authentic human development (Ninalowo, 2003; Oyekanmi, 2005; Oyekanmi, 2009).

The most absolute attack, however, comes from those who totally repudiate development, both as concept and as project. The French economist Serge Latouche (1986) urges us to discard development because, he argues, it is a tool used by advanced Western countries to destroy the cultures and the autonomy of nations throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America. Other researchers see development as destroying the political, judicial, economic and symbolic meaning systems of native cultures (Maybury-Lewis, 1987:1). These prejudices against indigenous peoples are backed by widely held misconceptions which presume that traditional societies are inherently obstacles to development or that the recognition of their rights would subvert the nation state. Maybury-Lewis research shows that this is untrue.

In policy arenas of national governments and international financial agencies, however, development is still operationally defined as maximum economic growth and a drive toward industrialization and mass consumption. Citing high-capital and high-technology economic growth in South Korea and Taiwan,

development reports remain discreetly silent, however, about the costs in political repression attendant upon these economic successes. A single objective guides most national strategies to achieve "structural adjustment". Little wonder that structural adjustment appears to many as but a euphemism for survival to avoid sinking in a sea of debt, recession and inflation (Dauda, 2005). The policy recommendations promoted under the banner of adjustment include tightened credit, budget discipline, wage freezes and export expansion. There is little consideration for the impact of macroeconomic policy on the lives of poor people and adjustment with human face. In most cases even the development objectives of the earlier growth model (improved standards of living, job creation, better social services and a diversified basket of consumer goods) are forgotten. Cost recovery and profit maximization are seen to obliterate the social objective of raising the standard of living of the people.

Another development paradigm pays lip service to values. This view admits implicitly that development is an ethical concern (Goulet, 1991). It proposes that any definition of development must include five dimensions:

- An economic component dealing with the creation of wealth and improved conditions of material life, equitably distributed;
- A social ingredient measured as well-being in health, education, housing and employment;
- A political dimension including such values as human rights, political freedom, enfranchisement and some form of democracy;
- A cultural dimension in recognition of the fact that cultures confer identity and self-worth to people; and

- A dimension called full-life paradigm which refers to meaning systems, symbols, and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life and history.

For the participants at the conference held in Marga, Colombia in 1986, integral human development is all of these things (Goulet, 1992). Clearly ecological soundness should be added to the Marga list as an essential component of authentic development (Goulet, 1991). The latter is even more necessary at present in the aftermath of the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan following the earthquake and tsunami which occurred there in March 2011.

Some years earlier a seminar on Latin America's prospects for the year 2000 chose four pairs of words as essential components of development: economic growth, distributional equity, participation/vulnerability, and transcendental values (Pollock, 1983). The words of transcendental values raise a vital question: "Do people live by GNP alone?"

Development is best conceptualized as a two edged sword which brings benefits, but also produces losses and generates value conflicts (Goulet, 1992). Among the gains achieved by development are clear improvements in material well-being, standards of living, and levels of comfort, of consumption and of large amenities for large numbers of people (World Bank's 1980 World Development Report). A second gain attendant upon development is technological progress. The third gain is institutional specialization. A fourth gain is freedom of choice especially for women and children (Berger, 1979). A fifth gain associated with development is greater world interdependence. Still another benefit of development is a higher degree of tolerance than ever before for diversity

of religion, laws, customs, ideologies, clothing, taste in foods and even idiosyncratic personal behaviour. One should note, however, that since September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States of America, religious intolerance seems to have spiked up worldwide. If anything there seems to be greater degree of intolerance on religion, ethnicity and sexual orientation among and within nations.

The negative impact of development includes destruction of cultural limits on individual desire for goods (as exemplified by rise in corruption). A second negative effect of development is an increase in vertical dependence among nations. Even relatively rich developing countries such as Mexico, Brazil or Nigeria have seen their dependency increase due to their financial debt. At the beginning of the 21st century, debt forgiveness was undertaken for the most debt-ridden developing economies, yet the funds that were supposed to be used for social and infrastructural investments in these countries have been frittered away with no visible positive impact on the life styles of their citizenry especially in sub-Saharan Africa. A third negative feature of development is the increase in anomie or social alienation and role ambiguity among members of all societies (Akeredolu-Ale, 2005). In the past every person knew his or her place in life. Now, however, the place/status is neither fixed once and for all, nor is it defined for specific actors in society. Small closely knit communities or extended families within which people knew their place, their role and their assigned vocation in life, have yielded ground to large impersonal institutions.

Another negative effect of development is the destruction or dilution of cultures. Specially affected are nomadic or semi-sedentary cultures which depended on extended

families, local networks and the possibility of ranging over territory for food, e.g. the recent clashes between cow herders and farmers in certain areas of Nigeria and Ghana. Unfortunately these frictions for land resources are often misinterpreted as religious conflicts between Christians and Moslems particularly in the Nigerian context.

One of development's greatest achievements has been to reduce infant deaths and to multiply populations. As a result there are more people than ever before and frequently more people with access to the same limited stock of resources. The limits on resources themselves have doubtless been expanded by technology, but until technology is adapted – and it is expensive to adapt technology – large populations which grew larger because of rapid and inexpensive medical interventions now see their way of life destroyed (Gamer, 1976). They are obliged to enter the circuit of hired labour in order to earn money. This fragments their patterns of living, their ways of being, and destroys their culture. Where able bodied people, especially the youths, have to migrate out of their countries in search of the proverbial Golden Fleece; their fates are sometimes made worse rather than better. A number of them fall prey to human trafficking and the attendant vice (Oyekanmi, 2005; Nagle, 2007). Even where internal migration has taken place between communities over time within a nation, the excruciating poverty in the last few decades has resulted in clashes between migrants irrespective of their length of stay and indigenes/ natives in some of the receiving areas, such as witnessed in the Jos area of Plateau state in Nigeria and Tamale area in the Upper East Region of Ghana.

More significantly, the meaning systems of numerous cultural communities are evacuated. Meaning systems are the religious, philosophical, and cosmic symbols and codes providing explanations as to the meaning of life and death. People are caught up in the pursuit of goods and neglect of meaning systems (Goulet, 1992). There is also effect on the ecosystem, the biological natural systems which are damaged, all in the name of development. Perhaps, the emerging knowledge about the green house effect of man's daily activities and the depletion of the ozone layer with attendant fear of danger to man's continued existence are pointers to the latter. A very striking example is the rupture of the nuclear powered electricity generating structures in Fukushima, Japan due to the effects of the earthquake and tsunami of March 2011. In the latter case people have been evacuated from an area of 50 miles perimeter from the nuclear power stations in order to minimise exposure to radiation.

Most significantly, development generates value conflicts over the meaning of good life. One can ask whether the good life, whose possibility is assured by laws and institutions, consists of equality of opportunity or equality of results. In most developed societies this has never been resolved (Friedenberg, 1975). Another facet of the value debate over the good life is whether societies should rely more dominantly on material or on moral incentives to elicit desired behaviour from members (Goulet, 1989). Is nature to be viewed simply as raw material for Promethean exploitation by humans, or is nature to be viewed as the larger womb of life in which humans live, move, and have their being, and whose rhythms and laws they must respect? Is the dominant human stance toward nature to be extractive and manipulative or harmony seeking?

Goulet (1992) had concluded that because of the numerous contradictions surrounding the discourse and practice of development, we need wisdom to match our sciences. Wisdom offers a wider view of the purposes of human life and of human efforts to guide the formulation of development paradigms (Goulet, 1991). The world needs many wisdoms coming from non-developed societies in creative and critical constructive dialogue with powerful scientific, technological, political and managerial rationalities of the "developed" societies. Only through such dialogues can we humans generate a wisdom to match our sciences and can we stop behaving like "one-eyed giants" (Van Der Post, 1955). Europeans were described as coming to Africa with science but no wisdom and broke up ancient civilizations which had wisdoms but no science (Merton, 1965). Merton adds that it is "wisdom which transcends and unites...opens the door to a life in which the individual is not lost in the cosmos and in society but found in them. Wisdom made all life sacred and meaningful- even that which later ages came to call secular and profane (Merton 1965). Bammeke (2006) argues that rather than alienate learners from their language, cultural values and traditional knowledge, the content of education should derive from their cultural realities, be relevant to their needs and promote cultural values in a sustainable manner even while they remain abreast of development on the global terrain.

Sustainable development

More recent thoughts on development have brought up the term sustainable development. Sustainable development is a difficult and elusive concept to pin down. Indeed Fowke and Prasad (1996) have identified at least eighty different, often competing and sometimes contradictory, definitions. The best known is that proposed in the Brundtland Report published by the

intergovernmental commission set up by the UN system in the mid-1980s under the chair of G. H. Brundtland to report on environmental issues; where it suggested that sustainable development means 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987, 8 and 43). Yet this definition of sustainable development is allied to a particular development worldview that is resisted and contested by many commentators (Williams and Millington, 2004: 100). The starting point of sustainable development literature is what Williams and Millington (2004) called "environmental paradox". For nearly all commentators on sustainable development, this means there is a mismatch between what is demanded of the Earth and what the Earth is capable of supplying (Cahill, 2001; Cahill and Fitzpatrick, 2001; Fitzpatrick and Cahill, 2002; Goodin, 1992). For those who recognize this and thus devote themselves to considering how sustainable development can be achieved, what are seen to be required are a reduction in societal demands on the Earth and/or an increase in the resources so that the gap between supply and demand can, at least, be bridged to some extent. It is this process of gradually conjoining demands on and supply of resources – the infinite and finite aspects of human life – that defines what is meant by the process of sustainable development. The various ways of matching demand and supply produces the diverse and contested meanings of sustainable development.

'Weak sustainability' or 'shallow environmentalism' argues that one needs to expand the stock of resources by developing renewable resources, creating substitutes for non-renewable resources, making more effective use of existing resources and/or searching for technological solutions to problems such as resource depletion and pollution. 'Strong sustainability' or 'deep ecology' argues

that the demands that we make on the Earth need to be revised so that we consume less. This contends that rather than adapting the Earth to suit ourselves, we adapt ourselves to meet the finitude of nature. 'Moderate sustainability' combines elements of the weak and strong approaches by seeking to both expand the stock of resources and reducing demand on this stock in order to conjoin supply and demands. This is really a continuum/spectrum of thinking rather than either /or dualism. Indeed for precisely this reason Williams and Millington (2004), refer to these perspectives as 'weaker' and 'stronger' (rather than 'weak' or 'strong') sustainable development.

Weaker sustainable development paradigm adopts an anthropocentric (human-centred) discourse on the relationship between people and nature (O'Riordan, 1996). The strands of this theory represent what might be called Judaeo-Christian conceptualization of the connection between people and nature (Genesis 1:28) which interpret that human beings are separate from nature and that nature is a resource to be exploited by and for people. The logic of such theorists is that economic growth and resource exploitation can continue. What is required is a better accommodation of environmental issues (Hume and Turnpenny, 2004). Two increasingly popular stances within the weaker sustainable development literature are, first of all, that it is possible to improve the efficiency of economic growth so that it uses fewer natural resources and, secondly, that economic growth can continue but there is a need to redistribute the costs and benefits in a more equitable manner. The first idea is sometimes referred to as 'ecological modernization' (Mol, 1999; Mol and Sommerfield, 2000; Roberts, 2004). The second idea has become known as 'environmental justice' (Agyeman and

Evans, 2004) and its emerging UK discourse on 'just sustainability'. Haughton and Counsell (2004) provide a lucid account of how different geographies have harnessed the term sustainable development to justify different approaches to, and outcomes of, regional planning.

Common to all these approaches are many of the core tenets of weak sustainability:

- a human-centred worldview is adopted;
- there is emphasis on a growth-oriented approach to economic development;
- there is a relative lack of consideration given to the need for radical change in people's demands on the Earth; and
- there is a perpetuation of the view that nature is merely a collection of natural resources that can be subdued by the human race.

Researchers propounding the stronger sustainability theory hold the view that the earth is finite and caution that no habitable future is possible when the demand side of the equation radically alters by rethinking our attitude towards nature as well as our view of economic progress and development (Williams and Millington, 2004: 102; Fodor, 1999). The argument of strong sustainability theorists is that nature has biotic rights (Devall, 1990; Skolimowski, 1981). Nature is seen to have a right to remain unmolested that does not require justification in human terms just as there are unalienable human rights that require no justification. In consequence, anthropocentrism is replaced by biocentric egalitarianism, by which is meant inter-species equity that recognizes non-human or biotic rights (Eckersley, 1992). The stronger sustainability theorists criticize economic development

and progress because what were originally means to an end have become ends in themselves. For example, the acquisition of material goods was originally a means to achieving the end of well-being. Today they argue, such a means has become an end in itself (Mander and Goldsmith, 1996; Robertson, 1991). They call for radical change. For them there is a need to redefine 'wealth' as 'well-being' rather than the acquisition of material goods, in so doing they mirror Aristotle's critique of moneymaking. Aristotle saw economic activity directed toward moneymaking as pathological, as mistaking the means of achieving economic well-being for the ends (Sayer, 2001). Aristotle, could not have envisaged that what for him was aberration would become a system imperative as exemplified by the buying and selling of money currencies and indeed commodity stock exchanges, futures market, etc.

The stronger sustainability advocate a strategy of a more small decentralized way of life based upon greater self-reliance, so as to create a social and economic system less destructive towards nature (Henderson, 1999). Rather than pursue the end of economic growth through outward-looking strategies, their objective is to ensure that the basic needs and desires of all are met through the pursuit of self-reliance and an inward-looking approach (Morehouse, 1997). Today, in the sustainable development literature, the stronger stance is less prominent than it was in the earlier days of the environmental movement (Williams and Millington, 2004). Yet its values underlie some of the contemporary arguments and policy initiatives. For example, Buckingham (2004) shows that the origins of ecofeminism are very much rooted in the core values of deep ecology. Ecofeminism has argued that it is not just human-centredness (anthropocentrism) that engenders

the environmental problem, but rather male-centredness (androcentrism). For ecofeminists, a link has been made between men's domination of nature and men's domination of women, in that it has been argued that the master-slave role that marks man's association with nature is reiterated in man's relationship with women (Burkingham, 2004; Easlie, 1981; King, 1983). One could also argue that the ecofeminist view is also an expansion out of the weaker sustainability 'environmental justice' approach to incorporate the dimension of gender. Ecofeminist thought can be seen to underpin many of the mainstream contemporary initiatives in the field of sustainable development that have sought to display much greater gender sensitivity. Oyekanmi (2004) has argued that the lower status of women compared to men in the social, economic and political lives of Nigeria has led to resources been deployed to spheres of life where they were least needed and to wasteful and conspicuous consumption of materials by a selected few to the detriment of the whole society. She has also argued that the level of corruption in the country would have been much lower and easier to control if women were in decision-making positions at least in fair representation to their numerical strength in the nation.

Population issues in Nigeria

It has been noted that population is a very important element in development planning. Olateru-Olagbegi (2008) noted that population censuses are the primary sources of the basic data required for planning, for administration and also for many aspects of economic and social research. These include planning for education, housing, agriculture, rural-urban migration which often lead to squatter settlements in the urban centres, manpower and labour, health and other

infrastructural facilities (see also Oyekanmi, 1992; Oyefara, 2008).

The main population question in Nigeria has revolved around the issue of numbers. In other words, how many Nigerians are there at any point in time? The history of Nigerian census taking dates as far back as 1866 when the first organized attempt was made to enumerate the population of Lagos area. Since 1866, there have been 15 documented attempts to enumerate the population of either part or the entire territory of Nigeria. The earliest attempts were through conjectural estimates or through tax returns. These were followed by partial census and later complete national censuses (Edewor, 2008). Since the first census was conducted, each census figure was disputed by one segment or the other in the country (Oyekanmi, 1992). There were and still are accusations of either undercount of some ethnic groups or over count of some other ethnic groups. Rather than seeing census taking as a scientific/technical exercise it has been regarded largely as a political issue in this country. It is notable that the last two census exercises in the nation; i.e. those done in 1991 and 2006 have been accepted albeit with some reservations from certain stakeholders (Oyekanmi and Ogunlade, 2008). The counts gave total population figures of 88,992,220 in 1991 and 140,431,790 in 2006 for the nation (NPC, 1998; 2009). If one uses the medium variant estimate of natural increase rate of 2.5% per annum by the United Nations the population of the country by mid-2010 is put at 158,259,000. By the year 2020 it is projected by the medium variant that the population would be 175,928,000 (UN, 2009). The age distribution shows a very young age structure where about 41 percent of the total populace are less than 15 years of age as shown in Table 2. On the other hand about 5 percent of the nation's population are aged 60 years and above. Hence the people who are

in the economically active age groups in the country form half of the population. The implication of this is that there is a high dependency ratio whereby each economically active person would cater for about three people on average. As noted earlier it is estimated that 23 percent of the male and 61 percent of the female populace aged 15 years and older are unemployed (PRB, 2011). Hence each worker, in fact, has to cater for 5 or more people.

Information on ethnicity and religion were not collected as part of the characteristics of the people in these last two censuses in order to avoid exacerbating an already contentious situation and making the efforts of nation building more difficult. Nnorom and Kunnuji (2006) argue that ethnic pluralism in the country and the struggle for numerical supremacy impact negatively on the census process and population statistics, which are believed to be manipulated for political purposes making the figures needed for planning unreliable. This reservation about the negative effect of unreliable population figures on development in Nigeria has also been expressed by several scholars (Oyekanmi, 2008; Nnorom, 2008; Oyefara, 2008), especially as it pertains to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in the country. If we do not know how many Nigerians there are then how can we plan accurately for the present and future population?

Table 2: Percentage distribution of Nigerian population into selected age groups

	2006 ^a		2010 ^b		2015 ^b	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
0-14 years	58,736,297	(41.83)	67,035,000	(42.36)	72,299,000	(40.8)
15-29 years	40,545,924	(28.87)	44,526,000	(28.14)	49,530,000	(28.15)
30-59 years	34,162,522	(24.32)	38,905,000	(24.58)	45,122,000	(25.65)
60+	6,987,047	(4.98)	7,793,000	(4.92)	8,977,000	(5.10)
Total	140,431,790	(100)	158,259,000	(100)	175,928,000	(100)

= Population

Sources: a. National Population Commission (2009: 5). 2006 Population and housing census of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

b. United Nations (2008). World Population Prospects. The 2008 Revision, Volume II.

Due to the fact that the Nigerian state has not been able to effectively conduct a reliable census over the years for political reasons, researchers have had to depend on different sources which usually give contradictory estimates. For political reasons, the population density shows that Nigeria is about the only country which records a greater population in states located in the savannah than those located in the forest zone. While the United Nations gives an estimated 2010 population of 158,259,000 persons (Table 2), the US Census Bureau gives an estimate of 152,217,000 million. Although the estimates appear similar, a careful comparison of the figures shows that the difference is about 6 million. This is greater than the population of several nations of the world including Gambia, Liberia, Mauritania, Qatar, Latvia etc. In fact, it is greater than the populations of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Swaziland, and Bahamas put together.

Other sources of collecting population information have been explored in the country, e.g. vital statistics, sample surveys especially demographic health surveys (DHS) and migration statistics and these have been used to

complement census results. The general picture one gets is that of a country with rapid population increase of 3.18% annual growth rate and a young age structure whereby about 44% of the population are below 15 years of age (NPC, 2009). Nigeria is still a high-fertility, high-mortality country with a total fertility rate (TFR) of 4.8 (NDHS, 2008) children and a life expectancy of 44 years. This implies that much of the resources of the nation are devoted towards consumption activities like education, training for capacity building and provision of social services for a large proportion of the population who are not in the labour force and cannot contribute to production of goods and services. It is in this light that population may be regarded a burden on the nation as they constitute more of consumers than producers. About 91% of Nigerians subsist on less than US\$2 per day (Kent and Haub, 2005).

Population growth becomes a problem when it outpaces economic growth. It has been established that rapid population growth and poverty are correlates, although a causal association has not been established with finality (Kent and Haub, 2005; Nnorom and Kunnuji, 2006:69). On average, per capita income in high-fertility countries is less than one-twelfth the level in low-fertility countries. This finding has been the major reason why fertility limitation has been pursued in many countries with a view to slowing down the rate of growth of the population and thus raising the standard of living of the people.

In a plural state like Nigeria, where the constituent parts see their proportions of the total population as their 'meal ticket', checking population growth is usually very difficult. Two population policies have been enacted in Nigeria-1988 and 2003 with the aim of curbing population growth rate and improving the welfare of the populace. The state

of war for numerical supremacy as well as other reasons has made the policies docile and the targets unattainable (Obono, 2002; Nnorom and Kunnuji, 2006).

Year	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
Population (Millions)	100	105	110	115	120	125	130	135	140	145	150	155	160	165	170	175	180	185	190	195	200
GDP (Billions of Naira)	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50
Per Capita Income (Naira)	100	115	127	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310
Life Expectancy (Years)	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
Total Fertility Rate (TFR)	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8

Table 3: Selected demographic indicators (1950-2030)

Demographic Indicators	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030
Population																	
Midyear population (in thousands)	31,797	35,953	41,547	48,064	55,586	64,422	74,821	84,889	96,604	109,465	123,179	137,495	152,217	167,271	182,344	197,223	211,776
Growth rate (percent)	(NA)	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.1	2.5	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4
Fertility																	
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	(NA)	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.0	6.8	6.4	6.1	5.7	5.3	4.8	4.4	3.9	3.5	3.2
Crude birth rate (per 1,000 population)	(NA)	49	49	49	49	49	48	46	44	43	42	39	36	33	31	28	26
Mortality																	
Life expectancy at birth (years)	(NA)	43	43	44	44	44	45	45	45	45	45	45	47	49	51	52	54

Table 3: (cont.)

Demographic Indicators	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 births)	(NA)	143	138	134	129	125	121	117	113	110	107	100	93	86	79	72	65
Under 5 mortality rate (per 1,000 births)	(NA)	244	240	236	232	229	225	222	219	217	210	194	177	160	143	128	113
Crude death rate (per 1,000 population)	(NA)	21	21	21	20	20	20	19	19	19	19	18	16	15	14	13	12
Migration																	
Net migration rate (per 1,000 population)	(NA)	1	1	1	1	1	3	-2	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0

NA Not Available.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. Retrieved June 6, 2011 from <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/country.php>.

Table 3 above shows that the population of the nation has grown steadily from about 32 million in 1950 to about 152 million in 2010, a period of about 60 years. In another 20 years, the population would rise to about 211 million people, although the growth rates would have declined to just about 1.4 percent per annum. The rapid growth witnessed came as a result of the huge gap between mortality and fertility as shown in the table and depicted pictorially in Figure 1. Of particular interest is the decline of the TFR from 7.2 children per woman in 1950 to 4.8 in 2010. In another 20 years, this is projected to drop to 3.2 children per woman. The life expectancy is an indicator of the people's standard of living. In 1950, the life expectancy was as low as 43 years. This rose to 47 years in 2010 and there are indications that it will further rise in years to come. However some studies had estimated that the average life expectancy had risen to 54 years in the late 1990s but declined slightly due to the HIV/AIDS scourge in the country. The table also shows that net migration contributes very little to change in population in Nigeria. The problems identified with migration in the country include the emigration of able bodied young graduates who seek the golden fleece in other countries as well as experienced professionals who move to the already developed nations of Western Europe and North America, and of recent, the oil rich Arab countries. In summary, the population continues to grow at a rather high rate.

Population-development interrelations

The people are also the contributor of labour, one of the factors of production, the others being land and capital. It is in the process of obtaining these other two factors of production that many developing countries get into trouble in an effort to develop. The dilemma of whether to rely on local resources for production purposes or to be

externally dependent has been a major problem of many developing or emerging nations of the world. First the plundering of the resources of the colonies for the sustenance of the colonial masters; then the tele-guiding of the newly independent nations especially through selected, not duly elected, rapacious leaders who saw themselves more as agents of the former masters than representing the interests of the masses whom they govern. Later on came concepts like Structural Adjustment Programme in the 1980s, Globalization in the 1990s and of recent Millennium Development Goals through which the developing nations such as Nigeria are made to feel dependent *ad infinitum* on the metropolitan and developed countries.

The goals of development as defined by the developed nations are perpetually being shifted out of the grasp of the developing nations. As of September, 2010, the meeting convened by the UN in New York has already indicated that most developing countries especially those in Africa would not be able to meet the targets of the MDGs by year 2015 largely because the developed countries have not fulfilled the promises they made to donate funds for the use of the developing nations. While that bitter pill is yet to be swallowed another trap is being laid in form of green house gas effect and ozone layer depletion with recommendations being made on penalizing factories which emit certain gases into the atmosphere. It is obvious that it would be very difficult, if not impossible for industrialists who are already struggling under burdens of loans in Nigeria to get the resources to replace old machineries and re-train the workers who will operate the new equipment. Worthy of note is the practice whereby machinery which have been used for some decades in the developed countries are now been bought by our industrialists as fairly

used/refurbished equipment with the attendant problem of wastage of already scarce resources on maintenance in addition to environmental pollution in the country.

The government structures/agencies which are supposed to make policies on economic and other issues in order to regulate the economy constitute a huddle to the polity in this country. Even the liberal democracy through which African nations are compelled to ape the governments of Western Europe, USA and Canada in governance have failed to yield good governance in the developing nations, including Nigeria. Several scholars have noted the defects of our democratic experiment in the post colonial era (Yaqub, 2007; Nwabueze, 2007) and state that 'exogeneity' is a distinctive feature of public policy in contemporary Nigeria. This is a tendency for public policies to be influenced more by external factors /considerations and the belief that solutions to local /internal problems can only be found outside the country especially since 1999. Exogeneity is believed to be a negation of the core development values, with detrimental effects on domestic development and contributing to crisis of legitimacy (Ninalowo, 2004; Oyekanmi and Soyombo, 2007).

Oluwasuji (2007) attributes the Niger-Delta restiveness and various other communal and/or inter/intra ethnic violence in Nigeria to perceived injustice, inequality and inequity in the socio-economic and political structure which is tantamount to internal colonization. He advocates the removal of political subjugation and denial of group rights, including the adoption of an integrated bottom-up participatory approach, engagement of the civil societies and people-oriented development. Also to be included are programmes for reduction of poverty and illiteracy, and control of proceeds from oil extraction from

their land by the petroleum oil producing communities (Obi and Aas Rustad, 2011)

Several researchers have highlighted the issue of under-representation of women in the political process (Oyekanmi, 2004; Aluko and Ajani, 2007) resulting in the tendency for corruption to be more widely practised by the male-dominated structures. Moreover, at the household level women increasingly have to bear the burden of supporting their children alone albeit with dwindling income and other resources. It has been estimated that about 20.2 percent of women aged 15-49 years have unmet need for contraception (UN, 2011). It is therefore little wonder that researchers are drawing attention to the feminization of poverty in the country as elsewhere in developing countries. There is also feminization of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria.

Furthermore, given the precarious material bases of the domestic ruling classes, there are undue emphasis on politics to the neglect of economy and development. It has been shown that the ruling classes therefore used their offices to consolidate their material bases. Not only did theft go on in the state apparatus, but the state itself is the main apparatus for theft. Odukoya (2007) stated that 'not only do officials steal, but stealing is official in Nigeria'. Moreover the crisis of state in this country which can be deduced from corruption, political instability, communal conflicts, economic backwardness, under-development, military dictatorship, political disempowerment, debt overhang, elite factionalism, etc. are largely due to the patrimonial and rentier character of the state in Nigeria (Obi, 1998; Ibrahim, 2000). The orientation of the Nigerian ruling class follows the same logic, especially the desperation for political power as a platform for primitive capital accumulation. It is for this

reason that the Nigerian state is seen as a warfare and producer of fissiparous and conflictual tendencies (Ibrahim, 2000; Akeredolu-Ale, 2005; Odukoya, 2005).

Table 4: Income per capita and inflation rates in Nigeria 2000-2009

YEAR	INCOME PER CAPITA IN US \$ (b)	INFLATION % (a)
2000	368.3333	14.53
2001	375.2387	16.49
2002	451.0643	12.14
2003	503.8806	23.84
2004	638.6733	10.01
2005	796.7756	11.57
2006	1017.981	8.57
2007	1123.198	6.56
2008	1369.716	15.10
2009	1118.108	12.10

Source: (a) World Bank; *World Development Report 2010*
 (b) Central Bank of Nigeria *Statistical Bulletin* Vol. 20, December 2009.

As shown in Table 4 the average income in the country yearly increased from (income per capita) US\$368.33 in 2000 to \$1,369.72 in 2008 and declined to \$1,118.11 in 2009. While the country was classified as a medium income in the mid-1970s, she has fallen into the ranks of low-income countries within the last decade or so. The low levels of average income coupled with high levels of inflation annually have resulted in loss of living standard of the people. This poverty has translated into

consumption of fairly used articles of clothing, electronic gadgets, cars/buses, computers and other technological equipment by the majority of the populace. In fact the problems of the disposal of the disused items are becoming glaring in metropolitan places like Lagos and Port Harcourt.

Good governance has been touted as one of the by-products of democracy that is expected to result in an improvement in the welfare of the populace. Yet the people are so much exploited and oppressed, even within the context of democratic politics which has been reduced to mere electoralism (voting without choosing in most instances) and multi-partyism in this country. Even in our latest democratic experiment, presidential government, there is confusion in the structure and functions of prime office holders. For example, while in the US form of government the Vice President is also the Senate President, but in Nigeria the Vice President and the Senate President are two individuals and this has led to a lot of confusion about the roles of the two office holders on the one hand and a contest of supremacy between the Senate President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the other hand within the National Assembly. Moreover, the prolonged delay in the introduction and approval of bills as well as the time lapse between passing of bills by the legislators and the signing of them into law by the President could be partly accounted for by this structural deficiency. In addition, the cost of maintaining the legislative and executive bodies at both the federal and state levels far surpasses what is spent on capital votes in the annual budgets. By and large the people are alienated from the mainstream of state policies and robbed of effective party action and empowerment. Rather than being a solution and a platform for the resolution of the national question in

Nigeria, democracy became part and parcel of the problem. Of much concern for the sociologist is the distribution of guns and other arms by political office seekers to their bodyguards and thugs during campaigns and the use of these arms by the latter in armed robberies, kidnappings and creation of general social unrest during and after the elections. This malpractice which started in the 1960s has been further escalated to the use of bombs in recent times and thus escalated the perceived instability in the country. Consequently, the inflow of foreign capital investment that is supposed to boost production in the country is almost negated by outward capital flight. Due to low levels of income and high cost of living, personal savings and investment are low. The very high interest rates charged by commercial banks for those entrepreneurs who are brave enough to venture into manufacturing/agriculture mean that very few enterprises operated by nationals can thrive and even employ able bodied people especially the young school leavers.

What is the way out? While some researchers like Odukoya (2007) recommended that people should be returned to the centre of politics, Soyombo (2007) suggests that there should be proper monitoring and evaluation of programmes and activities of government. This could ensure the reduction of corrupt practices at all levels of government. Akinsola (2007) on the other hand states that corruption is everybody's problem and the war against it has to be fought by all; the anti-corruption crusades mounted by official government organs cannot succeed if families and communities also do not work at changing the value system of the people. This implies that every parent has to inculcate in his/her child the spirit of honesty, hard work, thirst for acquisition of knowledge and upward mobility coupled with fairness in dealing with

others. This lecture stresses the need for responsible parenthood in terms of number of children being born and the rearing and nurturing of offspring and wards.

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the foregoing, one can conclude that there is a need for re-thinking Nigeria's development strategy (Oyekanmi, 2009). There are several avenues that are waiting to be properly explored for development in this country. The attempt to re-brand Nigeria should include cultural re-orientation of the people towards a desired national entity as well as prioritization of the welfare of the people.

The federal government should ensure that a population census is conducted in this country once in every ten years as recommended by the United Nations. The exercise should be seen as credible and accurate. In addition the vital registration system which is currently in place should be extended to every corner of the country and certificates of birth of new babies and death of individuals should be issued at such registration. Demographic Health Surveys to monitor the health and welfare status of the populace particularly of women and children should also be carried out at regular intervals. These and other sources of information would yield accurate population figures for this country and extra efforts should be made to depoliticise the counts. In addition the national identity card project should be implemented more rigorously. Issues like fertility limitation and provision of family planning services need to be emphasized once again. The delicate balance between population and environmental sustainability must be borne in mind by all.

In the economic sphere, care must be taken to ensure macroeconomic stability, low inflation rate and stable

exchange rates for the Naira vis-a-vis major foreign currencies. There is no doubt about the technological superiority of China, India, north America and Europe, but we cannot afford to throw our borders open to importation of all kinds of goods and services. The incubation of small and medium scale enterprises by government should include patronage of Nigerian professionals like architects, engineers, sociologists, demographers, computer scientists and others. The current global economic meltdown should be seen more as opportunities than as challenge to development. Nigeria should become the hub of economic activities in sub-Saharan Africa rather than the present practice where able bodied individuals seek to escape from this country at all costs while Chinese and Indian technocrats control our manufacturing concerns and the communication sector.

We should start thinking of post-petroleum oil era economic development in Nigeria as the conflicts in the Niger Delta region and other parts of the country and the attendant internal displacement of people point to a necessity for an alternative source of revenue generation. Further increases in taxes and other rates cannot ensure long term economic development as there is a limit to which the burden can be carried by the people. The self employed populace are already groaning under the burden of local government rates and state taxes.

The extensive sea shore coast line of this country and the various rivers indicate that water ways can be developed both for transportation and for tourism. In addition other forms of transportation like railways and roads should be better developed and maintained properly. The build operate and transfer scheme (BOT) can be better explored as a viable option where government cannot

finance a needed project especially on infrastructure. Groups of people with access to financial support from banks can buy buses and operate efficient intercity transportation. Each association or organization within designated neighbourhoods could be encouraged to adopt a road and maintain it pending when government would provide funds to mend such so that our transport networks do not grind to a virtual halt.

Other income earning activities to be explored include the planting of trees and flowers for beautification of the environment and export to the temperate countries as is being done in Kenya that earns a lot of foreign exchange from exportation of flowers to countries in the temperate region. This should be in addition to the planting of trees to replace those being cut for wooden planks in roofing houses, making furniture and those burnt for fuel to cook food especially due to high cost of kerosene and gas. Tree planting is also to be undertaken in order to curb desert encroachment in the northern part of the country. Wood burning for domestic use should be halted and the use of kerosene and gas encouraged provided these are readily available at affordable cost.

In some countries textiles are manufactured from plant fibres like banana leaves and the backs of trees. Nothing stops Nigerians from exploring such avenues to manufacture cloth materials that can be used for household items like tablecloth; window blind and also generate some income. This implies that local researchers should be better motivated and their results and inventions should be patented by government and utilized subsequently by appropriate organizations.

All the existing petroleum refineries in the country must be refurbished and operated at maximum capacity. In addition, the private enterprises that have been granted

licenses to refine in the country must start producing now. This country has no reason whatsoever to import refined petroleum products if proactive leaders run the nation. Projections must also be made for future needs of an ever increasing population so that situations of scarcity of petroleum products are not allowed to arise. Derivatives of petroleum oil products should be refined in this country and used for manufacture of plastics and adhesives rather than the present practice where we import almost everything.

The monopoly enjoyed by government agencies in the generation and distribution of electricity need to be broken. The development of other sources of energy for home and industrial consumption abound e.g. solar, wind, water, coal and even human faeces. Researches should be funded by the government and corporate organizations to discover renewable sources of energy that are suitable to our environment. With respect to unreliability of electric supply in the country, the usage of generators must be curtailed and a definite time line given about when they will no longer be used at all. This necessitates the efficient and uninterrupted production and distribution of electricity to all current and future users.

Of equal importance is the provision of treated portable water for the use of the general populace. At present many households in the urban and semi-urban areas buy water sold to them by vendors who in turn purchase same at boreholes or wells. The rich people dig wells or make boreholes in their houses and then pump the water into overhead tanks with machines operated by electricity with accompanying problem of power outages. Hence the cost of provision of such water is prohibitive. Moreover,

the water is hardly treated with chemicals for purification by the households' members before its use.

The provision of effective and efficient primary health services should be intensified as this would enhance physical and economic access to health care at the grassroots. This would limit the undue pressure on the secondary and tertiary health facilities. The populace need to regain confidence in local/national system of health services while the government is overhauling the health system. Government functionaries should be persuaded to utilize the health facilities within the country rather going on medical tourism to other countries like India, South Africa, Spain, Germany and France.

With respect to the quality of housing, the simplification of the system for obtaining relevant documents for building houses would ensure speedier construction of buildings for domestic and commercial purposes. Currently in Lagos state while the government announces that Certificate of Occupancy for land can be obtained within three months, in actual practice such processing can take between one and two years and at costs five times more than indicated on the official receipt. This practice discourages would-be landlord/ladies who would have put up structures in the state and some have gone to invest in Ogun state as alternative. At the other end are places like Kaduna, Kano and Plateau states where houses already built and in use are burnt at the slightest excuse with no apparent punishment meted to the arsonists. Once the housing needs of people are met at affordable costs and food supply is regular then, the average person would begin to think of how to improve his/her environment. Mortgage institutions in the country should also serve the poor. Cooperatives or Community Development Associations can serve as guarantors for

loans taken by non-salaried workers, while salaried workers can obtain letters of guarantee from their employers.

The welfare of the people should take priority over every other issue in the scheme of things for development of the country. Sustainable development which allows the use of resources by the present generation of people while also leaving some resources for the future should be a target. The leadership must shun corruption and encourage best practices as even ICPC and EFCC cannot curb the practice if the elites are not committed to shun it.

Both the government and interested stakeholders should promote functional education as well as entrepreneurial training so that secondary school and tertiary institution graduates can utilize those skills either as employees or employers of labour. Investment culture and savings rather than consumption should be encouraged.

Human capital development strategy should be part of the focus of re-thinking development in Nigeria. Unutilized trained manpower especially among the youth must be deployed towards gainful ventures. The necessary tools/equipment should be provided for the people who are engaged in productive ventures.

Parity equivalent pay must be paid to retain qualified trained people in the country. A situation where the minimum wage of N18,000 per month approved by the federal government is yet to be paid and yet the states' assembly members get daily sitting and lunch allowances which amount to multiples of the minimum wage calls for a sober reflection on equity in this country. The Nigeria Labour Congress and the Trade Union Congress are poised to do battle with the governors of such states who

are now giving fresh conditions under which they will pay minimum wage in the civil service. The states governments want a bigger share of the revenue accruing to the nation before paying new minimum wage, but the unions argue that the states signed the tripartite agreement on the new wage and must honour it. Moreover this lecture recommends that there should be the beginning of a social security system that caters for the vulnerable members of society such as women, children, the unemployed, physically challenged and the elderly in order to cushion the effects of poverty through the provision of allowance for feeding, lodging and transportation so that the unemployed especially youths do not have to resort to crime/violence. Such a scheme would ensure that there is security of life and property in the entire country and for all categories of people. In order to check abuse of the scheme the biometric measurement of the recipients should be obtained and used.

Finally, we must all determine to make Nigeria succeed, develop and improve the welfare of the people. Patriotism must not be allowed to become coterminous with the will, ego, desires and agenda of the ruling elite especially where the state is held hostage by buccaneers as is tragically the case with Nigeria. For development to begin to manifest in this country people must count economically, politically and socially.

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I wish to give thanks to God Almighty who has given me the opportunity to be alive today to present this lecture and for the audience to be here to hear it at the set time. Secondly I wish to give gratitude to the University authority that has provided me with the career avenue and the chance to show the research findings and accumulation of knowledge that I have acquired over the years. As the wise ones say success in any endeavour is a result of both hard work and meeting with good luck and opportunity.

I was born in 1948 in Ibadan, the then capital of Western Region, Nigeria, to the family of Mr Gabriel B. Durojaiye and Mrs Ibidun B. Durojaiye (nee Cole). Both of my parents died in 1999 but their legacy lives on. I am the younger of the two children born by our parents. At the time of my delivery both of my parents were teachers. Shortly thereafter my parents went to England, UK, for further studies, and we lived with our grandmother at Breadfruit Street, Lagos Island. Our parents returned to Nigeria in 1952/1953 after my father had completed BSc Industrial Economics and my mother SRN in Nursing in UK. My childhood was therefore fairly comfortable as my father worked for the Western Region government in the Ministry of Finance with special attention to Cooperatives matters. He was posted to Ilesha which is now in Osun State but he covered wide areas within the Region while our mother and the children remained in Ilesha. My mother first worked at Wesley Guild Hospital where she rose to the post of Nursing Sister and then opened Tika - Tore Maternity Home which was the first privately owned maternity home in the whole of Ijesha Division. Hence most of my formative years were spent in Ilesha and I am grateful for that stable beginning.

I attended St John Primary School 'A' at Iloro, Ilesha from 1954 to 1959. The school was controlled by the Anglican Church and we had strict but humane teachers. However, we had one teacher in Primary IV who beat every student in his class on any day that he wore a pair of white knickers to school no matter how well we behaved on that day.

My secondary education took place at Queens School, Ede, now in Osun State from 1960 to 1964. It was an all-girls school owned by the government and we really had excellent training. It was a boarding school which represented the first time of my living away from home. The school fees were thirty pounds sterling (GBP30.00) per year and yet some of us had to pay it about twice or thrice each year with the kind permission of our Principal: namely, Mrs Oredugba. Luckily the fees covered tuition, feeding, books, school and games uniforms, beddings and any other thing needed by the students. I am indeed grateful to my mother who paid my fees and provided other things. The type of knowledge and discipline impacted to us there shaped my outlook to life and is still relevant to my life till date. I must say that my doggedness in academics arose in defiance of a particular teacher who wandered if I could pass English language in the School Certificate examination because I was caught repeatedly speaking in the vernacular (Yoruba especially in Ijesha dialect). Needless to say I got A1 in that particular subject.

I attended Comprehensive High School, Aiyetoro, now in Ogun State for my Higher School Certificate education from 1965 to 1966. Owned by the government, the school gave us the best quality teachers who taught us thoroughly and gave us opportunities to excel in our studies as well as in sports/athletics. At a point in time I

was the Captain of the Swimming Club. I also travelled with the school's football team whenever they had an away match with the permission of our Principal, Mr J.B. Ojo.

University life turned out to be a bit confusing initially because it was less structured and no boarding house mistress came to tell one what to do. Following that experience there is therefore a natural instinct in me to pay attention to the welfare of our students even till date whenever I remember it. I attended University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Ile-Ife, now in Osun State from 1967 to 1970. I studied with scholarship from the Western Region government and obtained BSc Economics. However, in the final year of my undergraduate programme the best three students in my set were awarded fellowships to go and do post graduate studies in Demography in universities located in UK or USA immediately after our graduation. I was one of such candidates and I seized the opportunity. That opening has snow balled into what you are witnessing today. I am grateful to the Population Council, New York whose fellowship financed my Masters programme at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA. Thereafter, I returned to the University of Ife to work as an academic staff and also undertake my PhD programme there.

I have been opportuned to work with great academicians like late Professor P. O. Olusanya first at UNIFE and later at UNILAG, Professor L. A. Adekun who supervised by PhD thesis at UNIFE and others too numerous to count. Mention must be made of Professor O. Fapohunda (now deceased) and Professor Folayan Ojo whom we worked together at Human Resources Research Unit, UNILAG upon my resumption of duties here and to numerous

other members of staff, academic or administrative, too numerous to count in the Department of Sociology, the Faculty of Social Sciences in general and the University of Lagos as a whole. I wish to acknowledge my numerous students over the years of service whose interaction with me has been quite challenging but fulfilling. Also to be acknowledged is the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal, where I worked as Senior Programme Officer and Head of Publications and Communication Department from November 2000 to March 2003 while on leave from UNILAG. The work with CODESRIA which involved travelling to several countries of Africa, Western Europe and North America enabled me to critically assess the challenges and prospects for development in Nigeria.

Indeed, the services which I have been able to render as a teacher, researcher and consultant at the local, national and international spheres represent accomplishment providing joy to my soul. In deed the first draft of this lecture was written while I was on sabbatical appointment at the University for Development Studies, Wa, Upper West Region, Ghana till January 2011 and I am grateful to Dr. Francis Bacho and Dr. Ernest Kunfaa for their comments.

Marital life turned out to be a bigger challenge for me than the professional experience. My husband, Prince Babatunde Oyekanmi died in 2001 and life has gone on since then with sustenance from the Almighty Father who is able to provide for us even beyond our imagination. I thank God for my family especially my children. In fact some of them were already in the secondary school or old enough to ask me for my school reports when I was doing my doctorate studies despite my telling them

repeatedly that no score cards existed at such level of education. Luckily, all the six of them (Olubunmi, Olutoyin, Olufisayo, Olurotimi, Opeyemi and Oluwaseun) have now graduated from various universities and some have got married and given birth to children. So when their own children ask them some embarrassing questions in my presence, I am always quick to say they should provide answers.

Finally, I appreciate my relatives and friends whose names I cannot all mention here. Thank you all for the different roles which you have played and will continue to play in my life.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, I thank you for this opportunity once again. God bless us all.

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