



Significance of 2006 Head Counts and House Census to Nigerian Sustainable Development

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Abstract

The 2006 population census was scheduled, planned and executed. The objective of this paper is to highlight the uniqueness and credible attributes of the exercise: and to make recommendations for subsequent census exercise in the country. The state commissioners were interviewed. NPC (National Population Commission) websites were visited and documents from the NPC office were perused. Literatures on National Population Commission were also read and used. The structure, system and organization can be compared to that of developed countries. The organisation now use new and improved technology. The activities of the organisation are more reliable as enumeration areas were demarcated to scales. AFIS (Automated Fingerprint Identification System) were implored and Geographic Information System was intended to be used to store the results. Suffice it to say that despite all efforts made by all organs of Government to create awareness and plan logistics, some challenges were still encountered. Nevertheless, there were also some positive responses as it threw more light on the number, quality, type and design of houses in various communities. All organs of the governments were engaged. From planning to execution, adequate awareness and preparation were made to avoid the usual riddles that characterized the previous exercises. The total population is 140, 003,542 unevenly distributed on the territory.

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1 Introduction

Generally, any census is aimed at enumerating all the people within a specified geographical area (Aderogba and Komolafe, 2011). It must, of necessity, be meticulously planned and conducted with the aid of comprehensive maps and human resources among others. There is, on one hand the *de jure* census which recognizes people according to their regular or local residences. For instance, if an Ijebu man was enumerated in Kano, he would still be classified into his family at Ijebu. While on the other hand, the *de facto* census, this helps allocates people to places where they are enumerated. This, usually applies to those who spend the night of the days of their enumerations at the locations where they are conated and counted. Essentially, population distribution is determined by where people sleep (night time population), not where they work (day time population). More so, the mere fact that people are expected to be counted does not mean that everybody must be interviewed because it is sufficient for a father (or a mother as the head of the family) to supply evry required information about his entire household. However, in the past, this has been a problem as the man might choose to inflate the number of wives and children he had possibly as an ego

booster, (Omorotionmwan, 2006). He went further to say, such acts from family representatives, adversely affects the original aim of census.

Osinaike, et al, (2006) explains that census is “a method used for accumulating statistical data about a population, which is acclaimed to be vital to democracy”. It was further said that census data is commonly used for research, business marketing, and planning purposes. It may be said that it is now a tradition that has become part of the system of the world and thus it must be carried out at certain regular intervals as it is for developed countries of the world.

However, the objective of this piece of work is to examine the census exercises in Nigeria It also dwells on the circumstances, structure, arrangement, and organization of the 2006 census, and evaluates its credibility. Based on the assesment, suggestions were made for improvement of subsequent census in Nigeria and elsewhere. The researcher extensively perused and read literatures and documents about previous census exercises in Nigeria. Documents from the NPC (National Population Commission) office were perused and assesed on its websites. Radio and television programmes, jingles, news, and many others were listened to. Interviews were also conducted with two State Census Commissioners.

One hundred enumerators and supervisors were interviewed. All of them responded to questions on the structure, organization, planning, materials, and other logistics of the 2006 census exercise. There were also some discussions/interviews with sixteen local chiefs and monarchs across the country. They also reported on the comments, suggestions, complaints, and so on about the exercise. They were all read and served as good sources of materials used. The work is organized into five parts and efforts were made to void the paper from journalistic styles. It may also serve as an adequate report on the 2006 Nigerian Head Counts and Housing Census as it draws out its virtues. Suggestions were made for sustainable and consequent census in Nigeria and elsewhere in the world.

2. The Past Census Exercises

Hitherto the 17th century, census did not go beyond the rudimentary level of taking inventories of certain classes of people as means of controlling them for specific purposes: After the fairly formal 1863 census, the Colonial Masters conducted another one in 1911 and subsequently made the exercise once in a decade affair, similar to census exercise conducted in the United States of America. However, the first and most comprehensive in Nigeria was in 1921. Omorotionmwan, (2006) observed that the history of universal census involves three types of development: (1) The gradual spread of the idea of nation-wide enumerations for general, scientific, and governmental purposes; (2) The use and major improvement of administrative machinery coupled with accurate enumeration, as well as in-built legal safeguards that guarantees the confidentiality of information and (3) there is the systematization of information obtained through census.

Even in the face of the wide-spread controversies that travail each census in the Third World Countries, there is no running away from the obvious fact that census still remains a versatile source of information about a nation. Aside revealing the basic demographic characteristics - growth and development of cities and towns (settlements) changes in age and sex structure of the population, average life span, and so on - census enhances information on issues such as; changes in occupational and industrial composition as well as other factors such as the country's standard of living, education, health, employment, and others. This is not only within localities but also with regional and group differentiations. As a result of census information, it is possible to calculate both the birth and death rates and also help in reorganising political constituencies over space and time. These census information comes in handy when calculating resource allocation formulae. Most importantly, the information provides a window into the future trends and enhances proper planning in both the public and private sectors as well as at the national, regional and local levels.

However, in spite of its obvious virtues, virtually every effort to count the people in the country since after independence has not been successful. The first elaborate attempt in 1952 was accompanied by so much acrimony that it had to be consigned “to the bin”. There were reports of improper gathering of information; omissions and others recorded from nooks and crannies of the country. In 1963, the nation came up with a whopping figure of 55.6 million people juxtaposed on the 1952 figure of 31.6 million. The annual growth

rate was 5.8% which sounded rather ludicrous. In addition, the comparison of 1952 and 1963 figures of some specific areas showed that some Local Government Areas had grown at a rate of more than 13% per annum whereas some other areas indicated a more or less stagnant growth of less than 0.5%. The 1973 census suffered the same challenges as that of 1963. The result remained cancelled till today as a result of serious spiral inflations. There were several need for population figure by governments, policy makers and others. These necessitated the need for a projection of population figure for the nation. Thus, there was a projection in 1978. The highest population density was in southwest with the population of 450-700 persons per km² and the center was Lagos Metropolis. Onisha, and Owerri were the centers of 250-450 persons per km². Ibadan, Abeokuta, and Akure in the west; Port Harcourt, and Calabar in the east; and Kano in the north were the centers of the zone of 100-250 persons per km². By that projection, the rest of the country was 0-100 persons per km² See Figure 1. From the coast through Benin-City to the entire northern region falls within this population cohort except the region around Kano. Again, the last attempt before the (2006) was the 1991 census. That was after a long interregnum. It was not without the usual rancour: Most Nigerians saw it as a fluke and it did not represent the true figure of the Nigerian population. It was reported and agreed by many that the head-count was massively rigged (Omorotionmwan, 2006).

The rigging was considered to be mild compared to those of the previous exercises; its resultant figure of 88.9 million people was allowed. Therefore, the nation's annual population growth rate was put at 2.9%. Invariably, this amount to a population of about 126 million by the year 2003. In considering the long history of very unreliable population figures for the nation and the significance of the population figures (in governments, politics, resources allocation, and controls), there were pragmatic needs to have a successful census to ensure equitable growth and development of regions and the nation at large. Above all, it is a traditional system for any nation's growth and development. Hence, government have a head count and housing census in the year 2006. Structure, logistics and vitures of the ecercise are as contained in the next sections of this paper.

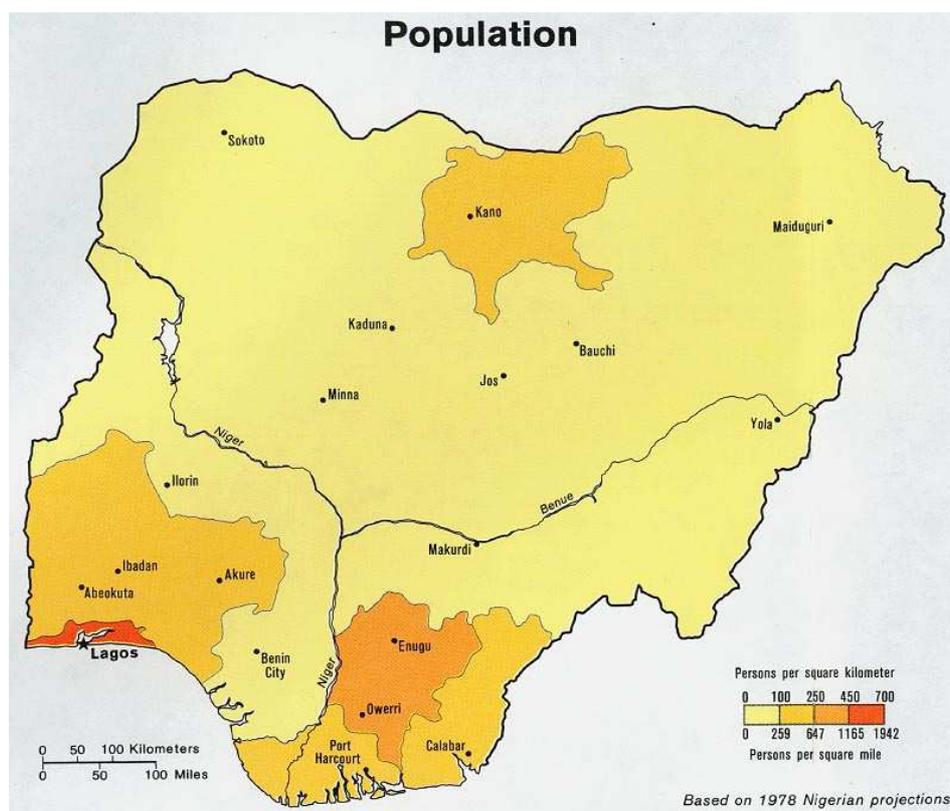


Figure 1. Nigerian Projected Population - 1978.
(National Population Commission, Abuja).

3. Organization of the 2006 Exercise

The Federal Government put in place a structure (Commission) and a formidable team headed by a chairman and a director each for its various divisions. Each state consists of a State Commissioner assisted by State Directors. All of the individuals and groups, including the Chairman, the Commissioners and the enumerators, put in so much to ensure successful exercise. The President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces also participated, and so also the ministers. Concerted efforts were made so that the exercise was not marked by irregularities that discredited the previous ones of 1991 where 212,000 areas were demarcated and consequently became unacceptable because of claims and reports of irregularities. The number of EAD (Enumeration Area Demarcation) was put at over 600,000 at the threshold of 250 to 500 population for each area. Other logistics and efforts includes but not limited to the following:

- EA (Enumeration Areas) were demarcated and plotted to scales as against the mere sketches of the previous year(s);
- The two contending variables—ethnicity and religion—were not included in the census questionnaire;
- The management of NPC spoke extensively at various fora to educate, inform, and create awareness about the census;
- Enumerators were strictly directed to count all forms of the mentally disabled people at their various place of abode, particularly the ones unstable on the street at their various places of abode at nights;
- Announcements and publications were made of the key census questions which were name, age, gender, place of origin, indication of any disability, educational status, marital status, employment status, type of housing and the facilities available;
- The Commission used all available communication modes and styles possible, reached out to all segments of the society to address the issues of suspicions that resulted to acrimony and tension among the different communities of the nation;
- In creating awareness, T-shirts, face caps, and large number of various souvenirs were seen at every nook and cranny of the country;
- There were various radio and television adverts, announcements, jingles, and interludes that educated, informed, and kept the populace abreast of the importance, needs, modes, and procedures of the population and housing census;
- The Cartographic Department was adequately strengthened for mapping and most especially for production of maps of the areas for enumeration as well as detailing the demographic areas of residences;
- The use of improved technology of high resolution “Satellite Imagery” were applied to eliminate the confusion generated from the previous exercises;
- OMR ICR /OCR machine readable forms with in-built security devices were used as to record information;
- Satellite Imagery was also used to determine the number of houses in a particular location and of course fair estimate of the total number of people per locality. This also helped prevent the manipulation of figures;
- AFIS were used to detect multiple-counting;
- It was expected that GIS (Geographical Information System) would be used to store the result of the head count and housing census, and it the result was placed on internet to give unhindered access to the users;
- There were several levels of trainings, upgrading, and updating of staff, enumerators, supervisors and other census officials through seminars, exhibitions, workshops, debates, discussions, and conferences within and outside the country;
- The Commission carried out pilot surveys of villages and towns which were technically used to compare the accuracy of the data collected by the enumerators;
- Over 94% of the equipment used for the exercise arrived the country days before the exercise began;
- To ensure full patriotism and complete elimination of special interest, officials were posted across the country but outside their states of origin or locality;
- The Commission made adequate arrangement to put in place security arrangements for the safety of all field workers posted to various states;
- To facilitate transportation and logistics, most especially at very remote and difficult terrains such as the riverine areas, 12 boats and 2 helicopters were acquired; about 1,006 donkeys, camels, and horses were also engaged in Yobe and Borno States alone for the purpose of head count and housing census;

- Cars, speed boats, motor bikes, and others were hired in many places, while interpreters were engaged to interpret between enumerators and respondents; and
- Very difficult terrains in places such as Gwoza Hill of north eastern Nigeria and Opobo villages in the Niger Delta were handled by local enumerators who were very familiar with mountain climbing and movement in water respectively.

The Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation embarked on Census Advocacy Visit to all states of the federation to sensitize the people on the head count and housing census. There were bill boards all over major roads and streets of the nation announcing and intimating people about the census. Similarly, text messages were sent through wireless Global System of Mobile Telecommunication (GSM) phones. One of them, MTN (Mobile Telecommunication Network) reads:

“... The Census Questionnaire provides for identification of your places of origin. Do not migrate. Stay in your usual place of residence. Be Counted...”

Still another message, through another service provider dispatches this into the cell phones of the users all over the country:

“Make this census a success by answering all questions correctly”

In addition, another of the NPC public several announcement that was popular on the faces of all national News papers reads:

“Census 2006 March 21-25. For our today and tomorrow; for the good of our today. The best of our tomorrow. For generation unborn. Plan with government. Be counted.”

(The Guardian, Thursday March 16, 2006)

Some states compelled the citizens living within their states to be counted within the same state. One of their publications stressing the restriction orders reads:

“It counts to be counted in Lagos. For every person who lives in Lagos and remains in Lagos to be counted during the census, Lagos improves her capacity to plan and provide for them all. This is because resources will be allocated according to population figures realized from the census. So if you live in Lagos and go to your village for the census, you are depriving Lagos of resources she needs to ensure you live comfortably here. So stay in Lagos; and be counted. It counts”.

Over two months to the commencement of the exercise, similar announcements, awareness campaigns, and jingles were not uncommon on private, Federal and State radio and television stations. All forms of media devoted over 25% of their daily airtime to issues of census. In the same vein, organizations, institutions, royal fathers, monarchs, and individuals appealed to the commission's staff, enumerators and supervisors to regards the census as a fundamental opportunity to contribute to the nation's progress by helping to properly coordinate and conduct the exercise for useful and sustainable planning. The Christians and Islamic clerics and leaders also implored their followers to make themselves available for the National Population and Housing Census.

There was a very high level of co-operation between the Federal and State Governments, their ministries, parastatals, and agents, Local Governments and all voluntary organizations:

- The Federal Government declared the last four days of the exercise as public holidays and ordered partial restriction of movement of human beings;
- States also declared holidays and ordered restrictions of movement of goods and services to the period between 08:00 Hours and 16:00 Hours of the head count period;
- Some states opened some special telephone lines for purposes of any public complaints;
- NLC (Nigerian Labour Congress), like most other organizations called on their members to make themselves available as officials of NPC and advised the latter (NPC) to demonstrate high level of seriousness and commitment especially in the deployment of staffs;

- During the Presidential Stakeholders' Forum on the State of Census 2006 Preparation, the then President (Chief Olusegun Obasanjo) particularly implored Nigerians and stressed that the National Population and Housing Census must be a success for Nigeria and Nigerians to have proper international recognition and make in-roads in its development drive;
- SSPA (South-South Peoples Assembly) shifted ground from its earlier position of boycotting the census on the grounds that the action would be counter productive for the people of the region and;
- A week before the commencement, 75% of the N265 million with which the EU (European Union) supported the headcount was released.

Before the week of the census, 2,621 census supervisors from some northern states arrived Lagos for the exercise. 2,624 supervisors were also posted from Lagos to seven states in the north and over 2,000 reported in Enugu from other states. So also were the other postings across the nation.

Community-based organizations, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and government functionaries (the Immigration, the Nigerian Police, the Military), the State and Local Governments, the multinationals such as MTN, Globacom, and V-mobile, (now Airtel), Shell Petroleum Development Company, Chevron/Texaco, Mobil, and others) were all involved. With their co-operations and supports better census results were achieved. Therefore, it can be said that the structure, awareness, and logistics were adequate and commensurate with those of developed world.

Some Constraints

There was massive preparation and logistics put in place particularly, by the government and the NPC. The various levels of the team were formidable, well equipped, enlightened, and educated. But the exercise was not without some challenges:

- The exercise costs well over \$265 million (that is over ₦37 trillion)-and can be concluded that it was costly;
- Many viewed the census exercise as a political exercise rather than planning instrument;
- There were some religious and traditional challenges - For instance the pudaahs of the islamic religion were not reachable, this consequently affected the results of the exercise;
- In some states, stakeholders comprising members of the intelligentsia, civil servants, religious leaders, and traditional rulers faulted the distribution of materials and logistics of Form 01 and allocation of EA to enumerators;
- Some other stakeholders in some states alleged that there were deliberate plots to undermine their "enormous population";
- The result may not be seen to be precise as some Nigerians outside the country were not counted since the exercise recognized only those that were physically seen and documented;
- Questions relating to ethnicity and religion were removed from the census questionnaire which made majority of the participants conclude that the exercise was bias as there have been previous and similar complaints;
- Some communities mobilized resources, their sons, and daughters in a bid to influence inflation of the figures;
- The restriction orders did not deter some Nigerians from migrating to their states of origin as their states had earlier call on them to report at home for head counts;
- There were serious and great fears of insurrection;
- There were delays in the deployment of staff and transfer of materials to some parts of the country particularly at the beginning of the exercise;
- Enumerators welfare were not sufficiently taken care of;
- The information gathered with the questionnaire were so few and grossly inadequate;
- Some supervisors posted to some southern states worked in fear of possible hostility;
- Other members of staff were stranded in hundreds at the NPC offices of the states they were posted. They faced delays in receiving their allowances;
- There was no finger prints for many while some others were counted in proxy;
- The awareness campaign and publicity given were too enormous which created a similarity to political campaign and awareness;

- Some Local Council did not make adequate arrangement for accommodation and transportation for NPC officials;
- Non national resident and working for their pays in Nigeria and dependent on the facilities and amenities for their livings in Nigeria were not duely recognized;
- Officials were denied entry into the Ondo state Government owned Ago-Ireti Colony for lepers;- as many as 5,000 of them questioned importance of the exercise to them;
- Results from some difficult and unaccessible terrian may be bias since there is possibility that enumerators posted to thier locality may have given figure that benefited thier locality.

Those that migrated were mainly non-indigene of northern and eastern origins. But, inspite of the afforementioned, it can be said that reasonable level of success was realised. It also outwit the discredit that is associated with the exercise.

4. Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the result of the exercise: the totel human population on the territory is 140,003,542 (71,709,859 males and 62,293,683 females). Kano state has the largest (6.70%) followe by Lagos (6.44%).

Table 1. Nigeria National Population Figures by Sex

State	Male	Female	Total	Proportion (%)
Abuja (FCT)	740,489	664,712	1,405,201	1.00
Abia	1,434,193	1,399,806	2,833,999	2.02
Anambra	2,174,641	2,007,391	4,182,032	2.99
Ebonyi	1,040,984	1,132,517	2,173,501	1.55
Enugu	1,624,202	1,633,096	3,257,298	2.33
Imo	2,032,286	1,902,613	3,934,899	2.81
Akwa-Ibom	2,044,510	1,875,698	3,920,208	2.80
Bayelsa	902,648	800,710	1,703,358	1.22
Cross-River	1,492,485	1,396,501	2,888,966	2.06
Delta	2,074,306	2,024,085	4,098,391	2.93
Edo	1,640,461	1,577,871	3,218,332	2.30
Rivers	2,710,665	2,474,735	5,185,400	3.70
Ekiti	1,212,609	1,171,603	2,384,212	1.70
Ogun	1,847,243	1,810,855	3,658,098	2.61
Ondo	1,761,263	1,679,761	3,441,024	2.46
Osun	1,740,619	1,682,916	3,423,535	2.45
Oyo	2,809,840	2,781,749	5,591,589	3.99
Lagos	4,678,020	4,335,514	9,013,534	6.44
Benue	2,164,058	2,055,186	4,219,244	3.01
Kogi	1,691,737	1,566,750	3,258,487	2.33
Kwara	1,220,581	1,150,508	2,371,089	1.69
Nasarawa	945,556	917,719	1,863,275	1.33
Niger	2,032,725	1,917,524	3,950,249	2.82
Plateau	1,593,033	1,585,679	3,178,712	2.27
Adamawa	1,606,123	1,561,978	3,168,101	2.26
Bauchi	2,426,215	2,250,250	4,676,465	3.34
Borno	2,161,157	1,990,036	4,151,193	2.97
Gombe	1,230,722	1,123,157	2,353,879	1.68
Taraba	1,199,849	1,100,887	2,300,736	1.64
Yobe	1,206,003	1,115,588	2,321,591	1.66
Jigawa	2,215,907	2,132,742	4,348,649	3.11

State	Male	Female	Total	Proportion (%)
Kaduna	3,112,028	2,954,534	6,066,562	4.33
Kano	4,844,128	4,539,554	9,383,682	6.70
Katsina	2,978,682	2,813,896	5,792,578	4.14
Kebbi	1,617,498	1,621,130	3,238,628	2.31
Sokoto	1,872,069	1,824,930	3,696,999	2.64
Zamfara	1,630,344	1,629,502	3,259,846	2.33
Total	71,709,859	68,293,683	140,003,542	100.00

Source: National Population Commission, Abuja.

Apart from Abuja (Federal Capital Territory) that has 1.00%, the least populated states are Bayelsa (1.22%), Nassarawa (1.33%) and Ebonyi (1.55%). The population is not evenly distributed. In every state, the state capital is the most populous and largest settlement. At this, the population density for the nation is approximately 152 persons per km².

Significance for Sustainability

What could be adjudged as the virtues of the year 2006 Population and Housing Census is that there was successful counting of over 99.99% of the people living in the country, Nigeria, at the particular period, 21st to 27th March, 2006. Efforts are being made for it to be conducted at regular intervals of ten years (though some countries conduct census at a five-year interval). For the first time in the conduct of census in Nigeria, the 2006 census employed the use of technologies such as GPS (Geographical Positioning System) and Satellite Imageries to carve out GEAM (Geo-referenced Enumeration Area Maps). Consequently for the first time, it was possible to verify the exact location and position of buildings and persons as enumerated during the census. Also for the first time, OMR/ICR/OCR machine readable forms were used as census instruments to record information. Apart from enhancing the speed of data processing, the use of machine readable forms was also a guarantee against alteration or addition to information obtained from the field, as processing of forms was not done manually.

The number of houses on a street was verified by virtue of the satellite imagery. The photographs of each of the EA were also posted via the internet during the exercise. The AFIS was also used for the first time. It detected multiple counting. The GIS and other techniques used were adopted to store the results and placed on internets to ensure all interested persons are given unhindered access to the results. The initiatives and innovations confirmed the openness the nation and NPC in particular conducted the census.

Several local and international monitors and observers covered the exercise and thus enhanced the transparency of the processes. Various categories of census functionaries were cross-posted from their state of origin or stations of assignment.

The exercise revealed the number of persons in Nigeria; both male and female; the average age of the population, level of literacy, level of employment/unemployment of citizens, and types of occupation. Furthermore, the results revealed the number of the disabled people, as well as number of people suffering from one disease or the other; the common ailments in the various age groups; where the health facilities were and whether they were adequate or within reach of the people; the level of disabilities and which age group is mostly affected. On employment, it can tell the number of employed persons and type of work; the distribution of unemployed persons; the number of person in schools that will require employment over time and who earns what for doing what.

The exercise was called National Population and Housing Census. It can assist the government to come up with effective housing policies, as well as improve availability of houses, facilities, and amenities. It will be of necessity when taking stock of the current housing conditions and amenities such as electricity and water supplies.

The method of counting was unique: Only persons that were physically seen were counted in their houses, and the enumerators took fingerprint to ensure that a person was not counted more than once. All information given to enumerators were treated with utmost confidentiality and (as there was a law that was purported to punish any enumerator that breaches the confidentiality). It was an offence to refuse to be counted or to have been counted more than once or to have given false information to the enumerators or to have obstructed the enumerator in the discharge of duties.

Essentially, the census was necessitated for the information collected during the exercise to be useful in assessing the welfare needs of the population as well as to project future needs to assist planners to make realistic future development needs. It also provides information on the people that are to benefit from the development and how their size and characteristics can be fully maximized for the development process, thereby creating a possible guide for all tiers of Government, (NPC 2006). Undoubtedly, one could therefore infer that the 2006 census was unique and the results are of great virtues to the government, researchers, planners, and policy makers locally and abroad.

Discussion

Census in Nigeria had been riddled with controversies arising from mutual suspicion and had often resulted in acrimony and tension among different groups that make up the nation. The previous results were highly politicized for no good reasons. It is regrettable that Nigeria was yet to have a true figure of its population up till the March 2006 exercise was carried out. As such, the nation finds it very difficult to plan and ensure sustainable development. Whereas, it is embarrassing to any nation that aspires to greatness, stability, growth, and sustainable development to be without an acceptable census figure.

However, the 2006 population and housing census was unique. It was a credible exercise, the result of which will stand test of time. The preparations, logistics, human and material resources, technological applications, and others were adequate and sufficiently managed. The limitations and complaints were sometimes unfounded and might not have significantly affect the results. The machine readable form used enhanced the speed of data processing and it was a guarantee against alteration or addition to information obtained as the processing of forms did not involve manual data entry and editing.

For the first time in the history of Nigeria, the nation knew the number, quality, type, and design of houses within its cities and towns and even in the rural settings. The exercise was important in the effort and will definitely assist to attain the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals).

5. Conclusion

Census should be seen as a planning instrument rather than political weapon. With the giant strides being made in all spheres of the nation's development, the census should be made a priority. It is of great value to any administration and towards future planning for any meaningful development. Conducting the census at any determined regular interval is therefore imperative to national development. This piece of work is suggesting adherence to 10 years interval. Census is primarily a developmental process the result of which can lead a country to greatness. NPC's massive application of "new" technologies such as Satellite Imagery, remote sensing techniques, machine readable forms, and others should be further researched into and adopted for subsequent exercises. In addition, the nation should adopt all the good virtues of the 2006 Head Count and House Census. Other nations particularly in Africa are looking up to Nigeria as a giant of Africa. Like option A4 adopted for election processes and adjudged an excellent option all over the world, a model should evolve from this exercise. Such a model should in turn become a central tool for all nations of Africa and other nations elsewhere on the globe where solutions to census have not been found.

Adequate registration of births, deaths, migrations, immigrations, and others will greatly enhance fair estimation and or "updating" of population and house census figures. These should therefore be encouraged and supported. All developing nations can take a leaf from the robustness this unique exercise.

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