Globalization and Urban Land Use Planning: The Case of Lagos, Nigeria.

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1 ABSTRACT

Globalization and associated economic concepts are new directions of development raving the world. The concept will have enormous effects on all aspects of life ranging from economic, social, cultural and physical development of different regions of the world. It will however have more pronounced effects on large settlements especially in the cities. The mega-cities of the world of which Lagos is one will be influenced more than other categories of human settlements. This paper is a study of the emerging and potential effects of globalization on Lagos, the former Federal Capital of Nigeria until 1991 when the seat of national government was moved to Abuja in central part of Nigeria. Lagos is located along the Atlantic Ocean coastline in south-western part of Nigeria. It is also the most industrialized and the city with the highest population in Nigeria with a population of about 18 million on a built-up land area of about 22,000 Hectares. With the advent of globalization and privatization the land use system of Lagos has changed significantly, with the traditional land uses such as industrial premises reducing in floor areas, increase in religious land uses, public land use areas are reducing but with tremendous increase in commercial land use areas. Most of the commercial land use areas are in fragments and predominantly in form of small scale and informal commercial premises along major roads. The cityscape is engulfed with illegible streetscapes. This paper examines this physical growth trend of the city and offer explanation, upon which suggestions are offered on how to harmonize this changing city growth pattern with the advantages offered to human development by globalization.

2 INTRODUCTION

Most studies on urban land use planning are with emphasis mainly on city aesthetics administration, need for conservation and preservation of the city natural and cultural resources. Unfortunately there has been a dearth of research on the relationships between the city land use pattern and global economic policies. Among early studies on urban land use in Nigeria are the works of Falade and Kaigama (1992) who evaluated the urban landscape improvement strategy in Yola, Nigeria. The researchers investigated the contribution of the Yola Landscape Task Force (YLTF) to the improvement of Yola. Ademola's (2002) study was on the urban art aesthetics of Nigeria. He investigated the city as a work of art because like art it evolves as a means of enriching the quality of living by continually transforming the environment through creative organisation. Investigation of the outdoor communication media in Nigerian cities was carried out by Sheba (2002). The fact that the recent researches on urban structures in Nigeria have tended to dwell on the city aesthetics to the neglect of the economic forces shaping the city land use makes the need for an investigation on the economic variables influencing the city land use compelling.

Metropolitan Lagos is located in the southwestern part of Nigeria. It is the largest metropolitan area in Nigeria (Ayeni, 1979) consisting of 51 Local Government Areas. The Lagos Metropolis lies generally on low lands. Along the southern boundary of the study area is the Atlantic Ocean; in the west are Ojo and Ijanikin settlements. Lekki settlement forms the eastern boundary, while the northern boundary delineates the landmass of Ikorodu and Alagbado. The general structure of land use distribution shows that residential areas occupy the single largest proportion, 9,669 hectares (52.1 %), while commercial has 1,021 hectares (5.5 %), and industrial 1,448 hectares (7.8 %). Institutional and special uses constitute 2,784 hectares (14 %), transportation 3,340 hectares (18 %) and open spaces 520 hectares (2.8 %).

3 THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALISATION

Globalization is a concept which seeks to integrate various parts of the world into a global economic and global finance system has been a subject of considerable debate. The forging of a global economy is an intoxicating and momentous process, one of the major structural features of the contemporary age (Castells, 1992). The concept of globalization views the global economy as one, which works as a unit on real time on a plenary scale. It is an economic concept where capital flows, labour and commodity, markets, information, raw material, management and organization are internationalized and fully interdependent throughout the

planet. It corresponds to an attempt at contraction of space and time through development of new means of communication and information technologies across the planet (Hammouda, 2000). It is the process through which people, goods and services, trades, ideas and information flow across the borders of countries with ease (Asaju, 2002). Coincidentally urban planning is inescapably caught in this dynamics.

Globalization perceives the world as a trade unit without socio-political barriers and constraints. It is the process through which people; goods and services, trades, ideas and information flow across the borders of countries with ease (Asaju, 2002). This has been enhanced greatly by technological breakthroughs in the development of the computer and telecommunications. Globalization is characterized by liberalization of the world economies and economic activities to free them from institutional control and thereby foster and promote the free market mechanism, private enterprise, open competition, professionalism and excellence in corporate governance. It seeks to promote specialization and the principle of comparative advantage in the production of goods and services on a global scale. It is aimed at creating a new world economic order, efficiency, competitiveness, efficient allocations of resources, and speedy growth of the world economy. Generally the most pronounced effect of globalisation has been a shift in urban government policy from managerialism to enterpreneurism, which views the city as a product that should be marketed (Vliet, 2002). Therefore cities must appeal to global investors in urban planning. Unfortunately, cities that do not have the resources to attract outside interest and investment will even be more alienated and impoverished. Metropolitan areas such as Lagos arc the core areas for global competition; it is therefore necessary to strengthen them through greater authority and autonomy in land use resource allocation, through appropriate planning through innovative, more entrepreneurial and more participatory. Planning has a role to play by way of intervention, mediation and harmonization of the diverse interests attracted to the cities.

In the area of globalization little research work has been done in Nigeria. The little done so far has concentrated on the socio-economic dimensions of the concept. Since globalisation is implicated in the socio-economic variables of city development, economic variables it implied that globalization should have significant effects on the Lagos land use.

4 THE NATURE OF URBAN LAND USE PLANNING

Urban land use planning has a number of aspects which may be considered from different viewpoints. Therefore, any definition of planning that is adopted can only express one of the many aspects of planning activities. Planning is both a philosophy and a social technology; therefore it cannot be studied in isolation from other areas of social and pure sciences. Urban land use planning demands the study of variables representing different human efforts in achieving maximum opportunity for best biological and sociological environment for humanity. Its potential is a recurrent issue. The nature of problems confronting it is multi-disciplinary, thus to resolve these problems a multi-disciplinary approach is required (Oduwaye, 2006). It requires sharing of knowledge and skill on a scale which is still insufficiently appreciated. Planning as a discipline is a core area within overlapping fields of study. For example in the area of urban geography; planning inquires into spatial context while in urban economics and sociology the inquiry is non-spatial.

It is an attempt to reconcile the social and economic aims of private and public enterprises, Oia (1984), quoting from Keeble (1980) in "Principles and Practice of Physical Planning" defined physical planning as the act and science of controlling the use of land, the character and arrangement of buildings so as to achieve economy and secure convenience and beauty, Adeniyi (1978) defined physical planning as an act concerned with design, growth and management of physical environment in accordance with pre-determined and agreed policies whereby balanced social and economic objectives may be achieved. Planning is a science and art of movement of policies governing physical growth of towns. Generally, planning is traditionally concerned with the best use of land, maximum improvement of physical conditions that can be obtained within the limits of available resources, provision of beautiful and quality environment for habitation and conservation of natural resources, beauty, historical and architectural creations. These functions could be likened to the statement in Article II of the American Institute of Planners which describe the planning professionals sphere of activity as"... the planning of the unified development of urban communities and their environs and of the state, region and the nation as expressed through determination of the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and regulation thereof.

Urban planning, the object of discussion here involves the arrangement of spatial patterns overtime. Its fields impinge upon psychology, .scientific methods generally, upon general system theory, upon cybernetics, upon

operations research and logistics. Planning is future-oriented and thus optimistic, for it assures man's ability to control his own destiny, at least within certain limits. Planning involve man closeness with nature and with life. It is done by human beings for human beings. It is a human conception and seeks human decision and participation. The Nigerian Institute of Town Planners in her 1992 Information Handbook described town planning as an activity concerned with the spatial ordering of land use both in the urban and rural setting for the purpose of creating functionally efficient and aesthetically pleasing physical environment for living, working, circulation and recreation.

5 OBSTACLES TO FAR-REACHING ACHIEVEMENTS IN URBAN LAND USE PLANNING IN LAGOS.

Based on the level of urban planning in Nigeria, major obstacles confronting planning are discussed in this paper. First is ignorance on the part of government on the process involved in urban planning. This is fundamentally due to lack of plan upon which the environment should be managed. The use of plan as basic yardstick for planning has no alternative but this we have failed to accept. Towns and villages in Nigeria have no current master plan. Master plan will make the city efficient, increase economic viability, health, and build into it land use management strategies, it will draw up programmes to prevent flooding, embankment to protect flood plains, how to reduce ocean scourge among other issues on which government dissipate economic and financial resources (Oduwaye and Dekolo, 2005).

Political will on the part of the ruling class is a basic attitude for successful urban land use planning. Public ignorance and apathy are major obstacles' to the growth of urban planning awareness, protection and regeneration (Falade, 1999). Inadequate institutional frameworks, whereby there is over concentration of power in the hands of the federal government in determining the direction or evolution of policies for other levels of government is another problem. There is also multiplicity of agencies which most often degenerate into jurisdictional overlaps not only among the various levels of government but within the central government itself.

Non-implementation of existing planning laws to their fullest is another problem (Oduwaye and Ogundele, 2007). In many instances, existing laws are implemented based on how suitable they are to those who are in charge of their implementation at a particular point in time. Lack of equipment and fund is another problem. This is a recurrent problem in many areas of endeavor in Nigeria. Perhaps urban planning is having its own share of this national problem.

6 GLOBALISATION IN AFRICA AND SOME LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The global forces that impact upon African countries and cities have their origin in the historical relationships between the continent and the world economic system (Rakodi, 1997). This is further reinforced by the colonial control, which left an enduring political, economic and spatial legacy which influences city growth, administration and values. Despite these historical legacies, the global economic situation and globalisation in particular have started to evolve differential effects on African cities. Cities in Africa being relatively weak are unable to compete favourable with cities in developed countries in terms of productivity and foreign exchange capacities. As a result, indigenous people are unable to operate on large scale, and industrial capacity substantially weakened, forcing entrepreneurial migration to the service sector of importation of consumer products and retails sales. Africa generally exports mainly primary commodities, while a high proportion of manufactured goods are imported. This places Africa; development prospects at the mercy of the industrialized consumers of her primary export products. This reflects on the physical development of African cities. The dynamics of this economic influence on the city pattern have been documented in respect of Africa by O'Connor, (1983) and Simon (1997) and in the case of Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean by Potter (1993). European colonial influence was clearly of fundamental importance in this process, and especially in regions where decolonization is a recent event (Simon, 1997). It can be stated that the nature of urbanization in Africa has been strongly influenced by colonial policies. So also are the extent and dimensions of wealth or poverty, indebtedness or prosperity. The effect of this interplay of colonial and post-colonial experience in Africa is that Africa and in particular sub-Saharan African are rated as the world's poorest region. The rate of urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa in 1991 put at 31 percent was the least compared with other continents in the world, though there were considerable disparities among African countries.



The impact of globalisation on African cities has been examined by Rogerson (1995). He stated that most African cities have been left out of the globalisation process, the only notable exceptions being parts of North Africa and Mauritius. Effective participation in the globalised production system is determined by location and geopolitical significance, existence of strong and reliable state apparatus, technological and human resources, infrastructure and the ability of state to capture new opportunities. All these preconditions are not well established in sub-Saharan Africa. In the Arab world by the end of the twentieth century, five distinctive types of urbanization could be identified. The first class was the 'nouvcau riche' states which depended on oil exploitation such as Libya, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirate and Oman. These countries have about 90 per cent urban population largely due to high rate of immigration. However, cities in this region are mainly centres of consumption rather than production. About 75 per cent of employment in these states is in the service sector (Abu-Lugard, 1996). In Asia Indonesian economy initially depended on oil export. However, recent rapid expansions in manufacturing industries and large scale export of manufactured goods have had a profound effect on the level of spatial pattern of urbanization there (Hugo, 1991).

7 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Despite remarkable history of planning laws and regulations from colonial period to the present time, coupled with appreciable public awareness on factors influencing land use in Lagos, yet Lagos presently lacks the basic conducive environment for globalisation to thrive. Lagos also lacks the competitive technology and human resource base necessary for a robust role in a globalised world. For Lagos, as for many cities in developing regions, the preconditions for global competition are unavailable. Such condition includes the capacity to develop "niche product", a capacity which requires flexibility in the production process. This can only be acquired through an appropriate organisational framework for technology and human resource.

Owing further to unstable and unreliable policy framework, poor state of infrastructure and security in Lagos, globalisation processes have been slow, with corresponding severe consequences for urban economies and environment. In terms of industrial investments and land use, Rakodi (1997) has noted that large foreign enterprises have continuously shunned Africa, with the result that while being devisely populated, African cities are not sufficiently industrialized. It is perhaps only the city of Johannesburg in South Africa that has any chance of attaining "world city" status in this decade (Rogerson, 1995). This derives in part from the city's conscious efforts at developing its financial and producer service sector; this also has to do with its interest in attracting offices of international organisations and developing a cultural strategy to image the city positively before foreign investors.

The formal economic sector in Lagos has been on a gradual decline due to need for restructuring created by globalisation. This is a common feature in sub-Saharan Africa, where regular urban wage employment opportunities constitute between 5-10 per cent of the urban work force (ILO, 1992). Recent studies show a decline from this range in Central African Republic (33.6 %) and Gambia (27 %). Similarly, formal wage employment in the public sector of these countries has been on the increase with massive retrenchments coupled with the declining absorptive capacity of the formal private sector. Abiodun (1997) has noted that at least 70 per cent of the unemployed in Lagos are aged between 15 and 29, while in Kenya according to House (1993), the age group mostly affected by unemployment fall between 20-29, or about 65 per cent of the unemployed.

Unfortunately for developing countries globalisation implies a new structure of global competition in a "global" market of "global" production complexes (Thirft, 1994). As a consequence, innovations in technology, such as micro-electronics, telecommunication, as well as other scientific discoveries are assuming even greater significance in world production systems than ever before. There has been tremendous growth in trans-national production and an increased openness and interdependence of national economies. Propelled by the momentum from advances in telecommunication and infrastructure, the total financial market has responded with a great leap forward. This can easily be noticed in Lagos where investment of trans-national companies particularly in telecommunication and transportation has positively impacted on, the Lagos urban economy and individual enterprises alike. At the national level the impact is evident in the intensification of international and local competition for markets and investments. It is also seen in the increase in the rate of employment into these new sectors. At the enterprises level, it has opened

up the need for adoption of new process technologies, a dynamic working system, and a shift towards flexible rather than mass production system.

The effects of globalisation on Lagos land use come as a mixed bag of positive and negative results. However, since it is a global trend it is better for Lagos to be well positioned to participate in it. Lagos within the context of African and particularly West African frame of reference is a leading city, which stands to benefit in the unfolding competition process through efficiency and job creation. Indeed, many cities in developing countries will be left out of the globalisation train because of their non-competitive status relative to their counterparts in the developed world. Naturally, this would affect development in the less developed regions negatively. The new character of international labour as a dichotomized realm of exporting and manufacturing economies means that the export oriented third world economies might increasingly be alienated in terms of industrialization. A further consequence of this would be the gradual depiction of industrial production land uses, import dependency of consumer nations of developing economies, and of course the dangerous socio-economic crises that possibly will result in future.

Specifically, the most noticeable effect of globalisation within Lagos cityscape is the radical shift in the land use pattern. The high dependency of the city economy on imported consumer goods, has led to a massive depletion, within a decade, of industrial enterprises with its attendant erosion of job opportunities. While industrial land uses are decreasing however, alternative uses, chief among which are religious in nature, are rapidly taking the place of industries, churches especially are in the forefront. It is thus a common phenomenon to see churches occupying entirely an area hitherto used as factory or partially occupying a significant portion of such premises. Such religious places have their peculiar complementary accompaniments such as weekly heavy traffic. Many commercial premises in different parts of the city have also given way to religious land uses. The reason for this is that churches seems in the prevailing circumstances, to be the land use capable of affording the rents demanded by property owners, the service sector having been economically weakened as it were, by forces of globalisation. This phenomenon can be described as change of use of existing buildings.

Change of use of existing land use zoning plan is also a common feature. The city landscape is now dotted with uncomplimentary land uses in many areas. This is common with uses such as multi-storey office blocks within residential neighbourhoods. This is contrary to basic urban land use theories, which discourage intrusion into the privacy of residential areas. This aside from being an intrusion in household's privacy is also a security risk. The heavy traffic which accompanies such invasion also violates residential neighbourhoods. Aside from multi-storey within residential areas, petrol filling stations and fast food outlets are other common infractions observable within the Lagos cityscape.

With the decline in the formal sector of industrial and formal service industries, the informal sector has emerged as the dominant feature of the city land use. Usually in the form of scattered small-scale service points. The bulk of the informal sector usually operates along major roads and within neighbourhoods. This sector has also assumed the services formally provided by supermarkets, furniture sales shops, electronic stores, hardware shops etc, following the demise of the formal sector, which these units of business were a part. It is important to reiterate here that the collapse of these formal service units is due to globalisation, which has eroded local industries, which used to produce the goods sold at these shops but which can no longer do so because of their non-competitiveness within a globalized economy. Since the informal sector can afford to offer similar services at lower prices made possible by relative lower overheads, of the doubtful quality of the goods, they become the only available avenues for consumers, even at the risk. The Lagos streetscape is dotted with small scale sales shops and points offering a wide range of services from household items, electronics, furniture, hardware, to cobbling, packaging and sundry cottage manufacturing industries. In the market sector, hawking, itinerant salesmanship and home trading thrive while in the service sector, catering, telephony service, hair-care, vulcanizing, motor mechanic etc dominate. The city landscape is in fragments of dirty production and service points with no regard for land use zoning.

Another major noticeable feature (on the positive side) induced by globalisation in Lagos is the emergence of trans-national companies especially in the area of telecommunication. Though some of the existing telecommunication companies are owned by Nigerians, their operations basically depend on the global network. With the liberalization of the telecommunication industry in Nigeria there has been a tremendous inflow of capital and services into Nigeria. The teledensity of the country and most especially of urban

centres has increased immensely from the situation prior to the telecommunication liberalization era. This has brought with it largely positive multidimensional effects, the most striking of which is the emergence of new employment opportunities. These opportunities within these telecommunication firms have activated a multiplier effect on other informal outlets in the form of outlets for sale of telecommunication components such as telephone handsets, batteries, among other components. It has also stimulated activity in the technical area of repairs, installations and sundry services.

The city has been significantly transformed by the installation, erection and conversion of existing buildings to fit into the new use of these global enterprises. This is more pronounced in the telecommunication sub sector where giant billboards are now corporate status symbols. This has generated bandwagon effects on other sectors by way of sharpening their sense of outdoor advertisement. Because these activities take place in space and specific locations, they have consequently contributed in opening up of hitherto undeveloped areas in the city. Inflow of capital into the country to support these services have been chiefly from foreign investors who possess the technology and the hard currency to make the desired impact on an increasingly reinvigorated domestic economy of towns and cities in Nigeria particularly Lagos.

8 RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE LAND USE PLANNING IN LAGOS

Until recently, much of the development planning efforts in Nigerian rest largely on economic planning with very little regard to the implications of economic and social policies on physical planning (Adeniji, 1998). For few towns with master plans to guide their development there has been insignificant citizen involvement in the mist of rapidly changing socio-economic circumstances, thus making it extremely difficult to achieve the provisions of such plans. The results of this are settlements based on unsustainable yardsticks. This call for a more dynamic approach which will not only be the use of the plan-design but with adequate support of appropriate management strategies, such approach should be derived from the unique local situation from the area concerned. Based on this, the paper suggests the need to give consideration to the following in the attempt to achieve sustainable land use development in Lagos, in the era of globalization.

An area where a major effort has been made in the Lagos land use legislations is on provisions for public participation. What is presently lacking in that the public is not aware of these provisions. In order to benefit from the laudable efforts of governments through the various existing laws put in place to guide sustainable environmental development in general and enhancement of citizen participation, there is need to promote active participation of community leaders and planning advocacy practice.

There is no doubt that information revolution is sweeping across the globe. This will determine not only the way cities are managed but now they will proper and grow. Cities without the ability to cope with the modern age information system are destined to fall hopelessly behind and doomed to fail in an increasingly competitive world. This has serious implication on the growing information gap, between the "information rich" and the "information poor" nations. Access to information technology is important not only on how a city is managed but it is important on how local leaders communicate with their constituents. Lagos information strategies for development in the new global system must emphasize their connectivity, their information capacity and their ability to manage social integration. Cities switched-off the global information network system will be marginalized and ultimately impoverished.

Specific programmes such as "right to quality environment campaign" should be initiated at all levels of government to emphasis that quality environment is a right along with food, education, clothing and employment. Children environmental issue programmes and exhibitions in schools should be encouraged to tailor the minds of the children to their critical role in identifying solutions to environmental problems, thus influencing their development as they are highly vulnerable.

The concept of advocacy in planning should be given consideration in Lagos physical planning efforts especially through the formation of partnership by multidisciplinary group such as the town-planners, architects, surveyors and the lawyers coming together to form environmental advocate groups and consultants. This could also be done in form of non-governmental associations. Among the major merits of the advocacy planning concept are availability of richer ranges of plans, exposing government planners to expert criticisms, aiding the disadvantaged, education of the client and the government on planning. The politicians should be encourage by advocate group as the former could serve as invaluable planning agent because they form the bulk of representatives of the community at all levels of government decision making.

Thus, they are vital tools as advisers and presenters of planning information. Advocacy groups should also organize talk-shops with interests groups such as market women, drivers union, and other trade groups across the strata of the society during which people are to be educated about their roles, opportunities and how to contribute to make the environment livable. There is need to integrate the effort of theorist, government officials, private practitioners and private managers. These sectors will require a meeting point to exchange ideas. The thinkers whose theories are providing the intellectual brain for environmental planning and the investors whose investment affect and propel development should share ideas.

The process of capacity building should involve human resources development and institutional development in the area of urban governance, integrated environmental planning and management, awareness and involvement of local communities, promoting partnerships, capacity building of actors and stakeholders and replication of best practices. Also in order to make planning proposal acceptable to the people and carry them along it should be recognized that different environment are structurally different and cannot accommodate standardized formula or rigid methodologies.

A major step toward achievement of sustainable development in Lagos is the organization of sustainable practice exhibition through joint cooperation of the private sector and all levels of government. The exhibition will involve the identification, documentation and dissemination of best practices. Such best practice may be inform of actors initiatives or-projects that have led to tangible improvements in the quality of live and the living environments of the people in a sustainable way. Such exhibition will expose physical planning managers and communities to actors in other communities outside their areas and from this they will have opportunities to draw from such programmes that could be applied or adapted into their own communities.

There is need to identify and celebrate best practices in planning. This could be spearheaded by the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners in collaboration with allied professional groups and organizations. Also higher educational institutions may be in position as part of the organizers but the problem is that they too could be given awards in their area of planning practice which is teaching, research and publication. Such award should cut across many areas such as the best consultant of the year in environmental planning, best project proposal, best advocacy group, best government agency, best friendly environment, best sustainable environment, best new neighbourhood etc. This will go a long way in stimulating positive competition among players in the environmental planning within Lagos State.

To achieve, the basic aim of sustainable physical development in Nigeria the planning approval (permit) stage is a major determinant of the prospects of the environment. Though this has recently been termed planning permit; whereas the actual demand of the complex situation is that of management of planning approval or project for which permits are obtained since the planning permit is not the end in itself. It must be seen within the context of managing change in order to achieve the greatest benefit. Therefore the signifier of this new thinking is that development control (permit) should be changed and practiced as "development management". This should be supported with the adoption of the new practices that this change implies.

Land information is a critical element towards achieving sustainable physical environment; therefore there is need for free access to land information by the public at the touch of a computer button. This will provide invaluable information that will guide individuals, consultants, government and all stakeholders in environment planning and development. Like the Portal Planning merit, it will also eliminate human problems especially misinformation, delay and corruption.

9 CONCLUSION

This paper has presented the unfolding consequences of globalization on the land use fortune of Lagos. This has been done with emphasis on the influence of economic factors and policies on the structure and pattern of the city. It also presented the relationships between physical planning, the need for sustainable development and how appropriate planning can be used to enhance development. The paper present suggestions that will ameliorate the challenges unraveled.

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