

Higher Education, Knowledge Economy and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

Higher education no doubt possesses tremendous capacity in the acquisition of knowledge, development and sustainability of the human capacity of any nation, which is a prerequisite for economic growth and development among other factors. Developing this is strongly linked to knowledge economy. The quality of generated knowledge is critical to economic development. African countries need to possess and produce knowledge in order to be competitively relevant in the global economy. Higher Education Institutions, therefore, must operate more effectively and orient themselves to the demands of knowledge economy and sustainable national capacity development. This paper, therefore examined higher education provision in Nigeria, and discussed the challenges of its provision. It recommended a combination of access and quality education among others.

Keywords: policies, higher education, capacity building, knowledge economy, sustainable development

1. Introduction

Higher education is provided in the tertiary institutions of learning, such as universities, colleges of education, polytechnics, monotronics and other institutions offering correspondence courses. According to the National Policy on Education (FRN, 2013), the goals of tertiary education include the following, to;

- (a) contribute to national development through high level of relevant manpower training;
- (b) develop and inculcate proper values for the survival of the individual and society;
- (c) develop the intellectual capability of individuals to understand and appreciate their local and external environment;
- (d) acquire both physical and intellectual skills which will enable individuals to be self-reliant and useful members of the society;
- (e) promote and encourage scholarship and community services;
- (f) forge and cement national unity; and
- (g) promote national and international understanding and interaction.

It has been documented that university education shall make optimum contribution to national development: intensify and diversify its programmes for development of high level manpower within the context of the nation's needs, among others (FRN, 2013). Polytechnic education on the other hand is to provide full-time or part-time courses of instruction and training in engineering, other technologies, applied science, business and management, leading to the production of trained manpower; provide the technical knowledge and skills necessary for agriculture, industrial, commercial, and economic development of Nigeria. It is also to train and impact the necessary skills for the production of technicians, technologists and other skilled personnel who shall be enterprising and self-reliant; train people who can apply scientific knowledge to solve environmental problems for the convenience of man; and give exposure on professional studies in the technologies (FRN, 2013). The goals of teacher education as provided in colleges, faculties and institutes of education were to produce highly motivated, conscientious and efficient teachers for all levels of the educational system, and to encourage further the spirit of inquiry and creativity in teachers among others.

Higher education, therefore, has great potentials to facilitate socio-economic growth and human capital development of a country. The idea and belief that investment in education boosts economic growth was first articulated by the human capital theorists in the early 1960s when their various studies showed how education had contributed significantly to economic growth by improving skills and productive capacities of the labour force. This has led to the concept of knowledge economy (KE). KE refers to 'production and services based on knowledge intensive activities that contribute to an accelerated pace of technical and scientific advance, as well as rapid obsolescence. The key component of a knowledge economy is a greater reliance on intellectual capabilities than on physical input or natural resources,' knowledge and education forming the key ideas (Wikipedia). For a country to be more relevant in this world of globalization and competitiveness, her institutions of higher learning must adequately prepare the youth for the labour market (Adepoju & Fadokun,

2009; Adepoju, 2015). This is to say in essence that, the content and context of their curricular should be made relevant to the needs and aspirations of the society.

Knowledge-based competition within a globalizing economy is prompting a fresh consideration of the role of higher education in development and growth. Previously, it was often viewed as an expensive and inefficient public service that largely benefited the wealthy and privileged. Now, it is understood to make a necessary contribution, in concert with other factors, to the success of national efforts to boost productivity, competitiveness and economic growth (Adepoju, 2015). Sustainable development, therefore, is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

The World Bank has also acknowledged and incorporated this understanding within its Africa Action Plan for 2006-2008. This plan highlights several roles for higher education under its strategic objective of building skills for growth and competitiveness. These include the provision of relevant skills to the labor market; a capacity to understand and use global knowledge in science and technology, particularly for agriculture; a capability to assess existing information and generate new understanding through research; and a much closer working relationship with the productive sectors of the economy.

The plan also reaffirms the fundamental importance of expanding primary education, and of linking secondary education to a range of employment options. In short, a more balanced and strategic approach to human capital development is sought in an effort to boost the prospects for economic growth in Africa. Although, much has been learnt about the development process over the past five decades, despite this effort, there is still a missing gap in understanding the process. One of these concerns the interactions among educational achievement, output performance, and improved national income. This study aims at reviewing what is known of the conceptual underpinnings for higher education's role in development, and to assess evidence that might lead to a better understanding of how these interactions function in practice.

Babalola and Jaiyeoba (2008) as cited by Adepoju (2015) posit that learning at the tertiary level of education could be described as being effective if it results in bringing about the expected transformations in the attitude, skills and knowledge of higher education students over a period of time. As Babalola and Jaiyeoba rightly put it, ineffective learning also becomes a prominent suspect as scientific facts increasingly reveal that tertiary education graduates in Nigeria acquire skills in disciplines such as Economics, Law and Medicine that are neither demanded by the labour market nor required by the economy especially in the growth sectors such as petroleum, gas, agriculture, manufacturing, solid minerals, tourism and ICT (FME, 2003; Babalola, 2007).

2.1 Higher Education Institutions and Sustainable Development

It is widely acknowledged that education plays a crucial role in promoting economic development and contributes to poverty reduction. Moreover, it is recognized that higher education has the potential to enhance socio-economic development and contributes to human capital formation; provides the foundation for democratic and knowledge-driven societies; and plays a key role in achieving the national development. Accordingly, there is a huge expectation in many policy frameworks that higher education can and must play a driving role in addressing the challenges of economic growth and social development to achieve the knowledge economy and national development. The limited progress of many African countries in the attainment of two principal areas is bringing a challenge for their higher education institutions towards more involvement and contribution for better achievement.

It needs be reiterated that higher education has profoundly changed in the past two decades, and those involved in the academic enterprise are yet to grapple with the implications of these changes. Academic institutions and systems have faced pressures of increasing number of students' enrollment and demographic changes, demands for accountability, reconsideration of the social and economic role of higher education, implications of the end of the Cold War, and the impact of new technologies, among others. While academic systems function in a national environment, the challenges play themselves out on a global scale.

There is no gainsaying that the role of education as an instrument for promoting the socio-economic, political and cultural development of a nation can never be over-emphasized. It is no more a news that the nation's growth and development is hinged on its existing human resources. Of importance to note also is that the provision of much-needed manpower to accelerate the growth and development of the economy has been said to

be the main relevance of higher institutions. Higher education therefore has a vital role to play in shaping the way in which future generations learn to cope with complexities of development.

Universities and other higher institutions of learning play the role of training highly qualified manpower, responsive and responsible citizens who will be able to meet the needs of all sectors of human activities. These institutions also provide opportunities for higher and lifelong learning; create and disseminate knowledge through research and provide relevant expertise to assist societies in cultural, social and economic development. They also help to preserve, enhance, promote and disseminate national, regional and historic cultures in a context of cultural pluralism and diversity; help protect and enhance societal values by training young people in the values which form the basis for democratic citizenship. Furthermore, they contribute to the development and improvement of education at all levels, including training of teachers.

Sustainable development in this regard, therefore involves a dynamic concept that encompasses a new vision of education that seeks to empower people of all ages to assume responsibility for creating and enjoying a sustainable future. The overall aim of sustainable development is to empower citizens to act for positive environmental and social changes, implying a participatory and action-oriented approach.

It integrates concepts and analytical tools from a variety of disciplines to help people better understand the world in which they live. Pursuing sustainable development through education requires educators and learners to reflect critically on phenomena in their own communities; identify nonviable elements in their lives; and explore areas of tensions among conflicting values and goals. It also brings a new motivation to learning, as people become empowered to develop and evaluate alternative visions of a sustainable future, and to work to collectively fulfill these visions (World Bank, 2002).

Although, skills and knowledge can be acquired in various settings, but formal education systems play a paramount role in this connection (Odekunle & Okeke, 2012). In other words, economic and sustainable developments are increasingly driven by the advancement and application of knowledge. Education in general and higher education in particular, are fundamental to the construction of a knowledge economy and society in all nations (World Bank, 2002). The potentials of higher education have shown that sustainable development is driven by capacity building with practical examples from Brazil, China, India and South-East Asia. Through their stride to augment productivity, they increasingly constituted the foundation of their country's competitive advantage, were invested in 'knowledge base of the country (e.g., research and development, higher education and computer software) and exceeded investments in physical equipment (Odekunle & Okeke, 2012).

With many sustainable development issues facing Nigeria today, formal education systems need to respond by including these issues into policy, strategy, curricula, teacher training and materials development. There is a widening understanding that sustainable development is about much more than concern for the environment. What is needed is for connections to be made between learning and regeneration initiatives, and the total integration of the understanding and knowledge that will lead to sustainable development.

Also, some ways have to be identified for accelerating the knowledge economy and sustainable development.

One effective direction is to steer higher education institutions, with more capacity building focus, towards a better achievement of the knowledge economy and sustainable development. This paper discusses some quality considerations in optimizing the contributions of higher education institutions towards meeting the knowledge economy and sustainable development.

2.2 Higher Education Institutions, Knowledge Economy and Sustainable Development: The Nexus

Higher education is very important for sustaining and developing the people and in turn, the nation. With education, people are able to acquire experience, expertise, wisdom and the capability to fend for themselves as well as serve their communities and nation. It is also both an instrument of stability and of change: stability in the sense that good traditions are documented, taught, imbibed, practiced, and "change" because it equips people to meet new challenges (Odekunle & Okeke, 2012).

Higher education institutions in Nigeria are increasingly recognized for their catalytic role in national innovation systems, as well as for stimulating social and economic change. Healthy and well-equipped higher education

institutions are therefore essential drivers of the knowledge economy not only as producers of knowledge, but also as significant societal structures delivering public goods through multiple externalities. Ideally, such important institutions should demonstrate accountable and transparent governance, efficient and effective use of resources, accurate and timely data collection, evidence-based decision making, along with the ability to respond to changing demands of myriad stakeholders and external factors.

The implication of this argument is that higher education should be strengthened in this direction. This effort will surely have positive and multiplier effects on knowledge economy and sustainable development. At the sustainable development Summit on 25th September, 2015, United Nations Member States (Nigeria inclusive) adopted the 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development. It included a set of 17 sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNDP/Nigeria, 2018). The role higher education plays in actualizing the SDGs cannot be over emphasized.

From the foregoing argument, it can be expressed that effectiveness of higher education is a key variable towards realizing knowledge economy and sustainable development using the functional notation thus;

$$Ke, Sd = f(He) \text{ ----- } 1$$

Where:

- Ke = Knowledge Economy
- Sd = Sustainable development
- He = Higher education
- f = functional notation

From equation 1, while 'He' is an independent variable, 'Ke' and 'Sd' are dependent variables. It can also be presented in a linear curve thus;

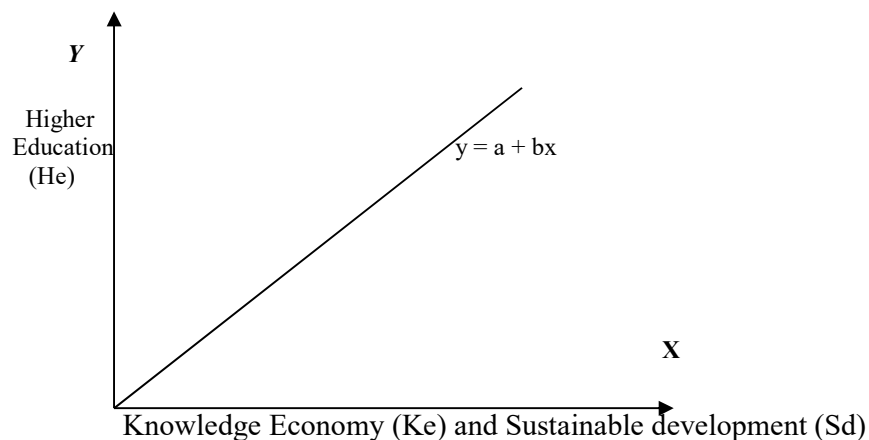


Figure 1: Higher Education, Knowledge Economy and Sustainable development Curve

Figure 1 shows that a linear correlation exists between higher education (He), Knowledge Economy (Ke) and Sustainable development (Sd). In other words, the simple linear equation ($y = a + bx$) and curvilinear regression have shown that the more functional the higher education is, the higher knowledge economy and sustainable development to be recorded in the country.

2.3 Challenges Facing Higher Education in Nigeria

There is no doubt that the twenty-first century has brought with it profound challenges to the nature, values, and control of higher education all over the world. Societal expectations and public resources for higher education are undergoing fundamental shifts. Changes both within and outside the academy are altering its character – its students, staff, governance, curricula, functions, and place in society, commercially oriented research, institutional autonomy and public control.

The Growing Involvement of Private Sector Participation in HEIs

There is increase in the level of private participation in education in Nigeria due to upsurge in the demand for education and the inability of the public institutions to cope with the demand. As at February, 2017, there were 68 private universities, 40 and 48 federal and state owned universities respectively to cater for the ever increasing demand for education in a population of about 180 million people (Okotoni & Adebakin, 2015). In other words, the demand is higher than the supply. Of course, this should be an added advantage, but the proliferation has made it less relevant and quantity oriented. Most private institutions have no qualified teaching personnel of theirs, hence, depend on adjunct staff from public institutions. This has made it difficult to carry out the normal function of teaching, research and community service as the convention in HEIs. Although, this trend has been on for the past 20 years, and not new in developed nations' institutions of higher learning, the extraordinary pressures placed on state revenues and expenditures for competing services today, are likely to accelerate the move towards more reliance on private participation in higher education. However, the participation is curtailed by the enrolment of students (owing to relatively high fee payment) in those institutions, the fewer number compared to the public school enrolment has made it expedient for some proprietors to rely on adjuncts in order to break even, their comparatively low number of graduates, therefore inhibit contribution to knowledge economy.

The Growing Privatization and Commercialization of Public HEIs

Higher education institutions have now resolved to look elsewhere apart from the grants from the owner government, to provide funds in order to finance academic programmes and projects. Governments today have become "minority partners" in the colleges and universities that typically bear their names. On the average, governments now supply only a little over one-third of public colleges' revenues. Yet, because these funds generally pay most basic instructional costs, such as faculty and staff salaries, government support remains critical to public institutions.

Over the next decade, a combination of acute government's revenue constraints, competing demands for state resources, and ongoing changes in public attitudes toward higher education will likely result in continued shrinking and unpredictable state support for higher education. Although many private colleges are also facing serious budget difficulties due to rising costs, market limits on tuition, reduced private giving, and declining endowment income, public institutions, which generally have less ability to tap private resources, will be hit harder. Both public and private universities have adopted commercial technology transfer and other profit oriented collaborations with industries. Colleges and universities are "outsourcing" many institutional functions to private vendors or other education institutions, including operation of residential dorms, employment training, and even academic functions such as remedial education and beginning language instruction.

University hospitals have formed partnerships with both non-profit and for-profit health organizations. Other institutions have established shared-use facilities with private enterprise. The resultant effects of declining state funding are; poor accessibility, declining success, and irrelevance. Unless there is a paradigm shift in public support or unless state or federal policy makers impose mandatory tuition limitations (or removal of tuition limitation), many public institutions are/will be pursuing privatization as means of raising revenues or reallocating scarce state funds. Some institutions are requiring that certain academic programmes, especially high-demand, high-return professional programmes like law or medicine, become fully or nearly fully funded by clients (students), business, or other private sources.

Shrinking State Funding for Higher Education

In this environment of restricted revenues and mandated expenditures, higher education funding is a tempting target to cut, not only because it is discretionary but also because colleges, unlike many other state programmes, can tap from other revenue sources, and because a growing proportion of the public believes that students should pay more of their college costs. The federal government for instance has not been stable in her annual budgetary allocation to education. In 2015, it was 10.78% of the total budget, 7.92% in 2016; 7.40% in 2017; 7.04% in 2018. All these, are far cry from the 15% - 20% of total annual budget recommended by UNESCO for education. Unpredictable state funding is equally problematic. In the fiscal year of 2015, more than 27 states of the federation imposed reductions in their higher education allocations making the federal government to introduce a bailout system to help them pay the salaries of their workers within and outside the educational system.

Unexpected cuts made during the academic year, after faculty have been hired, programmes put in place, and student fees set, leave institutions with difficult choices. Declining funds to construct, renovate, and maintain classroom or research buildings and campus infrastructure may be as big a constraint on institutions' ability to accommodate enrollment growth, recruit faculty, and conduct research as are state appropriations for operating expenses.

Poor Institutional-Industrial Collaboration to aid Research and Reduce Unemployment of HEIs Graduates

Unlike what operates in many developed nations, quite a number of higher education institutions in Nigeria have not fully aligned themselves to the practice of Institutional-Industrial collaboration. This practice to a very large extent has helped in expanding the frontier of knowledge. Researches and observations have also revealed that where the practice exists, the level of unemployment of graduates has reduced tremendously. According to Okebukola (2004), in the past 25 years, significant changes in the nature of scientific research have occurred in the US. These include the development of fields and techniques not even imagined a quarter century ago, growing university/industry collaboration in the commercial marketing of research discoveries, increased targeting of federal research funding for specific projects, more political involvement in funding – and in prohibiting funding – of research in politically charged areas, and a movement toward “big science” projects involving hundreds of researchers and billions of dollars. University/Industry Collaboration between 1980 and 2000, industry funding for university research and development (R&D) in science and engineering grew much more rapidly than any other funding source, nearly doubling as a percentage of total university research dollars, from four to almost eight percent (Okebukola, 2004 ; Adepoju, 2007). Although this is a small percentage of total dollars, industry support plays a much larger role in certain fields, such as biotechnology and civil engineering. For example, a mid-1990s survey found that 79 percent of university faculty in engineering received at least some industry funding. During the 1990s, pharmaceutical funding for university biomedical research shot up.

University/industry partnerships, where researchers in both sectors are jointly involved in research activities, have also grown dramatically in the US over the past two decades. University/industry collaboration can provide additional sources of support for university research, access to a broader range of talent, and more rapid development of useful products like vaccines. This much has not been recorded and is yet to be tapped in Nigeria.

Changing Public Expectations

Higher education is increasingly viewed by both policy makers and the general public as primarily a private benefit, rather than a broader social good. Many Nigerian adults believe that every potential candidate who wants a four-year higher education should have the opportunity to gain one, because to them, education is the right of individuals and should be provided by the government. By implication therefore, state and federal governments are expected to invest more money in higher education –while a few people believe that students and their families should pay the largest share of the cost of a tertiary education. Given ongoing access barriers, these perceptions may make it more difficult than in the past now that spaces for candidates in public tertiary institutions could not meet the high demand from the intending candidates, hence, the resort to private institutions that are not more often reliable compared to the conventional ones.

The Changing and Uncertain Job Market for HEIs Graduates

Projecting the labour market for new higher education institutions' graduates has perhaps never been more difficult than it is in the current fluid economic, political, and demographic environment in the country and this has led to labour market mismatch. The growing number of graduates from higher education institutions could not be absorbed in the labour market and this has a multiplier effects on the economy, there is a limit to which the labour market can absorb, leading to declining prospects for permanent employment for new degree recipients. For instance, the unemployment rate in Nigeria as at the 4th quarter of 2016 was estimated at 21% (National Bureau of Statistics). It increased to 18.80% in the third quarter of 2017 from 16.20% in the second quarter. According to another survey, 47% of the country's university graduates are unemployed in Nigeria (Kazeem, 2016).

Shortage of Academic Staff

Efforts to expand enrollments and improve educational quality are severely constrained by growing shortages of qualified academic staff. Between 1997 and 1999, the number of academic staff declined by 12% even as enrollments expanded by 13%. Staffing scarcity is most acute in engineering, science and business disciplines. Shortfalls are estimated at 73% in engineering, 62% in medicine, 58% in administration, and 53% in sciences. In contrast, no staffing shortages exist in the disciplinary areas of Arts and Education (NUC, 2002). The cost of running the federal university system totaled \$210 million in 1999. Financing for that system comes almost entirely from the federal government. As a result of enrollment growth and currency devaluation, recurrent allocations per university student in the federal system fell from \$610 to \$360 between 1990 and 1999, lately, there are differences in average recurrent unit costs between academic disciplines and type of university. However, agreements covering university salaries and teaching inputs negotiated with government by the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in 2001 have raised this amount close to a much healthier \$1,000 per student annually (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2003). Currently, it ranges from ₦173,868 (US\$1,086) for education to ₦1,577,705 (US\$9,860) for Medicine per student per year (Sani, 2015). These are with obvious implications for educational quality and by implication, knowledge economy.

Federal university revenues are received mainly from three sources: The federal government statutory allocation (84%); income generation activities (7%); and various student fees and levies (9%) – even though no undergraduate tuition fees are charged. In 1992, student fees represented just 2% of revenues (NUC, 2002) whereas, by 2015, these fees have increased by over 10% (NUC, 2016).

Other challenges facing higher education in Nigeria are the influence of politics, religion and industrial strike actions in the nation's educational institutions. These are among others have effects on knowledge economy and sustainable development in the nation as discussed below:

Political Influence

Establishment of some institutions of higher learning in the nation has been influenced by political dictates and pressures. There have been instances when higher educational institutions- Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and Universities have been established without adequate planning and based on the educational needs of the nation. Creation of such institutions most often has been based on canvass for votes, the fulfilment of electoral promises, and the desire to remain in power. Other reasons are pressures from different sections of the country to have the citing of federal or state institutions in their domain to avoid being 'marginalised', and such reasons have dictated the siting of some of the needful institutions in areas not the best fit for such.

Appointment of managers for the nation's higher institutions has also been fraught with political undertone and affiliations, therefore there are of Provosts, Rectors, Vice Chancellors, and governing council members, who may not be competent to run the institutions for the actualization of the needed knowledge economy to compete favourably with peer nations in position. These types of managers dance to the tune of government pressures and sustain government interest, which run contrary to efficiency, effectiveness and goals of higher education.

The political inconsistencies of the nation up to 1999 also grossly affected higher education in Nigeria, The ding dong between civilian and military governance eras spelt changes between ideologies in policies concerning higher education administration in the country. Moreover, burst in educational policies have been recorded following takeover of governments whether legitimately or otherwise. Explicitly put by Saint, Hartnett and Strassner (2004), political interventions in higher education system under a series of military governments imposed questionable higher education policies, resulting in compromised university autonomy, distortions and constraints on the system's development. Education should be left to take its normal course without unhealthy political interference.

Religious Influence

Religion has had its toll on the higher education scene in Nigeria. According to Lenshie (2013), the post colonial politics in Nigeria also enthroned ethno-regional confined educational policies, which the elites exploited to pursue ethnic and religious group interests. Before the recent Boko Haram's anti-western education, the attitude of some Muslims has led to low development of western education in Northern Nigeria. These may place a

ceiling on the quantity and quality of both staff and student personnel in the institutions, and with a multiplier effect on innovation and knowledge economy of the nation.

Industrial Actions

Incessant industrial actions have also characterized the education sector in Nigeria, especially the tertiary sector. Grievances with the government, most often among other factors, have caused industrial strike actions that have led to the closure of tertiary institutions for stretches of time ranging from days to months in the nation. The unions in the universities are equally involved. The most recent was carried out from November, 2017 to March, 2018 by the non-teaching staff under the umbrella of Joint Action Committee on the universities. The academic staff of the Polytechnics is not left out. Specifically, the academic Staff Union of Polytechnics (ASUP) had a protracted strike action that lasted nine months, eleven days, that is, from 2013 to 2014. The Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) called out the staff on the following days for strike actions:

Table 1: Industrial Strike Actions of ASUU from 2010-2018

Year	Period
2010	5 months, 1 week
2011	3 months, ending in 2012
2013	5 months, 3 weeks
2016	1 week
2017	1 month, 5 days

Not only have these disrupted academic activities, economy, social life of the stakeholders, ratings of the universities, they also have led to interruptions in research activities of the institutions, cases that most often have led to irreparable damages in the conduct of such researches. The quality of students for knowledge economy creation is also affected.

Apart from the problems identified above other problems facing higher education in Nigeria include lack of autonomy in the real sense of the term, outdated content of curriculum in terms of entrepreneurial education, poor access to higher education, preference of university education by candidates to colleges of education and polytechnics as well as problems relating to private participation in the provision of education in the country.

3.0 Summary and Conclusion

The paper has examined various issues relating to knowledge economy and sustainable development. The relationship among the three variables considered in the paper is expressed using functional notation and model. The paper also examined the challenges facing HEI in Nigeria and which are impediments to achieving knowledge economy and sustainable development. Having highlighted the goals of the different levels of tertiary education in the earlier pages, it then becomes noteworthy that tertiary education is highly essential for economic growth and development of the nation, for enhancing small and medium scale enterprises, and the production of skilled manpower. The paper therefore concludes that higher institutions is a key factor in realising knowledge economy and sustainable development and should therefore, increase their research capacity to generate relevant knowledge, adapt global knowledge to local use, and support knowledge-driven economic growth.

4.0 Recommendations

It is recommended that these strategies could be used to achieve knowledge economy and sustainable development.

- (i) Improving capacity building activities at the institutional and societal levels
- (ii) Improving the quality of teacher training programmes.
- (iii) Shifting focus from not only access but also to quality education.
- (iv) Ensuring relevance to labour market requirements.
- (v) Linking university research with industry
- (vi) Increasing support mechanisms for female students
- (vii) Strengthening extracurricular activities on HIV/AIDS

- (viii) Promoting academic programmes and projects that will be targeted at entrepreneurial development.
- (ix) Encouraging and strengthening Public-Private Partnership in the funding of education in the country.
- (x) Revamping academic curriculum in the public and private institutions.

It is hoped that the various recommendations will go a long way to facilitate acquisition of knowledge economy and sustainable development in the nation.

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