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SOME IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION GROWTH ON THE  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA:  
1952-1982

THESIS

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This is a demographic study of Nigeria between 1952-1982. Relationships between population growth and economic development are described in detail. Comparisons are made of demographic growth in Nigeria with other developing countries, particularly those in Africa.

Population pressure, the condition of the rural areas, and some internal and external population problems are discussed in length. The government's position and the public view on population control and family planning programs are also examined. Current programs of family limitation are discussed and evaluated.

The study concludes with recommendations for solutions. Emphasis is placed on the need for immediate recognition and action. Various solutions, particularly education, are evaluated.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Awareness of the World Population Problem

The population of a nation--its size, growth rate and age composition--significantly affects its economic future. The fact that population in many of the less developed nations of the world has been increasing more rapidly than its industrial and agricultural output has created severe social and human problems. In such nations, efforts to reduce the birth rate are important facets of economic policy, since a reduction seems to be a prerequisite for improving living standards.

More generally, abrupt changes in fertility or mortality rates have far-reaching economic implications for a nation. A sharp rise or decline in the level of a nation's birth rate during any particular period will be a determinant of the size of its labor force and the rate of economic development. Medical advances almost always increase longevity. In most industrialized nations of the world today an increasing proportion of the population consists of relatively older and economically independent individuals.

When changes in fertility and mortality rates occur slowly, the consequences are generally moderate, but abrupt shifts have "ripple effects" that are extensive and often



persist. The recently large decrease in infant mortality in many of the less developed nations of the world has accelerated population growth, making it increasingly difficult to improve living standards (14, p. 234).

Kuan-I Chen discussed major reasons why we should study and understand world population; the impact of the population problem has a profound and dynamic effect upon the course of human activities and affairs; the change in demographic situations has great social, economic and political effects. These effects in turn impose profound demographic changes. Future world activities will be affected greatly by the present rapid growth of the world population since population is intimately involved with sociological, economic, political and cultural developments which determine the well-being, peace, and security of the peoples of the world. Modern transportation and communication facilities have brought people from different parts of the world closer together and as a result any serious problem which affects one part of the world today can no longer be viewed with indifference in the belief that it would not affect the rest of the world (3, p. 14).

In reviewing the estimated world population growth for the future and by regions, the world population was 1,608 million in 1900, but increased to 2,495 million fifty years later. The United Nations estimates indicated that the world population would continue to grow for the remainder of

the century. As indicated in Table I, it estimated 2,497 million by 1950, 3,828 million by 1975 and 6,267 million by year 2000. When we look at the estimated percentage increase and average annual rate of growth in world population by regions, 1950-2000, as indicated in Table II, we find an increase of 53.3 per cent in the world population between 1950 and 1975 and another increase of 63.7 per cent between 1975 and 2000. As a result, the world population in 2000 would be 2.5 times greater than that in 1950. The average annual rate of growth was expected to be little less than 1.9 per cent between 1950 and 2000. A breakdown of this fifty-year period (1950-2000) into quarters of a century showed that the average annual rate for 1950-1975 was 1.7 per cent, 2.0 per cent for 1975-2000. This showed that the average annual rate would be higher in the last quarter of this century (3, pp. 1124-1125).

The world population growth had in the past decade become the focus of world concern and action. For example, since the 1960s different population policies and programs intended to reduce high birth rates have been implemented by national governments, the United Nations, international agencies, individual governments, many non-government institutions and organizations. As a result, approximately two-thirds of the world population are now living in the nations with positive programs for family planning and control of excess fertility. The decade 1965-1975 marked the period

TABLE I

ESTIMATES OF WORLD POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1950-2000:  
MEDIUM ASSUMPTION<sup>a</sup> FOR 1975 and 2000\*

Estimated population in millions and percentage of population contained in each continent*																		
Year	World Total		Africa		Northern America <sup>b</sup>		Latin America <sup>c</sup>		Asia (excl. USSR)		Europe and USSR		USSR		Oceania			
	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent	Popu- lation Cent	Per Cent		
1950	2,497	100.0	199	8.0	168	6.7	163	6.5	1,380	55.3	574	23.0	393	15.7	181	7.3	13	0.5
1975	3,828	100.0	303	7.9	240	6.3	303	7.9	2,210	57.7	751	19.7	476	12.4	275	7.3	21	0.5
2000	6,267	100.0	517	9.4	312	5.0	592	9.4	3,870	61.8	947	15.1	568	9.1	379	6.0	29	0.5

\*Source: Chen, Kuan-I, World Population Growth and Living Standards, New York, United Printing Services, Inc., 1960, p. 66.

Sum of figures rounded to the nearest million.

<sup>a</sup>Medium assumption is the assumption that mortality will continue to decline at rates which now are normal and fertility will remain constant between 1950 and 1975, but decline at rates observed previously in some areas after 1975.

<sup>b</sup>U.S.A., Canada, Alaska, St. Pierre and Miquelon, Bermuda, and Greenland.

<sup>c</sup>Middle America (Central America and the islands of the Caribbean) and South America (the entire continent).

TABLE II

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE INCREASE AND AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH  
IN WORLD POPULATION, BY REGIONS, 1950-2000\*  
(MEDIUM ASSUMPTION)

Period	Percentage Population Increase								
	World Total	Africa	Northern America	Latin America	Asia (excl. USSR)	Europe and USSR	Europe (excl. USSR)	USSR	Oceania
1950-2000	151.0	159.8	85.7	263.2	180.4	65.0	44.5	109.4	123.1
1950-1975	53.3	52.3	42.9	85.9	60.1	30.8	21.1	51.9	61.5
1975-2000	63.7	70.6	30.0	95.4	75.1	26.1	19.3	37.8	38.1

Period	Average Annual Rate of Growth (per cent)								
	World Total	Africa	Northern America	Latin America	Asia (excl. USSR)	Europe and USSR	Europe (excl. USSR)	USSR	Oceania
1950-2000	1.86	1.93	1.25	2.61	2.08	1.01	0.74	1.49	1.65
1950-1975	1.72	1.70	1.44	2.51	1.90	1.08	0.77	1.59	1.94
1975-2000	1.99	2.16	1.06	2.72	2.26	0.93	0.71	1.29	1.30

\*Source: Chen, Kuan-I, World Population Growth and Living Standards, New York, United Printing Services, Inc., 1960, p. 67.

of world awakening to the problems of rapid population increase and their consequences to individuals as well as to societies. According to the Population Reference Bureau (21, p. 1), world population increase is rising at a pace that if not checked would double human numbers within the next four decades. It also noted that between 1965 and 1975 about 658 million people were added to the world population. This increase was similar to Week's estimate of the world population between 1950 to 1975 (30, p. 46).

Implications of these rapid increases, both at the present and in the future forced many nations, especially the developed, to make plans to control their population. In developing nations there have been gains in total gross national products, industrialization, agricultural output, educational facilities, health services, etc. It is hoped that these gains would help to alleviate widespread poverty and accumulate the savings necessary for self-maintaining national development. Unfortunately, the uncontrollable increases in population have frustrated this expectation by holding per capita gains to distressingly low levels.

The differences in population growth among nations reflect to some extent the degree of official support for population and family planning programs--although support is largely shaped by economic, cultural and religious considerations. Some specialists in the field of demography believed, based on program experience, that reduction of the

world birth rate would be possible if given the appropriate program, resources and initiative. Although, the knowledge of the world's high annual rate of population growth had increased, but views on that growth showed wide variations. Some saw the rapid growth as leading to certain future disaster for mankind--this group possibly hold Malthusian ideology of population growth and available resources. For others, if economic and social development are given to poorer nations, population growth will slow down by itself--those nations that believe that they cannot or have no need for population control for traditional, cultural reasons or what have you, are most likely to go along with this view. The more general view, which was also based on program experience, held that the objective to population control must go hand in hand with social and economic development. To this regard, family planning and health programs have proved that they can in addition to reducing high birth rates also improve maternal and child health and strengthen family living standard. Economic development programs have demonstrated that they can expand the total resources available for human use including the per capita gains when population increases are held to moderate level.

Official recognition of the diluting effect of rapid population growth on the development program and living conditions was first experienced in developing nations. Moss states: "There has recently been a great upsurge in

interest in population throughout the world, and this has resulted in a substantial improvement in the state of knowledge of Africa's population" (16, p. 108). Money has been made available for population study and methods for checking inaccurate and incomplete data have been developed. Most of the family planning programs in developing nations are conducted through the existing infrastructures of health and health-related facilities. About sixty-five or more of the developing nations have population and family planning programs of some sort.

The United States expressed concern about the world population problem through a speech delivered by President Johnson in January 1965. "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources" (21, p. 5). Many writers described the serious food shortage that occurred in South Asia in the mid 1960s as "a genuine Malthusian crisis." The United Nations designated 1974 as the World Population Year and the World Population Conference was held in Bucharest and Romania in August that year. The purpose of the conference was to focus world attention on the problems of rapid population growth. There was an intensive argument at the conference about the causes of the problems and workable solutions. As Chen (3, p. 36) noted, not everyone saw the rapid, present and imminent growth of world population as a serious problem. Even among those who

recognized the problem, there was no unanimous agreement on the maximum number of human beings that can be supported by the resources available. However, in spite of different views, the World Population Plan of Action generally agreed that there are links between development and population.

The Population Council, another action group, recommended that the inevitable population growth of the next decades requires rapid socio-economic development if tragic loss of lives are to be prevented. A resolution was therefore adopted, calling on governments and people to produce more food and support population policies.

Two-thirds of mankind inhabit in developing nations, where the rate of population increase is very rapid. In general, these nations possess less wealth and power than those of developed nations. The majority of these nations (less developed) are becoming conscious of their serious malnutrition, poverty, poor health and sanitation problems, high rate of illiteracy, etc. Many of them are struggling for better material life and achievement of human dignity. In addition, they are anxious to gain a very respectable position for themselves among other nations of the world by developing their economy in their own way without interference or dominance from the developed nations; but unfortunately they lack the awareness and have preferred not to look into the problems and obstacles of rapid increase in their populations on economic development and standard of living.



The population problem is important in examining the problems of economic development in tropical nations but it is difficult to be precise about its meaning or about its implications for development. For example, the much discussed concept of "population pressure," that is, the belief "that there are too many or too few people in some areas to allow the fullest economic development," is such a relative term--relative to natural resources, the extent of division of labor, the standard of living, techniques of production and total economic structure, that it is useful only within the framework of a rigid and specific set of variables. Furthermore, there is the paradox that as in Jamaica or Mauritius, a country may be overpopulated in relation to its agricultural resources, yet underpopulated in relation to its capacity for industrial development.

It can also be suggested that a high density of population is a necessary precondition for economic development in many tropical countries . . . there is little doubt that the most striking adaptations of human societies to the limitations of their tropical environment have been achieved in areas where population density was so high as to make life impossible without some such adaptations. On the other hand, it is perhaps not too much to suggest that population pressure in the sense of there being too many people in an area for the available natural resources . . . is a rare phenomenon in tropical underdeveloped lands. . . . it must be postulated that in no country is the lack of natural resources a limitation to economic development (10, pp. 86-87).

The whole concept of population pressure rests upon the stability of factors such as natural resources, capital supplies, population numbers and density, which are essentially dynamic.

Another concept commonly discussed in connection with population pressure is "disguised unemployment." The suggestion that "surplus" labor in agriculture (and even in industry) can be extracted from their present occupations without affecting present production and can be put to use in the construction of productive capital goods has been shown to be infeasible in the few available case studies. The chief problem of tropical development is how to increase production at a rate substantially higher than the rate of population growth. It has been estimated that three per cent of the national income must be saved to provide for one per cent increase in population. An examination of domestic capital savings in tropical countries makes it clear that their savings are generally insufficient, relative to the rate of growth of population to allow any significant increase in the average standard of living. There are two main approaches, one demographic and the other economic, which have been suggested to solve this problem. The demographic approach includes a direct attack on the natural increase by use of birth control measures. In a sense, however, to reduce the rate of population growth, while undoubtedly desirable, is simply to apply a negative solution, for by itself a declining birth rate can do nothing to increase production. Anyway, by Western analogy birth rates may ultimately fall as economic development proceeds, and as death rates reach the levels already reached in the

developed world. Also, large-scale birth control programs would have serious long-term repercussions on population age structures.

The economic approach is directed at developing production at a rate greater than the rate of population growth. This involves the increase of agricultural production and the development of industrialization. The increases in agricultural production implies both its areal extension and intensification. The areal extension of agricultural lands involves the migration of people usually from a densely populated area to a less densely populated area. It has three aims: to increase the total food production, to relieve population pressure in the original area, and to encourage economic development in the new area. However, these aims are not always met, and there is no evidence that the redistribution of population for agricultural colonization in the tropics has anywhere appreciably lessened population pressure in the area of origin. The effects of migration are cancelled by the natural increase of the population. Furthermore, distress in the area of origin may increase due to an imbalance in the sex and age structure caused by the tendency of the young, active males to migrate, leaving a large female population. Also, the new area may be unable to absorb the number of immigrants that would be necessary to reduce significantly the population pressure in the place of origin unless the migration is

carefully planned and controlled. "The extension and intensification of agricultural production is very much a matter of applied research . . . [and] constitute important measures to meet the demographic-economic problem in tropical countries" (10, p. 93).

One of the most common arguments for promoting industrialization is the belief by Western analogy that it will be accompanied by urbanization and a decline in fertility. However, the decline in fertility must lag behind the expected decline in death rates so that no immediate reduction in the rate of fertility could be expected. Also, the Western analogy is dangerous because the increase in population followed the industrial revolution in Western Europe while in the tropics the population explosion is preceding the true industrial revolution. This makes any general increase in prosperity in developing countries today more difficult than it was in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It is also argued that urbanization will reduce population pressure in the rural areas. However, as noted earlier, the migrants to the cities, as those to new agricultural areas, are usually the younger, more active males, leaving a female dominated population in the rural areas. Also, large cities and towns often have severe problems of population pressure themselves.

Industrialization usually involves the introduction of labor saving technological devices but these devices may be unsuitable in the tropical context with its problems of underemployment and the need to utilize rather than to reduce labor. This applies not only to the manufacturing industries but also to the mechanization of agriculture. Such measures as seed improvement and the scientific use of fertilizers should perhaps play a larger part in schemes for intensifying agricultural production than should the more expensive and labor-saving measures of mechanized agriculture.

One last issue which is important in considering the effect of population on economic development in tropical developing nations is the absolute size of the population base. A country with a huge population base like India increases by eleven million people per year while Togo with a higher birth rate increases by only 40,000 per year. The absolute population base affects the approach a country will take in trying to solve its demographic-economic problem. For example, "while the size of a domestic market is, of course, a function of more than simple population totals, countries like India and Brazil clearly offer more favorable environments for setting up those heavy industries which depend for their success upon economies of scale" (10, p. 95).

Hodder suggests that

the central problem of economic development in all tropical countries is what has been called here a demographic-economic problem--how to ensure that production rate of increase consistently outstrip

the rates of increase population. It has been argued that the solution lies less in attempting directly to control population growth than in a rapid increase in production (10, p. 96).

The introduction of this study has so far reviewed the world awareness of population problems. How the effects of rapid population increase can adversely affect economic development of a nation has also been discussed, with some emphasis on nations of tropical regions.

This study is essentially based on looking into the implications of rapid population growth on the economic development of Nigeria.

#### Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to review and analyze the implications of population growth on the economic development of Nigeria. Attitudes of Nigerians towards population increase and programs for its control will be discussed. The study will also explore the trends of some major demographic and economic characteristics.

In addition, the study will look into some of the social problems in Nigeria in order to understand the impact of rapid population growth on her economic development. Finally, some of the possible recommended solutions to the problem will be evaluated.

#### Brief Historical Background of Nigeria

The archaeological discoveries indicate that a paleolithic civilization existed in West Africa. Nigerians lived

in primitive settlements, surviving on wild fruits, on the animals killed in the chase, and on fish from the rivers. The forest areas of Southern Nigeria with abundant food were the first areas where habitation was possible. There was no organized farming. The neolithic arts were introduced into Nigeria from Sudan in about 7,000 B.C. Iron ore existed in abundance and the art of using copper and bronze was introduced into Nigeria from upper Egypt by the Yorubas, a tribe in Nigeria, who moved down from the North East around 2,000 B.C. The Yorubas who made Ile-Ife their capital, were followed into Nigeria by the Bariba (Borgaua), the Bassava, Nupe, Dakkaherri and the Juken. By A.D. 900, civilizations had grown among the Nupe and the Yorubas, who were later followed by the Benin culture. The kingdoms were organized and controlled by semi-divine sovereigns. And it was from them that the fine bronze and brass works, the art of engraving on brass, pottery and carvings in wood and ivory became popular. The movement of invaders from Egypt and Sudan into West Africa laid the foundation for the trans-Sahara trade (the trade between North and West Africa). By A.D. 1,000 Kano in Northern Nigeria had become a strong and prosperous trading center and most of the cultivated crops and some domestic animals at that period were introduced into Nigeria from Egypt. The Hausas occupied Northern Nigeria at this period. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the spread of Moslem religion helped the Fulanis

to penetrate into Hausa land. By the fifteenth century, the Moslem religion reached Kano and the major cities of Northern Nigeria (Kano, Zaria, Katsin and Sokoto) grew into great commercial centers. The Yorubas, Bini, Hausa, Nupe, Fulanis and the Kanuris became the most important and prominent groups that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century the Yoruba kingdoms extended to Dahomey (Republic of Benin), from the Togo Republic up to Accra in Ghana, to the bank of the Niger as well as to Benin. A series of wars broke out among the Yorubas. Efforts made by the Fulanis to introduce Islam led to invasion of Hausa land and establishment of Fulani empire. Most of the ethnic groups living in Nigeria are said to have their origin from Egypt or Sudan or both. As a result, her political, social and economic histories have significant links with North Africa (5, pp. 8-12).

The earliest histories of human habitation in what is now Nigeria have been found on the northern plateaux. It was believed that agriculture was in existence by 3000 B.C. Between 500 B.C. and A.D. 200, the "Wok" culture flourished. Following the major West African population movements of the first millenium of the Christian era--when Bantu-speaking people spread into the eastern and central parts of the continent--the ethnographic pattern of Nigeria was established along with the rise of the great empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai and Kanem Borun. As the Kanem Borun empire



declined, the Hausa city states were growing in power. The fifteenth century period saw the growth of two non-Islamic states, the Nupe and the Kororofa. In the western part of the forest belt of Southern Nigeria, the associated kingdoms of Oyo and Benin were established. More obscure was the history of the Ibo people in the eastern part of the forest belt. Their village society was based on a system of communal land-holding. In general, a complex political and social pattern had developed among the peoples of what is now called Nigeria by the time Europeans reached the coast in search of gold.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century diplomatic relationships were established between the kings of Benin and Portugal. Slaves became West Africa's principle export commodity and the trade continued for over 300 years. In the late eighteenth century a jihad (Muslim holy war) was launched by the Fulani in the north, thus powerful Fulani emirates were established in Adamawa. Meanwhile, European influences were becoming strong in the south. In 1861 the British annexed Lagos (the capital of Nigeria), declaring it a colony. After this declaration Britain established protectorates in various regions. Modern Nigeria dates from 1914 when the two British protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated.

The idea of decolonization started after World War II, at which time the National Council of Nigeria and the

Cameroons was formed under the leadership of Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (the first President of the Republic of Nigeria). The NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) became a predominantly Eastern party, and this gave rise to other regional political parties. The 1959 elections gave no one party an overall majority.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria became a sovereign nation in October 1, 1960 and three years later adapted a republican constitution, but elected to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Nigeria was politically, economically and demographically one of the greatest countries in black Africa (5, p. 14). Relics of British rule are still evident in various aspects of Nigerian life. There are more than 200 different languages spoken by many National groups (17, p. 85). There are also about 250 ethnic groups, the largest being the Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Fulani, Kanuni, Tir, Edo, Nupe, Ibibio and Ijaw. These groups together make up more than seventy-five per cent of the Nation's population (11, p. 220).

By 1966, Nigeria was in political turmoil and on January 14, there was a coup d'etat in which the prime minister, Belewa, and other political leaders were killed. The military took over the government as a result of the political instability. Later there were tribal conflicts that led to the killing of thousands of the Ibos living in the North. In May 1967 the Ibos broke away from the rest

of Nigeria, and in July the Nigerian government responded by declaring war on the Ibos (Biafra). Prior to the declaration of the war, the existing regions were replaced by twelve states: Lagos, Western, Midwestern, Kwara, North Western, North Central, Kano, North Eastern, and Benue-Plateau in what was the north; and East-Central, Rivers, and South Eastern, in what was the East (6, p. 538). In January 1970 the civil war came to an end. In 1976 under the head of states, General Muritala Mohammed, Nigeria was divided into nineteen states (see Figure 1).

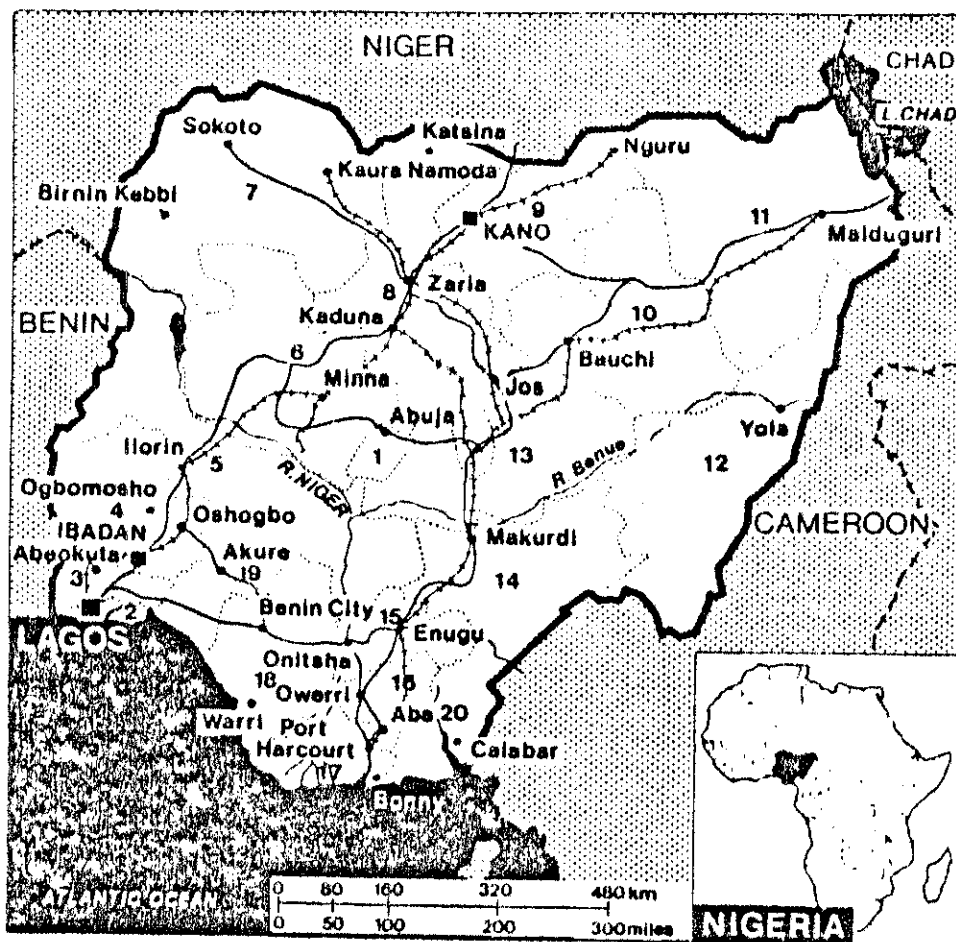
### Definition of the Major Variables

#### Population

Population includes all the people residing within a delimited geographic area such as within a nation, a geographic region, a state, a metropolitan area, a city, a community, a village, etc. (28, p. 304).

#### Population Growth

According to Moss and Rathbone, "population growth for any area over any period will be equal to the number of births, less the number of deaths, plus the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants, during the period" (16, p. 108).



- |                        |                  |                      |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Federal Capital Area | 9 Kano State     | 17 Rivers State      |
| 2 Lagos State          | 10 Bauchi State  | 18 Bendel State      |
| 3 Ogun State           | 11 Borno State   | 19 Ondo State        |
| 4 Oyo State            | 12 Gongola State | 20 Cross River State |
| 5 Kwara State          | 13 Plateau State |                      |
| 6 Niger State          | 14 Benue State   |                      |
| 7 Sokoto State         | 15 Anambra State |                      |
| 8 Kaduna State         | 16 Imo State     |                      |

Fig. 1--Map of Nigeria showing its boundaries, federal capital area, and the nineteen states.

Source: Howe, John and Richard Syne, "Nigeria: Economic Perspectives," in *Africa Guide*, Essex, England, Africa Guide Company, 1978, p. 219.

### Population Growth Rate

Jacobson defined population growth rate as the percentage of change in population size over a period of time, usually a year (12, p. 21).

$$\text{Growth Rate} = \frac{\text{Population at end period} - \text{Population at start period}}{\text{Population at start period}}$$

Using Nigeria as an example:

Nigerian population (mid-1982 estimate) = 82.3 m

Nigerian population (mid-1983 estimate) = 84.2 m

$$\text{Nigerian growth rate} = \frac{84.2 - 82.3}{82.3} = 0.02\%$$

Furthermore, the growth rate can be calculated directly from birth rates, death rates and net migration rates figures.

These rates are given per 1000 population and as a result, they have to be divided by 10 in order to obtain a percentage rate. Thus:

$$\text{Growth Rate} = \frac{\text{birth rate} - \text{death rate} + \text{net migration}}{10}$$

Since there is no figure for Nigeria's net immigration rate for 1983, an estimation is made here. Again, using Nigeria as an example:

Nigerian birth rate (1983) = 50

Nigerian death rate (1983) = 17

Nigerian immigration rate (1983) = 0.01 (assumed figure)

$$\text{Nigerian growth rate} = \frac{50 - 17 + 0.01}{10} = 3.3\%$$

### Crude Birth Rate

Crude birth rate is the number of live births per 1000 persons in a population within a given period of time, usually one year. The formula for the crude birth rate is the number of live births in a population during a given year divided by the total population of the area or group at the mid-point of the year. This figure is then multiplied by 1000 to yield a more manageable figure. It is often called the birth rate (28, p. 31). Thus,

$$\text{Crude Birth Rate (CBR)} = \frac{\text{number of births in 1 year}}{\text{mid year population of men and women in all ages}} \times 100 \times 1000$$

According to Jacobson, while birth, which is the total number of babies born in a year, is an important statistic to us, birth rate (crude birth rate) is often more useful, because it is important to know the rate at which women of child-bearing age are having children. This can be shown by the general fertility rate, which is defined as the number of births per year per 1000 women aged 15 to 45 years.

### Crude Death Rate

The number of deaths per 1000 persons occurring within a year period in a particular population is the crude death rate. It gives the rate at which the members of a population are dying, without regard to any of the characteristics of the population. One of its most serious deficiencies is its failure to take into account the age and sex structure of

the population (28, p. 103). Monsted and Walji summarized it as "the number of deaths in a population per 1000 in the total population at risk in a given year" (15, p. 206).

$$\text{Crude Death Rate (CDR)} = \frac{\text{no. of deaths in 1 year}}{\text{mid year population of men and women of all ages}} \times 1000$$

The number of people that survive to the age of reproduction, according to Jacobson, have a very great influence on the birth rate as well as on the population growth of any society. For example, a vital factor in the rapid population growth of the world has been the decline in the death rate of both infants and children, as well as the number of persons that survive to reproductive age (12, p. 20).

#### Fertility Rate

Fertility rate (GFR), which is sometimes referred to as general fertility rate, is the number of births per 1,000 women in the reproductive ages at risk in a given year (15, p. 207). According to Theodorson, it is an index of the fertility of a population, usually measured by the number of children that have been born to each 1,000 women of child-bearing age, usually defined as 15-44, although 20-49, and 15-49 are also used (28, p. 155).

$$\text{GFR} = \frac{\text{no. of births in 1 year}}{\text{mid year population of women 15-49 years}} \times 1000$$

In explaining the importance of fertility rate in the study of population, Grindstaff pointed out that the trends,

changes, determinants and consequences of fertility affect nearly all the institutional and organizational systems of a nation; that is to say, the nation's economic, educational, social and political development (9, p. 28).

### Age Structure

Age structure is the distribution of the population by age. Usually this structure is illustrated in the sex-age pyramid, showing the relative distribution of the male population on the left side of the pyramid and the female population on the right side (15, p. 206). As Jacobson pointed out, the nature of a population and its physical needs and social concerns are to a significant degree affected by the age distribution within the population (12, p. 20). Grindstaff emphasized that a knowledge of age and sex composition is essential, especially where comparisons of different populations are to be made and understood. Any population with a high proportion of females between the ages of 15 and 44 tends to have high fertility rates. He further stressed that the age and sex structure is an important determinant as well as consequences of the major demographic variables. He therefore concluded that the structure in terms of age also relates to economic development and investment.



### Population Size

Population size, as defined by Jacobson, is the number of individuals living in a given area (12, p. 17). For example, the population of Nigeria (1963) was estimated to be fifty-five million people. Population size can be determined through periodic census. In Nigeria, like most other nations of the world, the nation's constitution requires a national census every ten years. But irregularities, selfishness and corruption have not allowed the nation to follow this constitution.

### Economic Development

Economic development is the process of improving the standard of living and well being of the population of developing nations by raising the per capita income. This is usually achieved by an increase in industrialization relative to reliance on the agricultural sector (19, p. 123).

### Economic Growth

Economic growth is a sustained increase over a significant period, in the quantity of material goods and services produced in an economy. To Terleckyj (27, p. 276), the contemporary definitions of economic growth include the concept of raising economic well-being. According to Kuznets, modern economic growth reflects a continuing capacity to supply a growing population with an increased volume of commodities and services per capita. Greenwald

and his associates defined economic growth as an increase in a nation's capacity to produce goods and services plus increased production of those goods and services, which could be measured by the annual national product (8, p. 150).

From the above definitions, it is obvious that Gilpin's definition of economic growth comes closest to the definition many social scientists will accept. Economic growth is the growth per head of the population in the production of goods and services of all kinds available to meet the final demand; for example, goods and services for domestic consumption, capital goods for accumulation, export goods to pay for imports. An acceleration of economic growth requires as much emphasis on such elements as better management, better training of labor and improved education as on higher capital investment (7, p. 61). A common way to measure economic growth is by comparing the total output of the economy at different times.

#### Economic Development and Economic Growth

Since it is very difficult to separate the concepts economic development and economic growth, many writers use both terms interchangeably. From the definitions we should be able to identify the distinction between the two concepts. Growth does not necessarily imply development. According to Robert Clower as quoted by Zuvekas, what it essentially

meant is that a country produces more of the same types of goods and services to keep up with a growing population or to send to overseas markets while the benefits of this growth continue to go almost exclusively to the privileged elite and a small middle class. The vast majority of the country's people are completely unaffected. Economists generally use the term "economic growth" to refer to increases over time in a country's real output of goods and services, or her real output per capita. Economic development is a more comprehensive concept and refers to changes in the structure of the economy, in the nation's social and political structures. Others define it as a decline in agriculture's share of the gross national product and a corresponding increase in the share of sectors such as manufacturing, utilities, financial institutions, construction and government administration (34, p. 9).

Smelser said many economists begin with the notion of growth that is limited to a measure such as growth of output per head of population, or steel production, or size of the labor force. He maintains that such a notion formed the basic dependent variable and that the variables that determined the rate of growth are found in the factors of production, such as natural resources, capital for investment, labor, and entrepreneurial talent. Other economic variables immediately involved with the supply of these factors are savings, inflation, balance of payments,

foreign aid, size of population, and rate of population change. Furthermore, economists identify a number of structural transformations that accompany the growth of per capita product and increased productivity (24, p. 143). Kuznets absolutely explained it as follows.

The shift away from agriculture to nonagricultural pursuits and, recently away from industry to services; a change in the scale of productive units, and a related shift from personal enterprise to impersonal organization of economic firms, with a corresponding change in the occupational status of labor. Shifts in several other aspects of economic structure could be added (in the structure of consumption, in the relative shares of domestic and foreign supplies, etc.) (13, pp. 248-249).

From Onyejekwe's standpoint, economic development entails a diversification of activity as a few simple occupations give way to more complex ones; the level of occupational skills rises significantly; the ratio of capital to labor increases; subsistence agriculture itself declines in significance compared to commercial, industrial, and other nonagricultural activities (18, p. 104). He further states economic development to be growth in the total economic activity and output of a society, that may be measured by per capita gross national product, level of industrialization, level of individual welfare gauged by such measures as life expectancy, calorie intake, supply of hospitals and doctors.

Some people have strongly argued that economic development should not be measured only in terms of economic

growth, in that they believed economic growth to be generally unidimensional that is measured by increases in income, while economic development, on the other hand, involves growth as well as structural and functional changes. David W. Pearce's definition of economic development seemed to bring together in a summarized form, the whole idea of the concept.

### Investment

Investment is the flow of expenditures devoted to projects producing goods which are not intended for immediate consumption. These investment projects may take the form of both physical and human capital as well as inventories (19, p. 222). Gilpin defined "investment" as capital expenditure on physical productive assets, for example, machinery, factory building, roads, bridges, houses, etc., and stocks; expenditure on goods not for current consumption. It embraces purchases of stock exchange securities, or deposits of money in banks, building societies, or other financial institutions with a view to income and capital gain as the major objective (7, p. 114). As Sharpe absolutely put it, "Investment is the sacrifice of certain present value for (possibly uncertain) future value" (23, p. 2).

### Gross Domestic Product

Gross domestic product (GDP) includes all the output of goods and services valued at market prices. It equals total domestic factor incomes plus indirect taxes less

subsidies (7, p. 96). In other words, gross domestic product does not include net property income from abroad. Pearce summarized it thus: "The sum of all factor incomes gives total domestic income which once adjusted for stock appreciation gives gross domestic product at factor cost" (19, p. 300).

### Gross National Product

Gross national product (GNP) measures the total domestic and foreign output claimed by residents of a country. It comprises gross domestic product and factor income (such as investment receipts and workers remittances) accruing to residents from abroad, less the income earned in the domestic economy accruing to persons abroad (37, p. 86). According to Terleckyj (27, p. 27) the most widely known measure of the real output of the economy is the gross national product (GNP), which is the measure of the total volume of goods and services produced in an economy during an accounting period, such as a year. Gilpin (7, p. 144) defined it as investment plus consumption. Terleckyj (27, p. 27) maintained that it is important to note that GNP as a measure of economic progress has some limitations. Zurekas (34, pp. 14-15) agrees with Terleckyj that (1) gross national product (GNP) tells us nothing about the types of goods and services produced or the amount of welfare derived from the use of these goods and services, (2) nothing about the costs to

society of increased environmental pollution, urbanization or population growth, (3) many goods and services not passing through the market are excluded from GNP estimates, (4) tells us nothing about the distribution of income.

#### Manpower

Manpower is the availability of human resources in a labor market, its quantity and quality available at a given moment. Human resources in this sense include potentials of development, the possibility of increasing and uncovering skills of those participating in the labor force for creating new motivations and incentives for work performance (1, p. 5).

#### Labor Force

Labor force is defined as the population in the working ages; that is, the population between fifteen and sixty-five years (sometimes defined up to sixty years). This indicates the potentially economically active population (15, p. 207). According to Baerwald (1, p. 17), the whole working population is included. The World Bank (32, p. 87) defined labor force to include economically active persons, including the armed forces and the unemployed, but excluding housewives, students and economically inactive groups.

### Economically Active Population

Economically active population shows the number of persons in some form of employment plus those seeking employment (15, p. 207).

### Income Distribution

Income distribution, according to Pearce (19, p. 198) is the difference in income levels between different people, which can be as a result of job, that is, skill differentials or geographical location, or differentials between urban and rural wage levels. This is particularly a market phenomenon in less developed nations, because development plans, introduction of new techniques and high wage type occupations are found in urban areas while the agricultural sector is often left behind, using primitive methods for subsistence farming where payments are often made in kind, making it difficult to quantify in money terms. According to Smolensky (26, p. 486), the process out of which income distribution emerges is dominated by the interaction between governments and markets. A government influences market allocations of material and human resources through its taxes (particularly corporate income taxes, property taxes, excise taxes, capital gains and inheritance taxes), through its transfers and through its regulatory policies.



### Sources of Data

In this study, secondary data from textbooks, articles, reports, periodicals, publications of learned organizations, newspapers, encyclopedia articles, public documents and unpublished materials will be utilized.

### Review of the Literature

The developing nations are still growing rapidly in absolute population size, even when the world's growth rate is only 1.7 per cent per year. For example, as indicated in Figure 2, the most rapidly growing nations are those that are less developed economically.

Weeks (30, p. 60) has observed that the rapid population growth in less developed nations is now responsible to a large extent, for the world's population increase. In contrasting the levels of food consumption, Chen examined the existing disparities in the level of food consumption among nations in different regions of the world. In this study, he found that nations with food supplies below the requirement are found mainly in less developed nations while nations in excess of the requirement are found in developed nations. He also concluded that from 1953 to 1955 nations with over 50 per cent of their caloric intake from carbohydrate-rich food were located primarily in Africa, Asia and Latin America and that these nations did not have adequate per capita food consumption either in quantity or

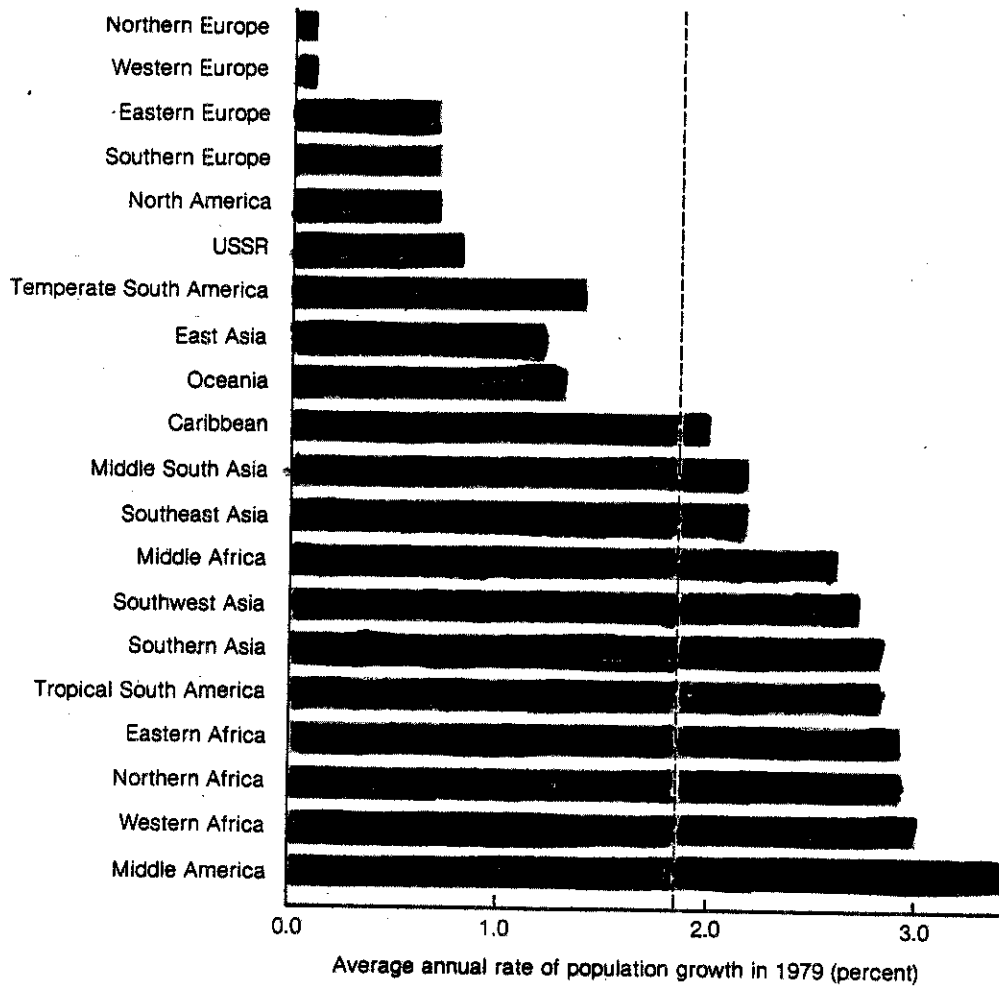


Fig. 2--Africa, Latin America, and Asia have the highest rates of population growth.

Source: John R. Weeks, Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues, Belmont, California, Wadsworth, 1978, p. 61.

in quality (3, p. 43). Seventy-three per cent of the world population in 1950 was underfed, of whom 7 per cent came from Europe, 6 per cent in Latin America, 53 per cent in Asia, and 7 per cent in Africa. In other words, 66 per cent of the underfed came from less developed nations (20, p. 44). When we examine the race between food production and population in recent years, the general increase in total food production was 2.0 per cent per year from 1953-1958, as compared with an annual rate of population growth of 1.6 per cent. During the last few years there has been an unequal race between food production and population growth, especially in some regions of the world. For example, nations in North America, such as the United States, have more surplus foods, while poor nations in Africa, the Far East and Latin America are yet to attain the pre-war level of per capita production and are confronted with the problems of underconsumption and underproduction.

In short, for the past few years, 1953-1954 to 1957-1958, the world food production left a scanty margin of 0.5 per cent extra annually to improve the diet of millions of people. For instance, the stock of surplus agricultural products (food and nonfood) owned by the U.S. Commodity Credit Corporation, remained at the value of 7-8 billion dollars since 1955. Since the surplus products have remained at the high level for the past few years, it is an indication that the surplus accumulated by nations with overproduction problems would not all be available automatically to nations with underconsumption and underproduction problems (3, p. 44).

It may well be argued that the absolute differences in per capita net national product among nations may not be considered an objective measure for their level of welfare and condition of living, but at the same time we cannot deny the fact that it reflects the crude order of magnitude of their per capita product of goods and services. Table III shows that per capita net national products of fifty-two nations in five continents. The differences in per capita production of goods and services between regions with a slow rate of population growth and regions with rapid rate of population growth can be observed in Table III.

The regions with rapid growth rate of population contained about 65.8 per cent of the world population, but only 16.6 per cent of the world national income. On the other hand, regions with slow growth rate of population contained 34.2 per cent of the world population, with a share of 83.4 per cent of the world national income. If the per capita income for Europe in 1949, \$380 were established as the goal for nations with rapid growth rate of population (less developed nations), that these nations would have to increase their national income by about 4 times in Africa, 6.6 times in Asia, and 1.2 times in South America. By the same token, if these regions with rapid population growth were set for the per capita income of North America in the same year; \$1,100 as their goal, nations in Africa as a group would have to increase their

TABLE III

ESTIMATES OF AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CAPITA NET NATIONAL PRODUCT\* OF FIFTY-TWO COUNTRIES FOR 1952-1954  
(In U. S. Dollars)

Continents	Per Capita Net National Products of Countries (In U.S. Dollars)		
	Under 250	250-499	500-749
			Above 1,000
Africa	Uganda (50) Kenya (60) Belgian Congo (70) Rhodesia & Nyasaland (100) Egypt (120)	Union of South Africa (300)	
Asia	Burm. (50) India (60) Pakistan (70) Korea (70) Thailand (80)* Philippines (150) Japan (190) Turkey (210) Ceylon (110)	Lebanon (200) Malaya (310)* Israel (470)	
America	Peru (120) Paraguay (140) Honduras (150) Guatemala (160) Jamaica (180)* Mexico (220) Brazil (230)	Panama (250) Columbia (250) Cuba (310) Chile (360) Argentina (460)	Venezuela (540)* Canada (1,310) U.S. (1,870)
Europe	Portugal (200) Greece (220)	Italy (310) Austria (310) Ireland (410)	Netherlands (500) Denmark (750) Iceland (780) United Kingdom (780) Belgium (800) Luxembourg (800) Sweden (950)
Oceania			Australia (950) New Zealand (1,000)

Source: Kuan-I Chen, World Population Growth and Living Standards, New York, United Printing Services, Inc., 1960, p. 78.

national income by 13.6 times, Asia by 21 times and nations in South America by 5.5 times (3, p. 40).

In less developed nations of the world urbanization was associated with a commercial response rather than industrialization. Urban population in most less developed nations grew without industrialization. At present, urban populations are growing at a much more rapid rate in less developed nations of the world than it did in industrialized nations. And according to Weeks (30, p. 52), current city growth in less developed nations was in part due to people migrating from rural to urban areas, characterized by high birth and low death rates.

Africans have the highest risk of death in the world as well as the highest level of fertility. In spite of its high death rate compared with other regions of the world, its annual growth rate was 2.9 per cent from 1960 to 1978, the highest of any continent in the world (see Figure 3). High mortality and high fertility are often associated with very low levels of economic development. Although, there has been some slight decrease in African death rates, but its growth rates have always been increasing. The data on population growth for Africa from the periods 1950-1979 indicate that the African continent had a high fertility rate and a moderately high mortality rate. This combination led to high population growth rate. Statistics indicate that the African population growth rate increased from 2.2

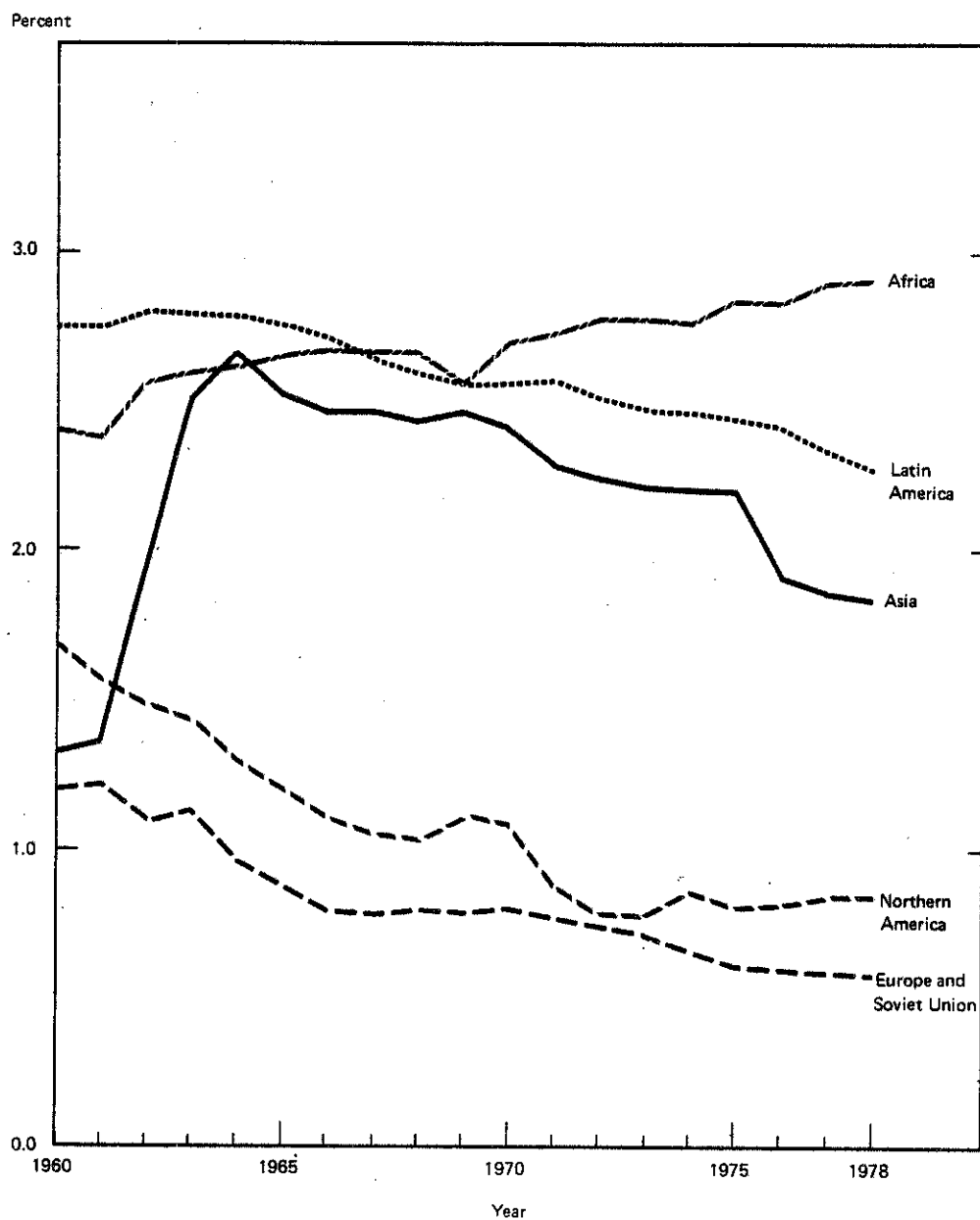


Fig. 3--Annual population growth rates for regions of the world: 1960 to 1978.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, World Population 1979-Summary-Recent Demographic Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1980, p. 16.

per cent annually in 1950-1955 to 2.9 per cent in 1975-1979 (29, p. 19). The United Nations' estimate of national increase for Africa was 2.6 per cent per annum for the period 1965 to 1970. With this growth rate Africa is expected to double its population in twenty-seven years. Moss and Rathbone studied the effect population growth has on the age structure of Africa.

The relatively high levels of fertility and mortality, and the rapid population growth rate found in Africa have a profound effect on the age structure of the population. About 45 per cent of the population of Africa is under the age of 15, and about 13 per cent over the age of 45. Any acceleration of the rate of growth will tend to increase the proportion under 15, and populations with 50 per cent of their members under 15 are not unknown. Age distributions can also be distorted by migrations. Migrants, especially those seeking wage employment, tend to be young adult males; accordingly net immigration increases the male proportion of the population and also the proportion of the population in the active age groups whereas the areas from which the migrants are drawn have a below-normal proportion male, and also a below average proportion in the active age groups (16, p. 113).

With the expected improvement in health and reduction in mortality rates the rate of growth is going to increase if there is no sharp reduction in the birth rates. This projection, in fact, seems to have become a reality, since the Population Reference Bureau 1983 (22) estimated the population of Africa to be 513 million with a birth rate of 46 per thousand, a death rate of 16 per thousand and a rate of natural increase of 3.0 per cent per year.



As recently as the end of the 1970s, over 70 per cent of the African labor force was said to be engaged in agriculture. This must have decreased since the Population Reference Bureau estimate showed that 66 per cent of the African labor force was in agriculture in 1983. Urban population in Africa ranged from 5-10 per cent a year (21, p. 27). But the 1983 Population Reference Bureau (22) estimated 27 per cent.

Before the 1952/53 census, the Nigerian Department of Census and Statistics estimated the 1948-1949 population of Nigeria as 23,130,000 people. This population was distributed among the four major administrative units of the nation as shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV  
THE POPULATION OF NIGERIA 1948-1949 AND ITS FOUR  
MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Unit	Estimated Population	Estimated Density Per Square Mile
Northern Region (Kano)	13,500,000	50
Western Region (Yorubas)	4,000,000	90
Eastern Region (Ibo)	5,200,000	110
Colony	430,000	310
Total Nigeria	23,130,000	60

\*Source: K. M. Buchanan and J. C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria, London, University of London Press Ltd., 1955, p. 58.

There were three major nuclei of population: the Yoruba, Ibo and Kano areas which contained about two-fifths of Nigerian population and one-seventh of the total area of the nation. Each of these areas was identified with a key area in the nation's economic and cultural geography; the South West identified with the highly developed cocoa belt of the Western dry forest zone and with the heart of the Yoruba territory; the South Eastern coincided with the palm belt and the Ibo home zone; the Kano coincided with the major groundnut (peanuts) and cotton producing zone and represents the Hausa land.

In the late 1940s towns in Nigeria lacked the basic services and functions that constituted the urban areas of the West. The population was dominantly agricultural. The few exceptions at this period were centers, such as Lagos and Jos, which owe their development to European influences (2, p. 63).

In 1963, the Federation of Nigeria had an overall population density of about 40 persons per square kilometer, about five times that of Africa. There was very little statistical information about mean age at marriage and proportion of men and women marrying in Nigerian communities, but the general impression given by a perusal of a large number of African anthropological studies maintained that it was usual for girls to marry within a year or two of a puberty ceremonial and was quite rare for women of twenty

years of age and over never to have been married. This situation was particularly common in rural Nigeria (25, p. 33).

Although official plans have been outlined and private family planning activities have been conducted, Nigeria has not yet made any concerted commitment to curb its population growth. In 1974, the population growth rate of Nigeria was approximately 2.7 per cent per year; the birth rate was 49 per 1,000; and the death rate was 23 per thousand. It was estimated that the nation's population of 63 million would reach over 126 million by the turn of the century. The consequences of the increasing pressure of population on available resources have been evidenced by extensive soil erosion in some heavily populated rural areas, the general inability of public services to keep up with population growth, and high rates of unemployment and dependency. Between the 1960s and early 1970s the nation's abundance of national resources generated a common national feeling "that the country can easily absorb the expected population increase." Unfortunately, at this period high prices from petroleum of which Nigeria was a large producer, had strengthened this view. Although the 1970-1974 development plan called for the nation's integration of family planning into maternal and child health programs, little progress was achieved (21, p. 50). In 1983, the Population Reference Bureau estimated the population growth rate as 50 per 1,000

and the death rate to be 17 per 1,000. It was also estimated that the population of 84.2 million for 1983 would reach 148.2 million by the year 2000 (22).

The Nigerian gross domestic product (GDP) in 1950 was \$1,062,936,000 (£699,300,000; £1 = \$1.5267) and \$1,554,960,000 (£1,023,000,000; £1 = \$1.5267) in 1960, giving an average growth rate of about four per cent in a ten year period as indicated in Table V. Since the actual population is not

TABLE V  
NIGERIAN GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT, 1950-1960

Year	GDP £'s thousands	% change
1950	699.3	
1951	754.0	7.8
1952	809.3	7.3
1953	827.7	2.2
1954	892.8	7.9
1955	921.8	3.3
1956	903.5	-2.0
1957	938.7	3.9
1958	970.7	3.4
1959	982.7	1.8
1960	1023.8	3.6

Source: Victor P. Diejemach, Economic Development in Nigeria: Its Problems, Challenges, and Prospects, Princeton, New Jersey, Industrial Relation Section, Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 6.

known, the per capita income was a matter of guesswork. Official publications at this period estimated it to be about \$45.6 (£30; £1 = \$1.5267).

Manpower in Nigeria is complicated in that there are surpluses in some areas and shortages in others. In addition there are limited opportunities available for further education, especially in professional and technical areas and among the youths the opportunities for jobs are very slow in expanding to absorb them (4, p. 90). Statistics showed that the composite measure of the physical quality of life index of the nation was poor (33, p. 11).

#### Significance of the Problem

Nigeria is the most populated nation in Africa and its area ranks among the largest. The combination of her resources, both human and natural, have made Nigeria the leading nation in black Africa. If Nigeria is to maintain both domestic and African obligations, it must develop economically. Her failure to increase self-sustained economic growth will have adverse effects not only within the country, but also in other parts of the African continent and in the world in general.

Finally, this study will be of interest to Nigerians, particularly scholars in the fields of demography and economic planning, because it will give them the opportunity to explore the relationship between population and economic development of Nigeria for better future planning.

### Limitations

This study is not meant to be a comprehensive demographic study nor economic analysis of Nigeria. Rather it is an integrative socioeconomic description to elucidate the issue of rates of population growth as they affect the economic development.

Serious questions have been raised about the census data for many parts of the world. For example, in populations where there is a high rate of illiteracy, it is difficult to obtain information from much of the populace. In some nations, portions of the population live in remote and inaccessible areas. In such cases, part of the count may sometimes be based on aerial surveys. The data used in the study are often crude, unreliable or based on assumptions or estimates. Some nations do not publish the methods used in conducting their censuses. Nigeria has not been able to conduct an acceptable national census count since 1963. The lack of a census has been attributed to some selfishness, poor planning and organization, dishonesty and corruption of government officials. "Nobody knows how many Nigerians there are within the new democracy and therefore there is little information on other demographic structures" (33, p. 11).

The basic data available to the demographers interested in Nigeria do not in general include reliable statistics of birth and death registration for the Nigerian population.

A serious consideration has been given to a county-wide system of vital registration in Nigeria, and among all the regions, the Western sectors have been anxious to implement vital registration. In Nigeria, some of the cities and large towns register most of the births and deaths that take place within their territories, but the registration statistics obtained are nevertheless often of very limited value to the demographers in that some of the births and deaths which take place in the city or urban hospitals are to populations living outside the city territories. Due to lack of reliable statistics from vital registration, Nigeria has to rely heavily on data from census of population and sample surveys for the estimation of rates of fertility, mortality, population growth, etc. Up until the last national census in 1963, the Nigerian department of statistics lacked prestige and have been unable to attract an adequate supply of first class statisticians and demographers, because of lack of effective realization of strategic importance of demographic statistics in long-term economic and social planning. According to Smith and Blaecker (25, p. 10), "no satisfactory estimates of crude birth and death rates can be made from registration statistics unless both registration itself is reasonably complete and the vital events refer to a base population of known size living within definable geographical limits."

Lack of reliable data often make estimates of the size of Nigerian population inaccurate. Unavailability of some demographic and economic information is under the pretext of national security. These limitations have led academic research and studies to avoid the important questions of analyzing Nigerian society and its problems. Demographic and economic data are often limited or unreliable. When the estimates are traced through to past centuries, the shortage of reliable information grows more serious and the results tend to serve more as crude approximations, rather than as reliable estimates.

But in spite of such problems, the works of cautious research conducted by different knowledgeable scholars in the field of demography and economics can serve well as a background for the analysis of recent as well as future population and economic trends in Nigeria.



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## CHAPTER II

### DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND URBAN POPULATION GROWTH IN NIGERIA

#### Total Population and Growth Rate

Population counts were taken in Nigeria in 1931, 1952/53, and 1962/63. According to the 1931 census, the nation's total population was 19.56 million people. In 1952/53 the figure increased to 30.42 million, indicating an average annual increase of about 2.0 per cent. The 1963 census recorded the population at 55.7 million people indicating a growth rate of 6.0 per cent between 1952/53 and 1963 (2, p. 4). This figure (growth rate of 6%) was accepted with some reservation. According to Lucas (7, p. 3), a more realistic estimate of 2.5 per cent for the growth rate was given by the Federal Office of Statistics. Diejomoah (1, p. 5) has pointed out that the 1951-1959 growth rate was 3.5 per cent per annum, although registration for 1955-1959 suggested 3.7 per cent per annum. However, when these figures are compared with the 1.8 per cent for Africa and those of other developing nations, the annual growth rate for Nigeria may be between 3.0 per cent to 3.4 per cent per annum.

Monsted and Walji (8, p. 35) estimated the population of Nigeria for 1981 at 79,682,000. The World Bank (13,

pp. 68, 72), on the other hand, estimated it to 80.6 million people, with a growth rate of 2.5 per cent per annum.

According to the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Summary--Recent Demographic Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World (11, p. 28), the population of Nigeria between 1950-1979 increased from 33,270,000 to 74,595,000 million people. The Population Reference Bureau (10) estimated the 1983 population at 84.2 million, with a growth rate of 3.3 per cent.

A recent book on The Political Economy of Nigeria, edited by William Zartman (14, p. 11), indicates that the population of Nigeria was recorded at 87.5 million people in 1981, one-fifth of the people of the African Continent. Participation in the 1979 elections suggested a population of 100 million people. This figure nearly doubled the population figure of 1962/63 census. He maintained that the population growth has shown very little change over the past two decades, increasing at a steady rate of 2.5 per cent.

#### Fertility Rates

Nigeria has been characterized by many demographers as a nation with a young population; women who produce an average of six children during their reproductive years, with a gross reproduction rate of 2.7 per cent, and with women of high fertility relative to the rest of the world.

Most of the girls marry at the age of 15 and at the age of 25 almost all rural girls are married (12, p. 23). The 1952/53 census reported the fertility rates for Nigeria at 6.5 (2, p. 176). The data for 1965-1966 Rural Demographic Sample Survey indicated that the mean age at first marriage among Nigerians was about 26 years for males and 18 years for females. Twenty-eight per cent of women aged 15-19 were single, with only one per cent never marrying. Polygamy was commonly practiced both in rural and urban areas (7, p. 3). According to the World Bank (13, p. 72), and Population Reference Bureau, the Nigerian fertility rate between 1978-1983 was 6.9.

Haub (5, p. 11) estimated Nigerian population at 84 million people, a nation that could grow to over 400 million in population. Recent data from the Nigerian World Fertility Survey conducted in 1981-82 gave a detailed look at the Nigerian fertility behavior, but is yet to be published. Presently Nigeria has an estimated birth rate of about 52 births per 1,000 population and according to the report, one of the higher rates among the developing nations. Life expectancy at present is estimated to be about 50 years. The World Fertility Survey (WFS) has shown that Nigeria is included among the nations with "high unrestricted fertility and high infant/child mortality." A total fertility rate of 5.7 lifetime births per woman was estimated from the survey. The total fertility rate of 5.7 seems questionable

when we examine the birth rate at 52 per thousand mentioned above and also the estimate of the United Nation Population Division, which estimated seven children per woman. However, a problem of lack of recall of the respondents on the number of children they may have had was suggested to be the reason for the lower figure reported by the survey.

The findings of this survey indicated some complexity in the relationship between fertility and education; while lack of schooling is associated with high fertility among younger women, women in the 25-50 age group with primary or middle school education had more children than their counterparts with no school education. This indicates a postponement of reality among educated Nigerians. Among the recently married women, education mattered little. The reason for this may be that they want to prove to the family in which they are married that they are not infertile and want to solidify their position in the family. Education has a strong influence on the age at first marriage. For example, in the 20-24 age group, only 4 per cent of the women with no school had never married, while 63 per cent of those with secondary education had not yet married. Place of residence also had an influence in the median age at first marriage: 16.2 years in rural areas and 18.1 years in urban areas. Only 14 per cent of the women reported they had never used modern methods of contraception. Use of a method did not increase significantly with the number of surviving children.

In general, the women preferred a large family. The study indicated that fertility is likely to remain high in Nigeria. The mortality rate is declining but still considered moderately high by international standards.

#### Crude Birth and Death Rates

The current mortality state in the nation is often based upon a few surveys and vital registration system, which are often restricted to Lagos. The United Nations published some statistics on the infant mortality rate and crude death rate for Lagos between the period 1950 and 1956. Both rates decreased with infant mortality rate fluctuating more than the crude death rate (2, p. 109).

Among the factors that minimize the need for high fertility was the recent improvement of health service. The 1952/53 census recorded the crude birth rate for Nigeria between 53 and 57 per 1,000 (2, p. 102). The summary of results of Demographic Sample Surveys in rural Nigeria in 1965/66 showed that the birth rate was about to double that of the death rate with a national increase of about 2.3 per cent per annum (12, p. 22). According to Lucas (7, pp. 3-4) the Federal Office of Statistics estimated the crude birth rate to be 50.2 per 1,000 for rural Nigeria; the mortality rate to be 20.9 per 1,000. The birth and death rates for the urban areas were estimated to be 48.7 per 1,000 and 10.3 per 1,000 respectively. Between 1970/75



the crude birth rate was estimated at 49.7 per 1,000 and in 1981 at 47-51 per 1,000 (8, pp. 35, 106). In 1978 the U. S. Bureau of the Census (11, p. 28) estimated the crude birth rate at 49-51 per 1,000 and the death rate at 17-20 per 1,000. On the other hand, the World Bank (13, p. 72) estimated the crude birth rate for 1960 and 1978 at 52 and 50 per 1,000 respectively, crude death rate for 1960 and 1978 at 25 and 18 per 1,000 respectively. The estimates for crude birth rate and crude death rate for 1983 were 50 and 17 per 1,000 respectively (10).

We may conclude that there has been some decrease in the death rate in Nigeria, probably based upon improved medical facilities. Crude birth rate, on the other hand, has been steady, especially since the mid 1960s. The reasons for this may be attributed to the people's expectations and the public attitudes towards family planning which will be discussed later in this study.

#### Migration and Urbanization

By medieval times trading centers existed in Northern Nigeria, which had trading links with North Africa and Europe. In Western Nigeria urban life has been traced back to the tenth century A.D. The towns served as bases for centers of artisan industry and trade. During tribal wars, the urban population grew rapidly through the influx of the agricultural population seeking protection in the towns.

This influx of rural population to urban areas continued as the economic development of Nigeria progressed.

In 1952, the largest town was Ibadan with a population of 460,206 and a population growth rate of about 2.1 per cent per year (4, p. 5). In the South Eastern part of Nigeria, the villages were small and there was no trace of urbanization before the Europeans came.

During the second World War, the rate of development in Nigeria increased rapidly, especially in the federal capital at Lagos. The average annual increase in population in Lagos between the censuses of 1921 and 1952 was 3.3 per cent, while the corresponding figure for the nation was 1.8 per cent. Most of the in-migration to Lagos took place in the years following the 1952 census. The natural increase of population in Ibadan and Lagos was higher than the national average because of access to better medical help than in rural areas. The characteristic migration patterns during the 1950s showed that people of the areas of high income dominated those from poorer areas. The movements were usually from the South toward the North. Although, the Western region was an exception to this national pattern, in that the dominant movements were towards the new cocoa-producing areas instead. The Lagos area was the center of attraction for migration from the periphery towards the center. There was a sharp increased population growth in the majority of other Nigerian urban communities

between 1952 and 1963. The importance of the migration streams of this period was that Lagos outstripped Ibadan-- "the world's largest village"--to become the largest town in Nigeria (3, pp. 208-210). As Nigerian population increased, the migration from the villages to the towns increased even higher. For example, within a period of a decade, the population of Lagos increased from 267,407 to 665,246 with a growth rate of 8.6 per cent per annum, while its metropolitan complex with a population of 1,087,868 and a growth rate of 11.5 per cent per annum (4, p. 6). This growth in population was mainly due to in-migration rather than natural increase. For example, it was estimated that 500,000 migrants came from the Western, 100,000 from the Eastern, 25,000 from the Mid-Western and 5,000 from the Northern regions (3, p. 210). Between 1952 and 1963, Lagos has experienced what Green and Milone called "Urban revolution."

In 1967 the Regional Planning Department of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Ibadan, prepared demographic estimates of important regions, using sample surveys. It was found that these urban regions increased in population because of the flight of the Ibos from the Northern region and the concentration of population which occurred as the Federal troops moved into Biafra. Other factors that encouraged urbanization during this period included industrial development and the

expansion of commerce and communication. Some state capitals had very marked industrial growth and received further economic stimulation through the extension of the administrative control (3, p. 211).

About 90 per cent of the population of Nigeria lived in rural areas in 1953 as compared with 85 per cent in 1963. The proportion of Nigerian population living in urban areas increased steadily between 1921 and 1953, but the increase during the 1953/63 period was rather remarkable. In Nigeria, 19.2 per cent of the population lived in urban areas in 1963. The urban population between 1953 and 1963 increased by about 245 per cent. In 1953, there were seven Nigerian towns with more than 100,000 population as compared to twenty-four with 4,908,289 in 1963 (2, pp. 57-64).

In a study conducted to determine some of the socio-economic and demographic correlates of the mass movement of the rural dwellers to the urban centers, Olusanya (9, pp. 119-131) pointed out that three main types of migration exist in Nigeria: rural-rural, urban-urban and rural-urban. Of these three, rural-urban was the most common and important. He found that young adults tend to migrate more than old adults, that educated people migrate more than uneducated people and males tend to migrate more than females. He argued that although the economic factor of poverty acts as a "push" from the rural situation, that the attraction of urban life was equally an important determining factor for

the people to move to urban areas. Ekanem (2, p. 112), on the other hand, classified the migratory movements in Nigeria into two main categories: (1) internal and (2) external. The internal migrations comprise the bulk of the population movements in the nation. That is to say that there is a great deal of internal migration which is partly due to the pressure of over-populated rural areas, the growing need for money, goods and services, and the attractions of urban life.

According to Lucas and others, the contribution of non-Nigerians in the population growth has been negligible. Lucas further pointed out that many Nigerians have migrated to other West African nations and to other parts of the world (7, p. 4).

In general, people move from density areas of more than 150 persons per square kilometer. In addition, seasonal movements of laborers occur, especially from rural areas of less economic progress to more advanced places with better economic progress.

From 1960-1983 the urban population increased from 13 per cent to 20 per cent and its growth rate from 1960-1980 increased from 4.7 per cent to 4.9 per cent respectively. The percentage urban population living in cities of over 500,000 persons for 1960 and 1980 was 22 per cent and 57 per cent. The number of cities of over 500,000 persons for 1960 and 1980 was two and nine (12, p. 76). According to Kurian (6, p. 1,082) there were at least twenty-four

cities with populations that exceeded 100,000 as of 1978 and Nigeria ranks the seventh most urbanized in Africa and 94th in the world.

In the Western world, urbanization had the effect of raising the living standard and introducing modernization to the people. This relationship has been questioned in developing nations like Nigeria. According to Endsjo (3, p. 215), "while urbanization in the western world occurred as a result of industrial growth and the expansion of urban activities, in Nigeria urbanization is occurring before industrialization."

#### Age-Sex Structure

One of the obstacles to the ability of Nigerians to save, invest and increase the national output is the age structure of her population. Statistics have indicated that a considerable proportion of the Nigerian population in 1952/53 was made up of children below the age of 15, about 40.2 per cent of the total population as indicated in Table VI. The increase and decrease of this proportion varied when examined from the Federal, Regional or Provincial levels. Persons between the ages of 15 and 60 years formed just a little over half the total population (1, p. 78). In 1963, 43 per cent of Nigerian population was recorded to be under 15 years of age, and 2 per cent was 65 years or older. The resulting dependency ratio

TABLE VI

AGE COMPOSITION OF NIGERIAN POPULATION CONTRASTED  
WITH THAT OF SOME OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

	Census Date	Percentage of Total Population Aged:		
		Under 15	15-59	60 and over
NIGERIA	1952-53	40.2	53.9	4.9
Ghana	1948	33.7	61.4	4.9
Gambia	1959	31.2	59.9	8.9
Ivory Coast	1958	44.9	51.1	4.0
Sudan	1956	46.6	49.8	3.5

Source: Diejomaoh, Victor P., Economic Development in Nigeria: Its Problems, Challenges, and Prospects, Princeton, New Jersey, Industrial Relation Section, Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 79.

was recorded at 818 dependents per 1,000 active population. As indicated in the population pyramid (see Figure 4), the age distribution reveals a heavy concentration between ages 15 and 30 with a substantial heaping at ages 20, 25 and 30. A study was done to compare the reported age distribution with that of a "suitable stable model" and it was found that the male population was understated between ages 0-4, 10-19, 35-39 and 45 and over; the female population between 10-19 and 35 and over. Age-heaping around the age of 20 was found to be very common in the age structure (7, p. 4). If we assume life expectancy of 49 years (10) and the active production age to be between 15 and 60 (1, p. 78), less than half the population will have to support the rest of the

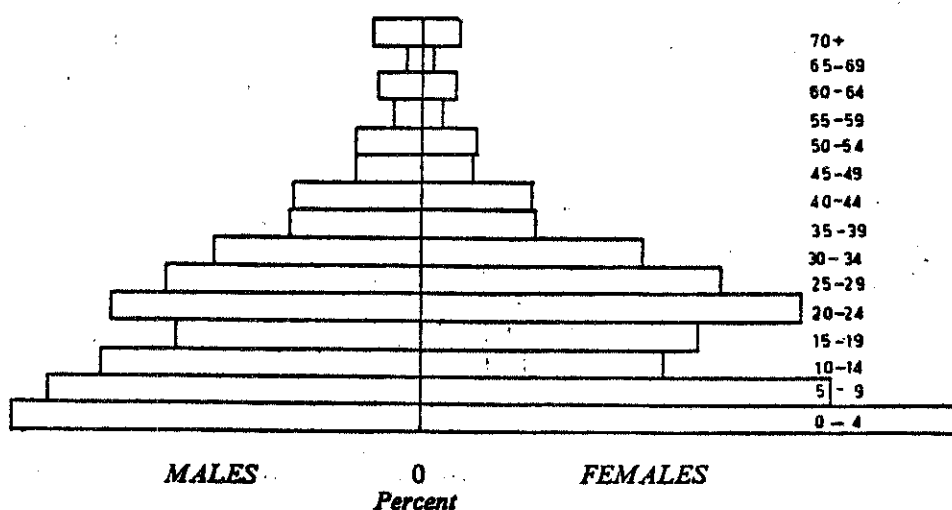


Fig. 4--Population pyramid of the reported population of Nigeria, 1963.

Source: Ekanem, I. I., The 1963 Nigerian Census: A Critical Appraisal, Benin City, Nigeria, Ethiope Publishing Corporation, 1972, p. 185.

people, including themselves. If we consider the sources of income of those in active ages, the burden cannot be easily overlooked.

Although in the early 1950s half the population of Nigeria was under 17 years of age, by the end of the 1970s half the population had been born under Nigerian independence. Such age structure, according to Zartman and his associates (14, p. 11), promised a large working population for the future. However, there are many questions. What are the costs of this rapid population growth on the nation's social, economic and political progress? How are these young children to be educated, trained to become useful and productive citizens of Nigeria?



## Investment

The growth of private consumption has been very slow, decreasing in its contribution to the overall gross domestic product (GDP). For example, in the 1960s the private consumption contributed 82 per cent of the gross domestic product, whereas in the 1970s it dropped to 58 per cent. Government consumption grew much more rapidly than private consumption.

There was an increase in investment during 1950/70 at the rate of 11 per cent; between 1973/77 this rate increased to 30.1 per cent. These trends indicate evidence of development efforts by Nigeria, but unfortunately the investment for consumption far exceeded the human capital adjustment and the effective productive investment was drastically reduced by population pressure, waste, and corruption within the Nigerian society.

All things considered, the intensity of Nigerian development effort is moderate. On the one hand, a gross domestic investment of 31 per cent is certainly substantial. It significantly exceeded the 23 per cent rate of the industrial market economies as a group. On the other hand, Nigerian investment is about equal to that of the rest of the group of countries in which the World Bank placed Nigeria (the oil exporting, mid-income developing countries). A significant portion of that investment has not been productive (14, p. 14).

While a normal development pattern seems to unfold in some sectors, there are additional structural changes that should be noted. For example, between 1972-1977, the

construction, administrative and military sectors at least doubled in their growth rates, while the agricultural sector decreased half of its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1960 agriculture provided 81 per cent of the export receipts and in 1977 it produced only 6 per cent (14, p. 14). In the light of all these problems, the government initiated the "Operation Feed the Nation" and the Green Revolution as means to increase agricultural productivity. Unfortunately the program was a failure.

For the population as a whole, the Nigerian education institutions are not outstanding even by African standards. In 1964 Nigeria ranked twenty-ninth position in Africa by educational enrollment, with 5 per cent of the population in primary school, nineteenth position in secondary education with less than .5 per cent of the population enrolled, and fifteenth position in higher education. In 1970, 34 per cent of the primary age group was in school, 4 per cent of the secondary school age group and less than .5 per cent of the higher education age group. A decade later, these percentages doubled. By 1982, there were twenty-two universities with 77,000 students (14, p. 10). Despite these increases, it was found that universal primary education in Nigeria still lags behind. Not only are the figures relatively low by African standards, they indicate some serious imbalances. For example, in the Southern Nigerian school,

enrollments at all levels are fairly encouraging, but in the northern states it is far below average.

#### Conclusion

The population growth rate of Nigeria seems fairly constant, at least for the past two decades, but the total population is still increasing. The fertility rate is high both by African and world standards. The preferences are in favor of large families irrespective of socio-economic status. The crude death rate (CDR) for Nigeria has been declining, probably due to better medical facilities, while the crude birth rate has been constant or slightly increasing.

The geographical distribution of industries in Nigeria is limited to a few concentrated Metropolitan areas. As a result, the cities where most industries, commerce and administration are concentrated have physically, administratively and socially failed to maintain a sound economic development and high standards of living. The proportion of dependent population is still very high and is reflected in the employment situation, the proportion of population economically active, and the rate of human and capital investment in the nation. Nigeria has more willing and able investors than she realizes, but little or no attention has been given to the private sector. Nigeria is yet to realize the importance of the private sector to economic development and growth of a society.

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## CHAPTER III

### POPULATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

#### Sources of Revenue and Manpower

The year 1945 marked the beginning of modern economic revolution in Nigeria which was associated with the growing feeling of pride and nationalism, improvement in educational facilities, increases in the number of Nigerians educated outside the country, particularly in the United States and Britain, and the emergence of newly educated Nigerians who advocated and took part in both the political and economic reformation of the nation. Under the constitution of Nigeria, the Federal government of Nigeria was given exclusive jurisdiction over a variety of services including the aviation, census, customs, defense, finance, immigration, and international commerce. Jurisdiction was shared between the Federal government and Regional governments on bankruptcy, electricity, industrial development, insurance, labor, registration, scientific and industrial research, statistics and water power (4, p. 3).

Agriculture was the most important sector of the Nigerian economy in the 1950s. According to the 1952/53 census, 78 per cent of the working population was engaged in agriculture. Between 1952 and 1957 it was estimated

that the value of foodstuffs produced in Nigeria for local consumption exceeded the value for export crops. There was no problem of food production in Nigeria during that period. Areas with surplus food were able to supply areas with less food supply (5, p. 280). The major agricultural developments in Nigeria were concentrated in export production, but the production of locally consumed food produce continued to expand. As the number of educated Nigerians increased and less land became available for cultivation, agricultural production began to decline. By the end of 1963, the 78 per cent of the working population in agriculture decreased to 71 per cent (4, p. 8).

The 1963 census recorded 18.3 million in the labor force, 13.9 million of which were males. Fifty-five per cent of those who gained employment were farmers and fishermen and 15 per cent were sales workers. Approximately 978,880 females were said to be in primary occupations (farming and fishing) compared to five million in 1952-1953. The 1966-1967 labor force estimate indicated that 80 per cent of the men who gained employment and 62 per cent of the females were engaged in agriculture, while 64 per cent were self-employed and 30 per cent of the self-employed were unpaid family workers. In 1970 it was estimated that 17 million of the 24 million who gained employment were employed in agriculture. According to Lucas, the decrease in the share of agricultural employment is expected to continue (8, pp.

5-6). The 1983 estimate indicates that about 66 per cent of the labor force is engaged in agriculture, with farming accounting for only 25 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). About 80 per cent of all agricultural production was for local consumption (6, p. 191).

Between 1945 and 1950 most Nigerians were against the idea of financing any economic or social development projects with foreign loans. Reliance on foreign capital and foreign investors was incompatible with political independence, but the need to encourage foreign investors was realized in 1952 after the British government introduced "responsible government" and indigenous politicians began to take active part in the administration of the government. In 1956/57 manufacturing and craft industries contributed only 1.75 per cent of the nation's gross domestic product. In 1963 about thirty manufacturing plants went into operation compared with fifteen in 1962.

Petroleum is the most important resource. Its exploration first started in 1937 with the first shipment in 1958. Its sales in 1958 totaled \$1.5267 million; in 1962 the sales rose to \$25.80123 million (4, p. 10). The biggest single change in the economy at this period was the rapid increase in the volume of manufacturing. Rubber processing had the largest increase followed by bakeries and textiles. The increase in the number of educated Nigerians provided the industries with trained personnel and others that could be



trained on the job to manage the industries (5, pp. 311-312).

With decreased agricultural productivity, manufacturing began to suffer from the lack of raw materials. Confusion in the implementation of an import policy created the problem of spare parts for the existing industries. Banks were no longer able to give loans as they reached their lending limits (9, p. 8). Between June, 1980, and June, 1981, manufacturing contributed about 32.5 per cent of the economy (10, p. 6).

The principal export commodities of Nigeria include cocoa, groundnuts, groundnut oil, palm kernels, petroleum, natural rubber, raw cotton, palm oil, and tin metal. The major imports are mostly mineral fuels, animal and vegetable oils, chemicals, manufactured goods, machinery and transport equipment. The worldwide shortage of raw materials immediately after World War II resulted in a great increase in export for Nigeria. Consequently the value of the total domestic exports increased from £23.7 million (\$36.2 m) in 1946 to £165.6 million (\$252.8 m) in 1960 (£1 = \$1.5267). The total import values in 1946-1960 increased from \$30.2 million to \$239.6 million respectively (5, pp. 225-226). Both indigenous and foreign private business establishments increased in number. The volume of foreign trade traffic to Nigeria also increased. Generally, communication systems within the nation improved. The number of workers in different departments increased over the years.

In 1946, customs and excise contributed about 43 per cent of the total revenue; from 1955-1960 it increased from 51 per cent to 73 per cent respectively. Within this period both import and export duties doubled. These increases might have been due to the high prices paid in world markets for Nigerian products immediately after World War II. The government's policy to curb the flow of purchasing power was to avoid inflation and to raise the much needed revenue for economic development by restricting importation. There were import restrictions in the mid 1950s, probably related to the trade deficit Nigeria experienced at that time. It was not until the early 1960s that the government allowed the importation of all goods except gold, coal, and second hand clothing. By the end of 1960 all restrictions were lifted except for goods from East European nations. All goods were prohibited from export unless covered by an export license. The value of total foreign trade increased from \$67.8 million in 1946 to \$588.7 million in 1960 (5, pp. 328-329). The reason for the increase in foreign trade at this period seems related to the import policy Nigeria had adopted.

In 1973 exports constituted 31.5 per cent of the gross domestic products and imports 17.4 per cent. In 1976 the foreign commerce of Nigeria consisted of exports of \$10.6 billion and imports of 8.2 billion with a favorable balance of trade of 2.4 billion (7, p. 1,090). Trade with the

United States which had a very significant contribution to Nigerian economic growth has fallen in the recent years. According to West African magazine (12, p. 1,466) the trade between the two nations declined by 46 per cent and Nigeria dropped from second to third largest supplier of oil to the United States.

Another source of revenue includes colonial development and welfare grants. Foreign government provides financial aid for specific social and economic development, such as research and survey, agriculture, communication, education, community development, etc. In addition, there were other development institutions that contributed to the economic development of Nigeria. For example, between 1955 and 1960 United African Company (UAC) spent well over \$40 million on commercial, agriculture and transport projects in Nigeria. This resulted in an increase of 4 per cent in total production. The illustration for this increase is shown in Table VII. Virtually all the sectors of the economy developed to some extent. There was also some significant progress in the private sector. The expenditure by the colonial development and welfare schemes before Nigeria ceased to receive grants under the colonial development and welfare acts in 1957 was approximately \$545,700,000 million (5, p. 241).

The development of primary education in Nigeria did not begin until after World War II. In 1955 the secondary

TABLE VII

## GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT 1957 PRICES FOR FISCAL YEARS 1950-60 (£ million)

Activity	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Agriculture (including land development)	385.8	423.2	438.7	454.2	479.5	492.1	468.0	479.6	542.2	526.2	549.4
Livestock	60.1	57.7	52.5	53.5	55.7	56.5	57.6	57.7	52.3	58.7	61.0
Fishing	9.7	9.8	9.9	10.0	10.3	10.3	12.6	13.3	15.0	15.0	15.0
Forest products	9.4	12.0	10.1	11.9	12.3	13.4	13.6	14.6	10.4	13.1	14.6
Mining (including oil exploration)	7.6	7.6	7.9	7.9	8.1	9.0	9.6	9.4	7.0	6.6	8.4
Manufacturing and public utilities	3.9	4.0	5.8	6.3	7.9	8.7	12.0	13.1	25.4	30.6	36.1
Communications	2.7	2.7	3.0	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.6	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.2
Building and civil engineering	20.3	25.4	19.4	25.9	37.8	38.3	36.5	43.0	22.9	32.1	33.3
Ownership of buildings	8.9	9.1	9.2	9.4	9.4	9.7	9.8	10.3	7.9	8.6	9.3
Transport	28.6	34.0	35.3	45.4	50.9	60.2	65.1	74.6	29.1	32.3	37.3
Crafts	15.8	15.9	16.0	16.1	16.2	16.4	16.5	16.7	20.4	20.4	20.4
Missions	6.9	7.0	7.6	7.8	8.7	11.4	12.7	15.9	18.1	21.6	23.3
Government	15.0	16.4	19.9	16.5	17.6	23.4	28.7	30.5	29.1	36.3	35.0
Marketing boards	41.0	10.5	28.0	28.8	42.7	25.0	44.9	11.7	0.7	11.6	5.8
Banking, insurance and the professions	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.5	3.1	3.7	3.7
Domestic services	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.7	5.5	3.7	3.9	4.0
Miscellaneous services	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.1	3.7
Distribution, residual error, etc.	66.2	99.5	123.4	107.5	104.7	109.8	73.7	106.5	108.0	112.6	117.8
Gross domestic product at factor cost	688.7	741.4	793.5	811.6	872.1	895.2	873.7	910.0	900.0	938.5	981.3

Source: Ekundare, O.R., An Economic History of Nigeria: 1860 - 1960, N.Y.; Africana Publishing Co., 1973. p. 251.

modern school was established. In 1960 the first university was built in Nigeria. The development of technical education was slow compared with other branches of the educational institutions in Nigeria. Since 1960 there has been considerable increase in the level of education in the nation, partly because of high demand for education by the youths. The enrollment in secondary education increased from 12,000 in 1958 to 30,000 in 1970. By 1970 Nigeria had a total of twelve universities with a total enrollment of more than 23,000. Emphasis was placed on technical education. There were 156 teacher-training colleges with a total enrollment of 47,590, with about seventy-four proposed new ones to be built in the 1980s. The national teacher-pupil ratios were 1:34 in primary schools, 1:25 in secondary schools, and 1:6 in post-secondary schools. In 1973 about 69.8 per cent of the total national expenditure was on education. This amount accounted for 4 per cent of the gross national product, approximately 24.2 per cent of the national budget (7, p. 1,092).

As mentioned earlier in this study the manpower in Nigeria is complicated. Unemployment among uneducated people has been a source of instability in the nation. The few who are educated often have risen or given support to opportunistic leaders. Secondly, the uneducated and unemployed have been burdens to the national economy. Economic development is either moving too slowly or

available manpower is poorly distributed. Between 1952-53 there was a tight labor situation because the occupied male labor force was larger than the potential labor force, while on the other hand the female labor force was smaller than the potential female labor force. For the males it was suggested that those below the legal working age were included in the labor force while for the females, the difference was probably composed of housewives. The bulk of the Nigerian working population at this period was engaged in agriculture, approximately 47.7 per cent of the total population. Apart from agriculture the most usual job among the women was trading. The majority of the population was self-employed and non-wage earning. Few educated people were engaged in government and local government jobs (5, p. 360). In 1959 the Federal government appointed a commission to study manpower needs of the nation. The commission suggested that the greatest shortage was in the senior category (university graduates, professionals, technicians). Nigeria lacked skilled businessmen--entrepreneurs. The commission, therefore, concluded that the most single contributor to the imbalance in the supply situation was due to the shortcomings of the educational system. In 1961, 261,000 youths were estimated to have finished primary education, but only 50,000 vacancies were available for secondary education (4, p. 90). The economically active

population for the 1970s was estimated to be 22.5 million of which 8.7 million were women.

In 1974, 10,194 Nigerian students were enrolled in institutions of higher learning overseas, out of which 7,210 were in the United States, 1,131 in the United Kingdom, 472 in Canada, 487 in West Germany, 115 in France, 101 in Hungary and 65 in the Vatican. In 1981 about 25,000-30,000 Nigerians are said to be studying in the United States alone (11, p. 7).

We cannot talk of manpower structure in Nigeria without mentioning its relationship with the population situation. It has been documented that the high fertility rate and the declining mortality rate result in a large proportion of the population being concentrated in the younger ages. The most pressing aspect is that Nigerians are faced with the problem of providing education and creating jobs for this large number of children. The average income of Nigerians is relatively low. The majority of parents cannot afford to educate their children. It is true that "free primary education" was introduced in Nigeria, but because of the heavy cost of primary education, the government was unable to provide free secondary education. Since most parents could not afford to send their children to secondary schools, a large number of young adults entered the labor force unprepared to take up any skillful jobs.

### Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP)

There was a significant increase in the contribution of manufacturing, mining and oil exploration to the Nigerian gross domestic product between the periods 1950-1960. As a result the total GDP increased from £688.7 million (\$105:1 m) to £981.3 million (\$ 149.841 m) (£1 = \$ 1.5267) (5, p. 311). The economies of the post-independence period to 1972 was dominated by the First and Second National Development Plans of 1962-68 and 1970-74 respectively. The overall performance of the national economy during the planning period as shown in the changes in GDP was as follows: the growth rate was 6.7 per cent in 1963-04, only 3.8 per cent in 1964-66, rose to 5.7 per cent in 1965-66 and fell to 4.2 per cent in 1966-67. In 1970-71 and 1971-72 the GDP rose again from 4.7 per cent to 6.3 per cent respectively. Between 1974 and 1976 Nigeria's GDP was growing at the rate of 8 per cent per annum, but between 1978 and 1979, this growth slowed down to 2 per cent when the national spending outstripped the oil revenue (10, p. 4).

Agriculture occupied the dominant position and accounted for about 65 per cent of the GDP in 1962-63 and 63 per cent in 1966-67. Its contribution to GDP fell from 53.8 per cent in 1966-67 to 41.6 per cent in 1971-72, in contrast to manufacturing and mining (5, p. 394). During 1970-73 agriculture contributed 36 per cent of the GDP, 7 per cent of



the export earnings with annual growth rate of -2.0 per cent (7, p. 1,088). In 1983 agriculture was estimated to have employed 66 per cent of the population (6, p. 191). In spite of the decline in agriculture it still remains critical to the nation's economy. The per capita income in agriculture is considerably low compared to non-agricultural sectors. The decline in the GDP growth rate was mostly marked in agriculture, education and health. The most single factor for this decline was the high demand on these departments. The share of industry in the GDP increased from 5.3 per cent in 1963-64 to 7 per cent in 1966-67. Mining was identified to be the fastest growing sector. Its contribution to the GDP rose from 1.9 percent in 1962-63 to 3.4 per cent in 1966-67. In 1971-72 it accounts for about one-half the GDP growth (8, p. 5). Another large and important part of the GDP growth was the oil production, which earned the most revenue for the nation. Sectoral breakdown of aggregate growth rate indicated that the oil industry accounted for almost half of the estimated growth of the GDP.

Records indicate that the gross national product (GNP) for Nigeria is consistently lower than the GDP. Some people have suggested the reason to be the net factor payments Nigeria made to other nations. According to Adedeji (1, p. 36), Nigeria is among the nations with the lowest gross national product in the world. In 1982 Nigeria spent over \$3.66 million on importation of food alone (12, p. 1,465).

The Federal Ministry of Finance has released statistics that show Nigeria's external debts at \$15.6 billion at the end of March 1983. The statistics also indicate that there has been a sharp increase in debts since 1979 (13, p. 1,518).

#### Population and Income Distribution

The income effects of the differences in the rates of population growth between the developed and less developed nations indicate that rate of population growth is generally inversely related to the rates of the growth of the real GDP. It also indicates that while the annual investment rate and the growth of gross domestic product are closely related between the two groups (developed and less developed nations), the rates of population growth and hence of the income per capita are far below. Nigeria, with an increasing rate of gross domestic product of about 4.5 per cent per year, was increasing its annual income per head by only 2.2 per cent. An argument was presented that if Nigeria continues with its present population trends, that it would double her per capita income after 33 years and her population three years later (2, p. 565).

We would better understand inequality in Nigeria in terms of interregional, interstate, intersectoral and household income. The 1950/51 regional gross domestic product per capita showed a higher figure for the West than for the North or East. While the disparities between the states

have narrowed in some areas, there remain others with significant disparities. For example, Lagos has continued to expand its share of national industrial output, while the northern states still lag behind in education. Wealth in Nigeria seems to be concentrated more in the South West, where most of the nation's oil is produced. A Nigerian study indicates that there is a strong relationship between occupation and education. In Nigeria power and status do not usually rest on private economic resources, rather the control of institutions of state is very essential for the elite. The very low priority given to education of females in Nigeria has been argued to be responsible for the very low income status for the women participating in the labor force. Some studies even suggested that poorly educated and low income women contribute to the procreation of poorly educated and low income population.

A social stratification system exists, although not many are aware of class distinctions. Some cross-national studies on income inequality in Nigeria indicate that the richest 5 per cent account for over 38 per cent of the income, while the poorest 20 per cent account for 7 per cent of the income. Others have recorded that the poorest 34 per cent account for 7 per cent of the income. All the studies conclude that the degree of inequality in Nigeria has been widening. While skilled workers earn about three

times more than unskilled, the average earnings of those who completed primary education are approximately 1.7 times higher than those who have no education. Those in the secondary education group earn 1.6 times higher than the primary education group with 2.7 times higher than those who had no education. The university graduates earn twelve times as much as the illiterates and approximately 4.5 times that of those in the secondary education group. Income differentials in Nigeria are very skewed among self-employed, but studies indicate that they make up the lowest income group in the urban sector. The ratio of the productivity differential between the agricultural and nonagricultural sector rose from two in 1960 to five in 1975/76 (3, pp. 1-10).

#### Conclusion

The Nigerian economy is still dominated by petroleum and agriculture. Although petroleum contributes more to the national gross product than agriculture, agriculture offers more employment. The changes that took place between 1960 and 1983 in the Nigerian economy are worth noting. The population of the nation increased from 55 million in 1963 to an estimated 104 million in 1983. Increase in population has some economic implications. The active labor force increased. Within this potential labor force group is a large number of persons who left school, a great proportion of whom were unemployed. These people had to

be fed and maintained along with the rest of the population. Expansion of the education system meant that more children were to be in school. Most of these children, who in the past provided agricultural labor, were no longer available. On finishing their education they completely "lost touch with farming." The attraction of better jobs and better living in the cities marked a big drift of these young people from the rural areas to urban areas--a phenomenon that put a huge strain on food supply in Nigeria. Nigeria imports a large amount of processed food from overseas, much of which comes from the United States. Nigeria was recognized to export a great deal of palm products and was once the world's greatest exporter of groundnuts (peanuts), but today she imports all of those products. While agricultural output was progressing at the rate of 1 per cent per annum, the population was growing at the rate of 3.5 per annum. One of the outstanding results of increasing population in Nigeria is the decrease in the availability of lands and the period in which farm lands were allowed to lie fallow.

The skilled labor supply in Nigeria is not encouraging; managers are not trained in technical matters, the infrastructure is inadequate, distribution and marketing facilities need great improvement, sufficient financing facilities are not available to developers. Education, health, and other social services have consumed a large portion of the government funds and still need immediate attention.

Nigeria is faced with the problem of building a diversified economy that would provide a livelihood for her rapidly growing population. Lack of progress in agriculture and decline in oil profits had contributed to political unrest in Nigeria. In addition, continuous constitutional changes have created the problem of revenue allocation and Nigeria needs more capital investments than she can afford, especially in social and economic development projects.

The recession that took place in Nigeria was not only due to low oil and agricultural production and population pressure, but the worldwide conservation on oil consumption, and the increasing world oil production. These caused the demand for Nigerian crude oil to fall, thereby forcing the government to reduce spending on most of her major projects. She also suspended some of her investment plans and restricted importation. These actions drastically affected both domestic and foreign investors. In spite of all these problems, Nigeria still represents a dynamic society with a large population that offers potential opportunities to foreign and domestic investors. But poor organization and mismanagement by government officials seems to suppress fulfillment of these opportunities.

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## CHAPTER IV

### SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE CURRENT POPULATION GROWTH IN NIGERIA

#### Population Pressure

Nigeria became concerned with the economic development of her people during the early 1950s with the awareness of urban problems. Hoselitz (7, p. 44) defined "over-urbanization" as follows: (1) when urbanization is ahead of industrialization and the administrative and other service occupations are concentrated in cities, (2) when there is a great disproportion between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for urban dwellers, and (3) when the migration to the city is due less to the "pull" and more to "push."

Using this definition it is clear that Nigeria may be described as "over urbanized." First, Nigeria has numerous urban centers, most of which are not industrialized. Large numbers of people live in these areas and for many of them no modern urban employment is available. Second, the primate cities in Nigeria have proved incapable of providing adequate social facilities to the public. Thirdly, their growth rates have exceeded the national average.

Most houses in the cities and public rest places have neither piped water nor a sewage system. The only bathroom or restroom may be a rough shelter in the corner of the apartment or building. Water has to be collected from a stand-pipe in the street. Houses are poorly maintained. A building containing one dozen tenant families often has no facilities for cooking or washing. The most common illnesses in the cities are infective and parasitic diseases. Crowding often aggravates or spreads diseases. The scattering of litter by street traders, lack of adequate kitchen and toilet accomodation in many of the houses, and the limited number of public dustbins contribute to the unsatisfactory environmental condition of Nigerian cities. Apart from diseases, congested streets probably contribute to the number of accidents that occur in the cities (10, p. 83).

There is no doubt that in contemporary Nigeria the level of urbanization is still inconsistent with her stage of economic development. One of the most important problems of the growing cities in Nigeria is inefficient city management. Cities often have self-centered leaders, some with insufficient knowledge to manage. Most cities do not have defined limits and oftentimes merge with the rural areas.

Another problem is the attitude of the so-called "Sons of the Soil" towards the immigrant communities in the cities.

Immigrants are prevented from having freehold title to land and are often treated unequally before the customary law. These attitudes discourage immigrants from encouraging or contributing to any investment that might help improve the economic and social development of the city. Finally, in most cities the problem of city management includes inability or difficulty to raise revenue for local development. For example, all that the councils receive in revenue are minor fees and licenses, the bulk revenue consists of grants-in-aid from the regional governments (9, p. 318).

Another form of population pressure is the attitudes towards large family systems in rural areas. In rural areas, children below 15 years of age make a significant contribution to food production. Nigeria suffered a high incidence of mortality. With the decrease of high mortality, it became essential to maintain a high birth rate in order to maintain the population size. There were also economic reasons. In the predominantly rural and agricultural economy with a very simple agricultural technology, it was necessary to have as many farm lands as possible to ensure large production. Numerous children guaranteed a labor supply. A large number of children also meant that some would survive to protect and maintain and help their aged parents and relations (3, p. 80). It is important, therefore, to note that while some of these factors are gradually

losing their force, high fertility still continued uncontrolled in the present Nigeria. However, the consequences of a large family size reduces both the active labor force and potential output which could give rise to faster economic growth.

In a population where there is a large proportion of children (15 years and below), many have yet to reach the age of reproduction and a rapid increase in population may be expected. This condition creates a heavy demand for education, health, services, clothing, toys and other goods and services. At the same time, the proportion of the population that could work to provide and maintain these children is small. The children and young people who need to be supported comprise the greatest percentage of Nigeria's population. It is the productive population (16-50 years of age) that has the dependent burden (8, p. 29). One of the most demographic implications of a high rate of natural increase, according to Hodder (6, p. 85), is a larger number of children in proportion to the population of working age. This process will always be circulatory until the age structure is changed so that the population structure contains as many productive people as dependent ones (12, p. 3). Umoh (15, p. 21) observed that there was a large percentage of children below 15 years of age. Over 43 per cent of the population are children. This high dependency places a great burden to the energy and production of the

relatively small labor force. The Nigerian worker supports nearly twice as many children as his counterpart in Britain and the United States. Over half the population of Nigeria's work force are engaged in a very low earning job, mostly subsistence agriculture. The little they can save is used to maintain their dependents, making it difficult for capital investments.

#### Condition of the Rural Areas

According to Bienen (1, p. 306), Nigeria's rural population is larger than the urban population. Rural population was estimated between 60 and 80 per cent of the total population. Within the rural sector, agriculture is by far the dominant economic activity. Activities such as those which generate wage employment, crafts, and trading are also found in rural areas, but are of less importance than agriculture. Most farming districts in Nigeria are overcrowded, which has led to a sharp reduction of the fallow period and decline in soil fertility. In addition, there are unemployed as well as unemployable teenagers who have left schools in the rural areas (9, p. 314).

I. S. Dema (2, p. 307) examined the nutritional problem and reported that "The nutritional health of the people is generally poor as evidenced by the following observations:"

1. Low birth weights;
2. Poor lactation performance;

3. Retarded physical and psychological development in early childhood;
4. Protein-calorie deficiency diseases in children;
5. High mortality rates for infants and young children;

and

6. Emaciation and loss of strength in working adults, particularly during the season of greatest agricultural activity which comes at the time when food stocks are low.

His study showed that these health problems testified that food supplies are not keeping pace with the rapid growth in human numbers. This study was based on recent studies of health and diet in relation to agricultural systems in the major farm producing communities in the country. Other factors that contributed to the hardship in the rural areas included the high price of food and essential commodities, house shortages and the bad conditions of road network.

The rural areas are isolated and backward as a result of the depopulation of its productive population and the lack of information. According to Logan as quoted in Green and Milone (5, p. 18), "Surrounding these major and minor growth areas are peripheral and fringe areas of economic isolation, backwardness and rural depopulation." Other factors that contribute to the rural condition, according to Endsjo (4, p. 218), include the following.

1. The whole of the administration's planning efforts have been concentrated on urban areas and urban industries.

2. The rural industries and region planning authorities are weakly staffed.

3. Projects like major constructions or large individual plants have a much better chance of adoption by the decision-making authorities than programmes leading to gradual improvements for thousands of small landholders. Only 18 per cent of the government investments for the 1970-74 planned period was identified regionally, while 82 per cent went to the cities.

4. While income tax demands are low in the towns, the farmer's major food cooperatives are heavily taxed.

The movement of young and most productive elements in the rural societies to the cities has caused a severe decrease in the productivity of the rural population. With this movement the social and eventually, the cultural life of the people, begins to decay. Life becomes tedious, degrading and unrewarding. As the economic, social and cultural life of the rural dwellers is disrupted, they lose their personalities and communal self-confidence. By the 1970s predominantly old and retired citizens were left behind to carry on the productive village activities (11, p. 104).

In some cases, foreign investments, which are concentrated in the cities, contribute to unemployment. Equipment used by the investors was developed where labor was relatively expensive, and capital was abundant. As a result,

they tended to be more capital intensive and labor-saving than was warranted by the resources of Nigeria, where there is little capital and an abundance of labor. The people's attitude towards economic growth also contributed to the poor conditions in rural communities.

In the early period, Nigerian economic activities seemed to have been concentrated in the tertiary sector of the economy. Until recently about three-quarters of the total foreign capital expended in Nigeria was invested in the produce business. Hardly any capital was invested in agriculture or manufacturing. Even today foreign investors feel very skeptical of giving loans to agriculture for food production because of the high risk involved. In 1976 "Operation Feed the Nation" was adopted to help reduce the food problem in the nation.

The concentration of the nation's wealth in the cities has hampered domestic savings and made it difficult to mobilize the rural societies for national economic development. The bulk of income of the wealthy, urban population is utilized mainly for non-productive consumption--luxury goods. As a consequence, there were sharp reductions of accumulation funds and the development of a local market that is favorable for the improvement of rural life. The intersectoral inequality between the urban and rural areas in Nigeria has destroyed the independence of the local population, making the people powerless to reorganize



their internal and external economic activities in a manner they consider necessary (11, p. 121).

#### Some Internal and External Population Problems

The consequences of rapid population growth in Nigeria which is most evident in the South-East, North and South-West may be viewed both internally and externally. For the past one hundred years these areas have shown signs of failure to absorb the huge influx of population. Rural areas within the immediate surroundings of the big cities have lost their populations to the cities.

There are many Nigerians, especially the young population, who are very anxious to further their education but cannot accomplish their goals in Nigeria because there are not enough educational institutions to absorb them. More than one-fourth of Nigerian students are studying overseas. For example, between 25,000 to 30,000 Nigerians were studying in the United States alone as of 1981 (14, p. 8). Other developed countries may have approximately the same figure as the United States, not to mention Nigerians in other developing countries. Such a large overseas population has some significant effects on the national foreign reserve. With the decrease of Nigerian oil revenue in 1983, her ability to financially support students has decreased (13, p. 24).

In addition to the economic aspect of rapid population growth, there are also social implications. These many Nigerian students abroad are the future leaders of Nigeria who will be the decision and law makers of their nation. Undoubtedly, they cannot go back to their home (Nigeria) free of foreign influences. In some cases foreign influences may work contrary to the basic need and welfare of their people because of cultural differences. Furthermore, experience and observations have shown that in many cases those who studied abroad and those who studied at home have conflicting philosophies.

#### Conclusion

In conclusion one may say that the level of urbanization in Nigeria is inconsistent with the rate of economic development. Discrimination, bad management, attitudes towards economic growth and concentration of wealth in the cities have hampered development in Nigeria. Fertility rates are still high with a large proportion of children under 15 years of age. A worker in Nigeria supports more children than any of his counterparts in developed countries. The population is increasing at a faster rate than agricultural output.

The rural population is larger than the urban population. The isolation and backwardness associated with rural Nigeria have been due to its depopulation and lack of modern

information from the cities. To formulate a stronger economic base, Nigeria needs to invest more on labor-intensive activities. The rapid population growth in Nigeria has economic as well as social implications.

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## CHAPTER V

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS POPULATION GROWTH

#### Governmental Concern for Population Growth

Diejomaoh (3, p. 110) summarized the importance of the government's role in the economic development of any nation as follows: "the amount of any country's economic development, particularly during the early stages of growth, is closely related to government policy."

Until 1970, the Nigerian government had had an absolute pronatalist policy, after which it adopted a policy of providing and integrating family planning activities into a national health and welfare program. The Second National Development Plan, 1970-74, called for the government to encourage citizens to develop a balanced view of the opportunities for individual family planning on a voluntary basis. Although in May, 1974, General Gowon, the Head of the State, stated that Nigeria needed to slow her population growth to achieve sustained social and economic development, the government has not viewed population growth as being a serious problem. However, there have been some indications that the current rapid rate of population growth is an impediment to social and economic development as well as their growth. For example, Nigeria's gross domestic

product per capita has been quite low in spite of substantial oil revenues, and its percentage increase in income was very low, at least before the so called "oil boom" (9, p. 246). In addition, the mass movement of people, especially youths from rural areas to the cities and the unemployment and congestion that confront the cities have been related to uncontrolled population growth in Nigeria. According to Diejomaoh (3, p. 78),

Nigeria is not currently subject to the Malthusian spectre of population outstripping natural resources, as in India and some other Asian countries. However, Nigerian population structure and growth rate are serious impediments to the national goals of rapid capital formation and general economic development.

In fact, it is valid to say that very little attention has been given by either the government or private organizations to the implications of population growth and structure for economic development of Nigeria. From the 1962-68 plan, documents and other observations, it was assumed that Nigeria had no population problems of any significance, rather the idea that Nigeria is the largest populous and richest nation in Africa was regarded as a great achievement (3, p. 77). "The government currently feels that prospects for overall population growth are satisfactory, but that geographic distribution is not" (5, p. 11). The recent realization that a large population is correlated with increased political power and the increase of oil prices in the mid-70s was partly responsible

for pronatalistic attitudes. A recent study on the eight largest developing nations, of which Nigeria was included, show the governmental position on policy for population control. See Table VIII. The official support for family planning activities in Nigeria was for health and human right purposes rather than for demographic reasons. Thus, "Nigeria does not seek to reduce the rate of population growth but in recent years adopted policies supporting family planning for reasons of health and as a human right" (9, p. 244). Also, the figures in the table indicate that there was no change in fertility for Nigeria during the period 1950-74. In other words, there does not appear to have been any reduction in fertility for the twenty-five year period.

According to Lucas and Gabisu (8, pp. 7-8), the Nigerian government has a plan to introduce its own population policy and program and to coordinate all external aid for family planning activities. At present, the private service agency, the Family Planning Council of Nigeria, dominates the program of family planning in the nation. Regardless of Nigerian government position on population growth, there is still strong population opposition among politicians, academicians and religious leaders. For example, in the Eastern region of the nation a State Commissioner in 1974 condemned the ideas of family planning or a "population explosion" threat in the state as a ruse by the Western nations to depopulate



TABLE VIII

1975 POPULATION, GOVERNMENTAL POSITION ON POLICY, AND CRUDE BIRTH RATES  
FOR 1950 AND 1974, FOR THE EIGHT LARGEST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

	Population 1975 (in millions)	Governmental position on policy		Crude birth rate		
		A or B	Year accepted	1950	1974	Percent change
China	823	A	1962	37.3	26.0	-30.2
India	613	A	1952	42.3	36.0	-15.0
Indonesia	136	A	1968	45.0	40.0	-11.1
Brazil	110	B	1974	41.4	38.0	- 8.3
Bangladesh	76	A	1971	49.2	49.2	0
Pakistan	71	A	1960	49.6	47.0	- 5.2
Nigeria	63	B	1970	49.1	49.1	0
Mexico	59	A	1974	46.6	41.0	-12.0
Total	1,951			40.8	33.7	-17.4

Source: Mauldin W. Parker, "Fertility Trends: 1950-75," Studies in Family Planning, VII (September, 1976), 242-248.

A = Official policy to reduce the population growth rate; support of family planning to implement this policy and for reasons of health and as a human right.

B = Official support of family planning activities for other than demographic reasons, for reasons of health and as a human right; any antinatalist effect is a by-product, not an objective.

Africa. In addition, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Onitsha condemned birth control or family planning in all its forms (14, p. 177). Kurian (7, p. 1,082) has reported that some official support is underway for the present family planning activities but not to encourage a governmental policy of population control per se. The National Population Council established in 1975 was to coordinate and implement population policies and programs, to advise the government and to secure internal and external assistance for family planning. That the second National Development plan called for "Opportunities for individual family planning on a voluntary basis." In 1975, 3,320 of an anticipated nine million married women of childbearing age accepted family planning services. In addition, encouraging such a response on the part of women, the government has been very reluctant to take a full responsibility in population control.

#### The Public's View on Birth Control

As was mentioned earlier, Nigerians hold the popular belief that Nigeria does not have population problems of any importance, but demographers and development planners who have looked into the population growth and structure of Nigeria are aware that Nigeria has population problems which might get worse in the future. The Population Reference Bureau (13, p. 150) summarized the national feeling towards population growth as follows:

Because of Nigeria's abundance of natural resources, there has been a common national feeling that the country can easily absorb the expected population increase. Recently, high prices for petroleum-- of which Nigeria is a large producer, have strengthened this view.

The people believe that it is traditionally expected for a married woman to conceive again after the baby has started to walk. As a result, parents, other relatives and friends take interest in reminding the couple that it is time to have another child. Usually the couple's decision to have another child is significantly influenced by this request or reminder.

Men and women tend to view high fertility as the goal of marriage, a justification for its existence as an institution, and a measure of its success. Numerous children are considered "true wealth" and couples who have large families tend to be regarded as "rich" (14, p. 177).

The data in Tables IX and X do not necessarily support the claim that prolonged lactation is used as a means of birth limitation of birth spacing (14, p. 179). From this study by Ukaegbu, it is important to note that the majority of those who use modern contraceptives, especially the rural women, do it mainly for their children's health and to "buy time" before another conception. The problem of birth control in Nigeria, therefore, lies with both married women who hardly ever use modern contraceptives and those who use them. Table XI shows the fertility indexes and attitudes of wives aged 15 to 44 toward childbearing.

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WIVES AGED 15-44 BY LENGTH OF  
BREASTFEEDING LAST CHILD: NGWA IGBO, 1974

Age Group	Length of breastfeeding (in months)					Mean length <sup>a</sup>	Number of wives <sup>b</sup>
	7-9	9-12	13-18	19+	Not stated		
15-19	3	44	42	0	11	12.8	(75)
20-24	5	36	48	5	6	13.5	(283)
25-29	7	31	52	6	4	13.6	(408)
30-34	9	26	43	11	11	14.2	(303)
35-39	4	22	52	17	6	15.4	(369)
40-44	7	24	41	23	5	15.6	(251)
All wives	6	28	48	11	6	14.4	(1,689)

Source: Ukaegbu, Alfred O., "Family Planning Attitudes and Practice in Rural Eastern Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, VIII (July, 1977), 179.

TABLE X

MEAN LENGTH OF BREASTFEEDING LAST CHILD BY DESIRE FOR ADDITIONAL CHILDREN,  
WIVES AGED 25-44: NGWA IGBO, 1974 (IN MONTHS)

	Age Group		
	25-34	35-44	25-44
Wants additional children			
Yes	13.8 (602)	15.5 (373)	14.4 (975)
No	14.0 (59)	15.5 (209)	15.2 (268)
All wives	13.8 (661)	15.5 (582)	14.6 (1.243)

Source: Ukaegbu, Alfred O., "Family Planning Attitudes and Practice in Rural Eastern Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, VIII (July, 1977), p. 180.

Note: Calculations exclude wives who had no children and those who were currently breastfeeding their last child, plus five wives who were undecided whether they wanted additional children and eighty-three wives who could not state the length of breastfeeding for their last child.

( ) = Number of wives.

TABLE XI

## SELECTED FERTILITY INDEXES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILDBEARING, WIVES AGED 15-44: NGWA IGBO, 1974

Age group	Age specific fertility rate <sup>a</sup>	Mean parity <sup>a</sup>	Mean surviving parity <sup>a</sup>	Estimate of proportion children dead <sup>b</sup>	Mean ideal number of children		Percentage of wives wanting additional children	Number of wives
					Wives <sup>c</sup>	Husbands <sup>d</sup>		
15-19	0.31	0.20	0.18	0.11	6.2	8.1	99	(148)
20-24	1.50	1.21	1.00	0.13	6.6	7.7	99	(329)
25-29	1.74	2.75	2.23	0.19	6.4	7.7	98	(426)
30-34	1.68	4.51	3.43	0.24	6.9	6.1	64	(318)
35-39	1.20	5.74	4.16	0.26	7.2	8.4	66	(380)
40-44	0.86	6.62	5.02	0.28	7.3	9.5	60	(256)
All wives	7.29*	3.44	2.68	0.24	6.8	8.2	81	(1,852)

<sup>a</sup>Corrected data. The basis of correction is the application of the method developed by F. Van de Walle at the Office of Population Research, Princeton University (See F. Van de Walle. "Note on the effect of age misreporting." in Demography of Tropical Africa, W. Brass et al. Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1968).  
<sup>b</sup>Estimate is based on the Brass method of estimating infant and childhood mortality (see United Nations, Manual IV, Methods of Estimating Basic Demographic Measures from Incomplete Data SI/SOA/Series A/42, second edition, 1969, pp. 74,75).

<sup>c</sup>Calculation excludes 29 percent who want as many as possible or who want God to determine their fertility.

<sup>d</sup>Calculation excludes 52 percent who want as many as possible.

\*Total fertility rate.

Source: Ukaegbu, Alfred O. "Family Planning Attitudes and Practice in Rural Eastern Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, VIII, No. 7 (July 1977), 177-183.

As Table XI indicates, the total fertility rate for all wives aged 15 to 44 was 7.3, the gross reproduction rate was 3.6, and the net reproduction rate was 2.4. The traditional value placed upon numerous children was high, and the ideal number of children was very large. For wives aged 15 to 44 responses for ideal family system was 6.8; for their husbands it was 8.2 (14, p. 178). As Ukaegbu pointed out, even at the end of reproductive years about 60 per cent of wives still want additional children. Ekanem (4, p. 107), in his analysis of fertility in Nigeria, cited the study of Daramola based upon a random sample of 642 mothers from Lagos and three subsidiary samples (the Institute of Child Health Clinic in Surulere, 125; the Surulere Health Clinic, 121; and two clinics in Katsina in Northern Nigeria, 72). Daramola's findings indicate the ideal family size to be five; mean number of children per mother to be approximately 3.6 in the large random sample group and about 3.4 in the Surulere health center group.

Table XII shows the ever-use of various contraceptive methods. The traditional methods (abstinence, prolonged lactation, and rhythm) appeared to be the principal method of preventing pregnancies. For example, more than 50 per cent of all the wives claimed to have used the methods, but modern contraceptive methods (pills, IUD, etc.) have hardly ever been used. The small number who have ever-used modern contraceptives agree with reports of Caldwell and Igun (2,

TABLE XII

PERCENT EVER-USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES BY METHOD, WIVES AGED 15-49:  
NGWA IGBO, 1974

Method	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	All wives
Abstinence <sup>a</sup>	46	57	60	52	68	68	73	61
Prolonged lactation <sup>b</sup>	41	44	52	47	61	61	70	54
Rhythm	47	51	62	57	60	59	68	58
Coitus interruptus	27	28	32	27	26	26	19	27
Condom	1	5	8	7	5	2	4	5
Pill, IUD, tubal ligation	0	2	2	6	4	2	0	3
Folk methods	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	1
Number of wives	(143)	(329)	(426)	(318)	(380)	(256)	(210)	(2,062)

Source: Ukaegbu, Alfred O., "Family Planning Attitudes and Practice in Rural Eastern Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, VIII (July, 1977), p. 178.

<sup>a</sup>Abstaining from sexual intercourse for six months or more to avoid getting pregnant.

<sup>b</sup>Breastfeeding a baby for nine months or more to avoid getting pregnant.



p. 25). Ekanem (4, p. 10) states that modern contraceptives have hardly ever been used by wives in rural areas.

To determine the actual attitudes and practices of currently married women with regard to fertility and contraception, a survey was conducted in 1974 in 16 Ngwa Ibo villages in the East Central State of Nigeria. The results revealed that 50-60 per cent of wives had ever used traditional contraceptives. The use of modern contraceptives was low, but about 80 per cent of the women interviewed expressed the willingness to attend a family planning clinic if one were accessible to them (14, p. 177). In addition to limited access to modern contraceptives and cultural reasons suggested by Caldwell and Igun (2, p. 33), Ukaegbu (14, p. 180) pointed out that the low use of modern contraceptives among the women, especially married ones, include (1) the after-effects of modern contraceptives, (2) most women don't like to take pills, rather they prefer tubal ligation after they have had all the children they wanted. This attitude undoubtedly defeats the purpose of the use of birth control. In Nigeria both husbands and wives are against the practice of induced abortion as a means of birth control. As indicated in Table XIII, 45 per cent of husbands and 30 per cent of wives approved of abortion when a pregnancy seriously endangers a woman's health. Only 21 per cent of the husbands and 11 per cent of the wives approved of induced abortion, while less than 10 per cent of wives and 20 per

TABLE XIII

PERCENT OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES APPROVING OF INDUCED  
ABORTION BY REASON FOR APPROVAL: NGWA IGBO, 1974

Reason for approval	Husbands	Wives
Pregnancy seriously endangers the woman's health	45	30
Woman is not married	19	12
Woman has been raped	16	5
Couple cannot afford another child	13	6
Pregnancy is by an extramarital sexual relationship and is likely to cause serious family quarrel	12	14
Other contraceptive methods have failed	7	2
Percent answering "yes" when asked if they approved of induced abortion	21	11
Number of respondents	(213)	(2,464) <sup>a</sup>

Source: Ukaegbu Alfred O., "Family Planning Attitudes and Practice in Rural Eastern Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, VIII (July, 1977), p. 181.

<sup>a</sup>Currently married women of all ages were questioned; only 2 out of 2,466 gave no answer.

cent of husbands approved of it because the couple cannot afford it (that is as a means of birth control). In Nigeria, especially in rural areas, people do not talk about "affording another child," because relatives and friends are ready to help raise their neighbor's children, women tend to be less liberal than men in their attitudes toward the control method, perhaps because of the importance of children in proving their womanhood and their position in the family.

In spite of the desire for more children among the majority, some medical professionals (doctors and midwives) still hope for family planning in Nigeria.

People are aware of it and sometimes want to practice it. Because of staff shortages, however, government hospitals, and maternity homes do not distribute family planning methods. High risk women are advised to go to private doctors, who generally charge fees for services, and to clinics for sterilization or IUD insertion. According to doctor's reports, women prefer tubal ligation to the IUD or Pill. In addition, condoms, pills, and contraceptives of doubtful quality are sold in towns and villages through non-medical channels. Customers are mainly students, young men and some educated women, especially those whose husbands live and work away from home (14, p. 178).

Studies have proven that level of education and place of residence have significant influence on the use of birth control methods. The data on ever-use of modern contraceptives presented in Table XIV shows that the findings of Caldwell and Igun (2, p. 33) supported that urbanization and formal education are major determinants of the use of modern contraceptives. In other words, the ever-use of modern contraceptives tends to increase with education and urban life and decrease with uneducated and rural life. According to Ekanem (4, pp. 106-107), Olusanya and Ohadike conducted studies that focused on the effect of education on human fertility and some aspects of marriage and the family.

The Olusanya study involved two communities (Sango and Bodija) in the City of Ibadan. This study covered the

TABLE XIV

PERCENT EVER-USE OF CONDOMS AND OTHER MODERN CONTRACEPTIVES  
BY WIVES' EDUCATION, HUSBANDS' EDUCATION, AND WIVES'  
VILLAGE OF RESIDENCE, WIVES AGED 15-44: NGWA IGBO,  
1974

Variable	Condom	Tubal ligation, pill, IUD	Number of wives
Wives' education			
Upper primary and over	15	7	(376)
Lower primary	4	2	(462)
No schooling	3	2	(1,014)
Husbands' education			
Postprimary	17	10	(147)
Upper primary	8	4	(522)
Lower primary	4	1	(337)
No schooling	3	1	(846)
Wives' village of residence <sup>a</sup>			
Ohanze	6	5	(528)
Nsulu	5	2	(320)
Nvosi	4	1	(571)
Ntigha	3	1	(433)
All wives	5	2	(1,852)

Source: Ukaegbu, Alfred O., "Family Planning Attitudes and Practice in Rural Eastern Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, VIII (July, 1977), 177-183, p. 180.

<sup>a</sup>Order of villages is by distance from an urban center, with village located nearest listed first.

total target population. A total of 263 married women were interviewed in both communities (155 in Sango and 108 in Bodija). The study showed that in certain important respects the educated wives in the survey had acquired attitudes, characteristics and opinions different from

those of the uneducated ones. The educated ones tended to marry later, probably because of the length of time necessary for education; they were much more aware of the current population problems in Nigeria; their attitudes were to a large extent unfavorable to excessive fertility. Their mean ideal number of children ranged from 4.5 (those with college education) to 5.4 (those with only primary and modern school education), in contrast to 6.5 (for those with no education); the mean for all groups showed 5.4 children.

Ohadike's study involved 596 women in Lagos. His findings were consistent with the commonly observed inverse association between fertility and socio-economic states.

#### Family Planning in Nigeria

Mauldin (9, p. 249) in his concluding remarks on "Fertility Trends: 1950-75," suggests the major thesis that fertility decline follows social and economic development. He maintained that there are many exceptions to this generalization. "There is consensus, though not unanimity, that fertility decline is more easily accomplished with social and economic development than without it." He cited an example, during the 1960s to 1970s where more than 30 governments adopted population policies designed to reduce rates of population growth. He explained that his essay never sought the causes of fertility change, but did note

the detailed analysis of recently instituted family planning programs which suggest that both economic development and family planning programs contributed to fertility decline, perhaps in more or less equal measure. He finally pointed out that all nations seek social and economic development, and that increasingly population policies will be considered an integral part of that development and family planning will receive greater attention as a human right, an element of improved maternal and child health, and means of moderating high rates of population growth.

In recent years the increasing population in Africa has drawn increasing attention to family planning, especially in the areas for improving maternal and child health and family welfare. By 1975 nine of the regions fifty-four governments had introduced policies and programs for family planning. Family planning services differ greatly among African nations, for example, governments that assisted the program include: Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, Mauritius, Ghana, Liberia, Zaire and Botswana. Several others without official policies, such as Nigeria, incorporated the family planning into their maternal and child health programs (13, pp. 27-28). The idea of family limitation and birth spacing are not as new in Nigeria as some people have made us to believe. Nigerian women, for some time have used varieties of contraceptive methods (both traditional and modern).

Many writers have suggested that the major stimulus for introducing modern family planning in Nigerian society was the need to combat the increasing incidence of illegal abortion which they argued was the leading cause of maternal mortality. Before the inauguration of the Family Planning Council in Nigeria (November, 1964), the local health department in Lagos, through the then medical officer of health (Dr. O. Adeniyi Jones) had been operating an evening family planning clinic. This service at that time was for married women only. The response gave an indication that the service needed to be expanded and made available to the public. In the same year (1964), the Pathfinder Fund and later the Universalist Service Committee in the United States and the International Planned Parenthood Federation sent field representatives to help in setting up local voluntary organizations to provide family planning advice and services to all who desired them. Information and free services were made available to the public. In addition, the leaders of the National Council of Women's Societies agreed to sponsor family planning as a health program. The advisory committee set up to carry out the educational work on family planning later became the Family Planning Council of Nigeria. Family planning in Nigeria was offered as a health program and not as a population limitation program, yet it encountered some opposition, especially from religious groups and males. The majority of Nigerian men are not

receptive to family planning because they think it might permit their wives to indulge in illicit affairs. The existence of this fear among the men was supported in the studies of P. O. Olusanya (pp. 1-16) in Oyo and Ile-Ife (cities in Western Nigeria).

The National Council of Health recommended the integration of family planning into maternal and child health services. Its objectives were (1) to encourage the building of healthy and happy families, (2) to protect the health of mothers and children, (3) to reduce child mortality by spacing, and (4) to help parents understand the value of having those children they can care for and maintain well (8, pp. 7-8).

According to Ekanem (4, pp. 105-106), Olusanya conducted a study on fertility behavior in Nigeria. This study focused on rural-urban fertility differential in Western Nigeria. In 1965 materials collected from a survey on fertility and family planning in Ife and Oyo (two major cities in Western Nigeria) were used for urban data. From each of the two cities, a random sample of respectively 2,248 and 2,160 married women was selected. The rural data was drawn from a survey of villages in different parts of the western state with a total size of 682. The study showed that marriage was very essential for both rural and urban families. Rural families were more polygamous than the urban ones.



Attitudes towards large families were more favored by rural women, with 61.4 per cent, 52.7 per cent and 42.6 per cent of the women favoring large families in the villages, Oyo and Ife respectively. In regard to ideal number of children, for both rural and urban women, five or six was the model preference. In terms of actual fertility, the average number of children to each woman (2.37, 2.21 and 2.47 in villages, Oyo and Ife respectively) did not indicate an urban-rural differential.

Another study was conducted by Oyediran and Ewumi (12, pp. 170-174), in 1972 on a profile of family planning clients at the family health clinic in Lagos to determine the characteristics of women seeking family planning services. This study was compared with the studies of 1969-71 and 1958-68 whenever possible. The data used for the comparison included socioeconomic information. It was found that there was little or no change in the clients in terms of socioeconomic status. Although the number of young women who accepted family planning program increased there was no change in the number of children they were having. Nevertheless, the analysis of recent fertility showed that rural women tended to have more children than urban women.

Okediji, Caldwell and Ware (10, pp. 126-136) did a study on the "changing African family project: a report with special reference to the Nigerian segment." The program consisted of the following three surveys: (1) the beginning of family

limitation, (2) the value of children, and (3) the achieved small family. They found that powerful forces still operate in the society in support of high fertility. In spite of major economic, social and educational changes during this century, much of the traditional society remains intact in rural areas. In addition, the supports developed for high fertility have not been strongly challenged in large towns. Raising of children cost little or nothing in the sense that relatives are willing to help financially. The belief that children are old age security is still strong among the people. The mean ideal family size was 5.7 or more. They also found, to their surprise, that the majority of families that achieved small family size were found among the non-elites compared to the elite group.

Ukaegbu (14, p. 181) conducted a study on attitudes toward family planning and came to the conclusion that the leading factors that affected the attitudes of the women toward attending family planning clinics were the number of surviving children, especially sons and the level of education. According to this study,

Only 45 per cent of the wives aged 25-34 with no surviving children said they would attend a clinic compared to 91 per cent with five or six surviving children. Similarly only 45 per cent of those aged 35-44 with no surviving sons said they would attend a clinic in contrast with 80 per cent with five or more surviving sons. All wives who received college education, 85 per cent of those with primary education, and only 55 per cent of those with no formal education expressed the willingness to attend a clinic.

Ukaegbu therefore concluded that strong potential demand for family planning exists.

By 1969 the council had had a membership of 560 with sixty-one family planning council clinics offering family planning advice and services to the whole nation. It is important to note that city life is associated with the acceptance of family planning programs in Nigeria. Some studies in educational and scientific efforts in population conducted by Ohadike and others supported this assertion. According to Lucas and Gabisa (8, pp. 8-9), the sixty-one family planning council clinics in Nigeria were distributed as follows: Lagos, 16 clinics; Western, 22; Midwest, 3; Kwora, 2; North-Central, 3; North-Eastern, 1; North-Western, 1; and Rivers State, 1.

In 1975, a health practices survey was carried out in Lagos (capital of Nigeria) by Bamisaiye and his associates (1, pp. 44-47). A portion of this survey was focused on family planning practice, particularly on duration of breast-feeding and associated sexual abstinence and on the knowledge and use of modern contraceptives. Fifty-seven per cent of mothers and 55 per cent of fathers considered a birth interval of two to three years to be most desirable. See Table XV.

In the past, less than 20 per cent of women or men in Lagos had used modern contraception as indicated in Table XVI. The survey reported in Table XVI asked about past practice. Individuals were asked whether they or

TABLE XV

LENGTH OF DESIRED BIRTH INTERVAL FOR TARGET  
POPULATION SAMPLE: LAGOS FAMILY HEALTH  
CLINIC, 1975 (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

Desired Interval	Mothers	Fathers
1 year	1	1
1-2 years	32	39
2-3 years	57	55
3-4 years	10	2
No response	0	3
Total	100	100

Source: Bamisaiye, Anne B. and others, "Developing a Clinic Strategy Appropriate to Community Family Planning Needs and Practices: An Experience in Lagos, Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, IX (February-March, 1978), p. 45.

TABLE XVI

PAST USE OF MODERN CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS FOR TARGET  
POPULATION SAMPLE: LAGOS FAMILY HEALTH CLINIC,  
1975 (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

Method	Mothers			Fathers		
	Used	Not used	Total	Used	Not used	Total
Condom	5	95	100	8	92	100
Diaphragm	0	100	100	0	100	100
Pills	10	90	100	5	95	100
IUD	2	98	100	1	99	100
Jelly, cream foam	1	99	100	1	99	100

Source: Bamisaiye, Anne B. and others, "Developing a Clinic Strategy Appropriate to Community Family Planning Needs and Practices: An Experience in Lagos, Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, IX (February-March, 1978), p. 45.

their partner had used a particular method. Data on current practice (1976) indicated that 5.4 per cent of women were using the pill, 1.5 per cent the IUD, and 1.9 per cent other modern methods.

The desired intervals were achieved mainly through traditional methods. Eighty-nine per cent of the mothers said that they had practiced sexual abstinence after delivery, and 82 per cent of mothers said they had continued to practice abstinence after the cessation of lactation. The most common reason for abstinence was "to enable the child to develop well." See Table XVII.

TABLE XVII

REASONS FOR SEXUAL ABSTINENCE DURING LACTATION FOR  
TARGET POPULATION SAMPLE: LAGOS, 1975  
(IN PERCENTS)

Reason	Mothers	Fathers
To enable child to develop well	35	62
To prevent child from becoming ill	21	20
To enable mother to regain strength	14	11
To avoid pregnancy	29	10
Other	3	1
Total	102	104

Source: Bamisaiye, Anne B. and others, "Developing a Clinic Strategy Appropriate to Community Family Planning Needs and Practices: An Experience in Lagos, Nigeria," Studies in Family Planning, IX (February-March, 1978), p. 46.

Note: Multiple responses were given, hence per cents do not sum to 100.

Of those mothers who had practiced past lactation abstinence, 71 per cent gave as the reason the necessity of regaining their strength and 23 per cent gave the reason that they were not yet ready for another pregnancy (not shown in the table). When they were asked if they would like to see the custom of abstinence during lactation changed, 71 per cent answered negative, 21 per cent answered positively, and 8 per cent were not sure. The most common reason for not desiring change was that it would negatively affect the child's health.

There had been some programs (both internal and external) for family planning in Nigeria. The universities of Lagos and Ibadan supported the efforts of Family Planning Council of Nigeria (FPCN) through demonstration clinics for student nurses and doctors as a part of their curriculum. For example,

The Lagos University teaching hospital operates a family planning training clinic in Lagos, where student nurses, physicians and paramedics from Nigeria and other countries are trained in family planning and the treatment of infertility (13, p. 50).

In addition, numbers of Christian mission hospitals offered family planning services, while universities conducted research in maternal and child health/family planning.

For the external assistance towards family planning in Nigeria, the Population Reference Bureau (13, p. 51), cited different countries, organizations and institutions

that had contributed to the establishment. Since 1969 the International Planned Parenthood Federation has provided a sum of \$3.5 million or more in support of the activities of the Family Planning Council of Nigeria (FPCN). The United States contributed \$1.62 million between 1973-1975. Other external sources of aid in the past decade included a \$84,000 grant to the University of Lagos for demographic training and research program, \$10,000 for the training of nurses for family planning, \$84,000 under regional grants to help improve data gathering systems, and \$114,000 to the University of Michigan to help the University of Ibadan study rural-urban migration. In 1975 the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) approved \$1,345,000 to help the government's rural maternal and child health and family planning program. The government from her own pocket budgeted about \$3,337,000 for a 5 1/2 year period beginning in July, 1975. In addition, the World Health Organization (WHO) supplied funds for training and research. The population council gave \$1.3 million to improve demographic and research facilities. The Ford Foundation provided \$1.1 million for population assistance. Family Planning International Assistance donated \$116,000. The Pathfinder funded \$194,099 towards a female sterilization clinic, a family planning information center, etc.

Other voluntary assistance came from Mennonite Central Committee, the Smithsonian Institute, the World Assembly of

Youth, World Neighbors and the Rockefeller Foundation, etc. Also, Finland, through the United Nations Children's Fund, provided a sum of \$144,000 during the period 1972-1976.

The university of teaching hospitals in Lagos and Ibadan run clinics as part of the international postpartum program sponsored by the Population Council. For that year (1970) there were 1,750 acceptors of family planning. For the whole nation, the number of acceptors receiving birth control methods from the clinics increased from 8,000 in 1969 to almost 11,000 in 1970 (8, p. 9). When we look at these figures and the population of women of reproductive age in Nigeria, we realize that the increase is not really significant. The majority of these "acceptors" are likely to be young school and unmarried girls who are in fact not responsible for high population growth in Nigeria. Nigerians believe that marriage is a "license" for couples to have as many children as they can. There might be some changes among the so-called educated ones, especially those who have received their education abroad, but this change is not significant, in that it has not been reflected in the population growth of Nigeria. One may argue that the attitude of those who are influenced by Western education or exposure towards family planning is a postponement of reality. Western-influenced people are postponing the actual number of children they desire because they want to finish their schooling. No study has been done to



support this, but if one is conducted, it would be most likely that those who are now in school will eventually have as many children as the rest. In other words, the attitudes of those in school towards family planning tend to change after they get out of school.

#### Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion it may be stated that the Nigerian government is fully committed to the economic development of the nation, but financial resources are limited and are often misused. In addition, while some aspects of policy are leading to increase in the cost of the nation's economic development, some aspects of policy are leading to a limitation of the rate of economic development. A nation, like Nigeria, with a pronatalist policy and a very high dependency ratio which embarks on a high cost of development project is bound to spend most of the money saved for capital formation to maintain her dependent population and may not have enough money to complete her projects. The Nigerian government must change her attitude towards population control and take a firm stand on population policy before it can expect the general public to cooperate.

It is true that some studies have shown an increase in the number of acceptors in family planning programs; still, the number is insignificant when we look at the

rate in which the population is growing and its structure. City life has eliminated some of the traditional methods for birth limitation among the people, but has not been able to get them to generally accept the widespread modern use of birth control methods. For example, the decline in the urban areas of the taboo on intercourse during lactation.

Thus,

birth intervals of around two to three years, which have important health benefits for the mother and child, have been the result of the traditional practices of breastfeeding and postpartum sexual abstinence. Over the last decade these practices have declined, especially among urban residents and the more educated groups in the population. Adoption of modern contraception which might have similar benefits, has not kept pace with this decline, particularly among poor urban residents (1, p. 44).

Studies have indicated that women still use traditional methods for reasons other than birth limitation. Cultural practices relating to the traditional methods (abstinence and prolonged lactation) explained why such methods have not been able to help reduce levels of fertility. The percentage of ever-users of modern methods of birth limitation is still very small. Generally, people are still skeptical to use induced abortion as a means for family planning. The acceptance of family planning programs among women, especially married ones, seems to be stronger as a desire to learn how to space their children rather than to terminate childbearing. A successful family planning

program in Nigeria would need educational programs beginning from primary school level through college level. The aim of this educational program should be to emphasize the safety of the methods, their effectiveness and value in spacing and controlling birth. The government should encourage education for women. It seems likely that a decrease in spacing of birth and increase in fertility level cannot be avoided, unless some kind of effective and more generally accepted family planning is introduced. Otherwise the standard of living of the people of Nigeria will continue to deteriorate. Adequate educational and information services are very essential for parents to know how to plan the number and spacing of their children. Jacobson (6, p. 108) explained it as follows:

Education is critically important in the development and implementation of public population and family planning policies. The decision and actions that lead to having or not having children are those of individuals--usually individuals living in families. Public policies are to be developed through democratic discussion, debate, and legislative action. It is essential that those who participate in this process know how to ask the right questions, realize what the issues are, and be aware of various possible courses of action. To ensure informed public action, it is important for future citizens to have had the experience of investigating some of the issues and problems associated with population and family planning.

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## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The size of a population, its growth rate and age composition have significant effects on the economic development of a nation. Medical advances have reduced the rate of mortality in developing nations, but have not effected their fertility rates. Developed nations are noted for their low fertility and mortality rates while developing nations are usually associated with moderate mortality rate and high fertility rate. The present stage of the demographic transition for the developing nations has been detrimental to their economic development. Because of the social, economic and political implications of population growth, it has become essential that we study and understand world population as well as regional and specific national populations. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s marked the awakening to the problems of rapid population growth and its consequences to individuals as well as to societies. Reduction of any nation's rapid population growth would be possible if given the appropriate program, resources and initiative. Although many believe that there is a world population problem, the full consequences of rapid population growth are not realized.

In comparing the population problems among the developed with developing nations, some people have argued that increase in population followed the industrial revolution in developed nations, while population increase preceded industrial revolution in developing nations. Official concern for population increase has been very slow in developing nations. Two-thirds of the world population now live in less developed regions of the world. Urbanization in developing nations is associated with a commercial, rather than an industrial response. Because of high rates of population growth in less developed nations, their urban populations are growing faster than their economic development. In these respects Nigeria's demographic history is similar to other developing countries.

The three major ethnic groups in Nigeria comprise more than half the population. Early urbanization in Nigeria indicated that urban towns lacked the basic characteristics of urban areas in developed nations. The population of Nigeria is still predominantly agricultural. Women marry at a very young age and there is no concrete commitment to control the rate of population increase. Acceptance of family planning programs in Nigeria is for something other than demographic purposes. The availability of manpower in Nigeria is complicated, in that there may be surplus in one area and shortages in another. Lack of reliable information has made it difficult to study, perform research, and analyze the Nigerian society and its problems.

In spite of Nigeria's substantial oil revenue her gross domestic product per capita and the percentage in income are still very low. There are many individuals who are ready to accept modern methods of birth control, but the Nigerian government and individual relatives have afforded little or no encouragement. In Nigeria today, a large family is still regarded as a sign of success. Traditional methods of birth control are still the principal methods of preventing pregnancy in Nigeria. Rural families are more polygamous and favor larger families than those in urban communities. The number of years spent in school tends to reduce the desired family size among Nigerians, although some do "catch-up" with their counterparts after their academic career.

Studies have indicated an increase in the number of those who accepted family planning programs, but the fact remains that the rate of population growth is still high. Successful family planning may be possible in Nigeria, but the government as well as individuals must be fully committed to make it a reality.

The age structure of the population indicates that Nigeria has a very young population. The process of urbanization is not new in Nigeria. People from low income areas usually migrate to areas of high income. Internal migration tends to be more important than external migration and contributes to urban population growth and overcrowding.



Investments for consumption far exceed human and capital investments in Nigeria. The private sector has not been encouraged to invest and as a result has not contributed much to national and domestic products. While a normal development pattern seems to unfold in some sectors, there are other sectors that need immediate improvement. The educational system in Nigeria is far below African standards. The year 1954 marked the beginning of the economic revolution in Nigeria. Agriculture still remains the most important sector of the economy. In the early 1950s the major agricultural development was the concentration on export products. By the middle of the 1960s agricultural production had begun to decline and has remained so to the present day. Among the principal mineral resources, petroleum is the most important. Although it contributed more to the gross national product, agriculture offered more employment. The biggest single improvement in the economy was the rapid increase in the volume of manufacturing, but the decline in agriculture has had some negative impact. Prior to the mid 1950s, Nigeria was doing well in foreign trade, after which the export values began to fluctuate and import values increased.

There has been a very significant increase in educated and trained personnel. The problem of slow improvement in other sectors of the economy has led to unemployment among the educated population as well as the uneducated. This

situation has been one of the major sources of both economic and political instability in Nigeria. Those who have risen to opportunistic positions find it very difficult and are unwilling to relinquish their positions.

The decline in the gross domestic product was marked in agriculture, education and health areas and placed high demand on these sectors. Apart from the oil industry, mining was the fastest growing sector of the economy, as well as the biggest contributor to the gross domestic product. The gross national product of Nigeria has been consistently lower than its gross domestic product and the recent data indicate a sharp increase in debts since 1979.

Wealth in Nigeria seems to be concentrated in the regions where most of the nation's oil is produced. There is a strong positive relationship between occupation and education. Power and status rest on the control of institutions of the state for the elites rather than on private economic resources. Income disparities within the rural areas are evident when we look at the occupational differential while in the urban areas it can be seen in terms of housing, access to services and life styles. In general, income disparity in Nigeria has been widening in recent years.

The extended family system, the marriage system, and the desire for children and sex preference, have made it difficult for Nigerians to control the rate of population growth.

In Nigeria urbanization is ahead of industrialization and few areas dominate the economic activities of the nation. A greater disparity between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for urban dwellers exists. Movement to the cities from the rural areas is more of a push factor than a pull factor. The dependancy ratio in Nigeria is very high relative to the rest of the world. About half of the population are engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Depopulation and lack of information in rural Nigeria has resulted in its isolation and backwardness. Old and retired citizens are left to carry on the productive activities in the village. Nigeria needs to invest more in labor intensive projects and cut back on high capital intensive where necessary until it is able to build a stronger economic base. There seems to be national commitment to economic development, but there has not been any full realization of the sacrifices involved.

Although many Nigerians are aware of their limited resources they are not yet ready to recognize the problems in the previous management. Essentially the need to be able to formulate and execute the plans to solve their problems in more effective manner. In the remainder of the chapter possible recommendations or solutions are offered which might aid in planning, reorganization and encouragement of development.

A reduction in fertility rate would undoubtedly yield dividends by lowering the number of dependents, thereby releasing funds for investments that could be used to increase productivity. This can be done through universal education for both males and females. The government has a vital role to play, such as encouraging and sponsoring planned parenthood in urban areas and in the villages. That is to say, Nigerians need to develop a balanced view of the opportunities for individual family planning through massive education. More efforts should be made to encourage women to participate in the labor force. Recognition of a woman's right to participate in decision-making in the family especially in regard to the number of children the family should have is important. More encouragement to women to further their education up to secondary and university levels is needed. The number of social organizations and clubs for women, especially married ones, where they can feel more comfortable to express their opinions and discuss their problems should be increased.

There are some other ways the government could help regulate the population growth rate without directly forcing the people to take action against their wills. To mention just a few: (1) primary and secondary education should be made compulsory for all Nigerian children, (2) a policy that specified the legal age by which a child should start employment should be introduced. In addition, the

government could encourage the media to educate the public on food supply and population growth. A policy that encourages the increase costs of rearing children should be formulated. These costs should include all of the external costs the government imposes on the society; all allowances associated with increases in family size should be reduced. For the poor to respond to the economic incentives affecting the birth rate, their income and education should be raised significantly.

Sex education should be given high priority as part of family planning efforts. Family responsibility/family planning courses should be an integral part of early learning process for children at their primary age. Both boys and girls should be included in this learning process. Women should be encouraged to participate in the development of programs. The attitude of both men and women should be considered in population strategies. The rural people should be consulted in both community development and family planning efforts. Methods to reduce unwanted pregnancy and ideal family size should be encouraged. Nigerian doctors and other professionals, after educating themselves, should become involved in sex education by supporting and encouraging availability of factual sexual information to the public at the levels understandable to them. The Nigerian government should endeavor to support research

towards developing the "ideal" contraceptive, as well as promoting the distribution of information, material and personnel. Consultation centers where women with unwanted pregnancies may go for counseling by well-trained competent professionals should be organized and established in such a manner that will not impinge the efforts of private practitioners and other professional personnel.

Population control is not the only solution, but it has the greatest chance for long-run success. Its achievement would make the process of economic development and modernization more rapid and more certain. It would in addition increase growth in income, productive employment, make attainment of education easier, and relieve women from frequent childbearing and care.

Rural towns might be helped by channelling investments to them from industrial, commercial and administrative development as well as from the appropriate infrastructure. This would help extend information networks to the rural population, thereby alleviating their backwardness, isolation, and increasing opportunities for a higher standard of living. More decentralization of administration at all levels is one way to encourage community development.

Adequate financing, enlightenment, suitable technical assistance and efficient internal organization would help solve most of the major problems facing the rural areas in Nigeria. Increased emphasis on the need to keep the youths

in the rural areas through agricultural development would help reduce the alarming rate of rural-urban drift.

The Nigerian government could also formulate urbanization policy based on the understanding of the important role of urban centers for generating economic development. At present the government and private institutions are engaged in a program of planned modernization based on improving the standard of living through industrialization and better farming and distribution methods. But the success of this program would depend also on the availability of new seed varieties, fertilizers, improved methods of cultivation, and maintenance. In addition to mechanization, Nigerian farmers should be better educated so that they can understand the social, technological, and physical effects on the improvement of agriculture.

Agricultural investment in all its aspects should be encouraged. Professional farmers should be encouraged to diversify their production. Both national and state governments should endeavor to reduce the kind of stigma associated with agriculture by articulating agrarian policy aimed at giving agriculture a nation-wide mechanized outlook and prestigious position. Trade in the agricultural products needed to maintain the growing local industries should be improved so that farming will become more profitable. More farm settlements and agricultural extension services need to be established. Increases in loans to farmers might aid development.

Nigeria needs a well-planned industrialization that could progress "side-by-side" with agricultural improvement before it can raise the standard of living of her people. To improve industrialization in Nigeria particular attention should be given to the quality of industrial labor (semi-skilled, skilled, organization and managerial levels), capital accumulation, and the narrowness of her market opportunities.

Greater attention should be given to traditional craft industries as well as the local markets. These could be achieved through organizing and operating the industries in large scale with more mechanized techniques. The market could be expanded by building new ones and innovating the existing ones. Now that Nigeria has realized that her economic prosperity from oil "is a thing of the past" she should endeavor to invest in new revenues of export besides oil.

The Nigerian government should pay more attention to the development of those basic needs that will help improve the standard of living of the majority rather than embarking on gigantic projects that benefit the few. For example, in Nigeria there are cases of urban and rural poverty, where tap water scarcely runs, where public utilities never serve the public, where common food products and various locally produced foods have become very scarce commodities, yet the national and state governments have embarked on building



plush hotels and tourist attractions which the common man has no chance of utilizing.

Direct attacks on specific resource shortages are more effective than policy restrictions that may indirectly affect the national economic development. For example, direct attacks such as structural changes, planned changes in urban design, institutions and technology are likely to be more important and less expensive than restrictive measures such as taxes and prohibition measures.

The lack of discipline is one of the important factors hindering economic development and social progress of Nigeria. The development at all levels of work will help develop entrepreneurship and aid in the development and acceptance of plans. As Nigeria is faced with a serious challenge which necessitates the formulation of comprehensive development plans in which population programs, such as family planning and manpower policies should be given greater and more appropriate attention.

The current demographic picture of Nigeria, in common with other developing countries in Africa, requires immediate recognition and its solution should be given high priority in order to forestall further more serious problems. Possible solutions have been discussed; any one of these, particularly education, may in itself be unsuccessful. The population problem would best be attacked through a variety of means on both personal and governmental levels.

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