

The Dynamics of Nigeria's Population Policies

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Key Terms: Census, demography, development, governance, population.

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ABSTRACT

Since her attainment of political independence in 1960, Nigeria has experienced a number of demographic experiments. These experiments were designed to facilitate good governance, strengthen her economy, assist in poverty reduction and provide meaningful data for the uplifting of the lives of her populations. Also since the 1963 census, administrative changes in the number of states and local governments have informed the population dynamics by varying degrees. The physical and effective relocation of the federal capital to the centre, lack of uniform nature, direction and quantum of changes in population movements, differential in mortality and fertility rates, season of enumeration, differential in seasonal migration, and lately, the Niger Delta crisis have all influenced the country's population. Based on published literature and other media sources, this paper examines the

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dynamics of Nigeria's population policies. To achieve this, the paper was anchored on the concepts of demographic transition and population explosion. Efforts are made to historicize the country's population policies, her demographic experiments, and their attendant controversies. Finally, the paper identifies the prospects for population policies.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is by far the most populated country in Africa, with approximately 150 million inhabitants and a land area of 923,768 square kilometers, lying on Africa's west coast and bordering Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin. Reports say that the country is being devoured by unbelievably unjust poverty, alongside diseases that should no longer exist, such as malaria and yellow fever (Shields 2006:64). The country is a three-tiered federation comprising 36 states, the federal capital territory and 774 local governments. Since transition to civil rule in 1999, the government has initiated several reform programs, which were designed to affect the socio-economic and political lives of the population.

The spatial distribution of Nigeria's population is uneven, with an increasing density in the coastal regions and rural areas but the country's cities are expanding at a rapid rate. While a larger part of the country's population is engaged in agriculture, the bulk of government's revenues come from the nation's crude oil. This accounts for the downside of the Nigerian economy, namely: the volatility in the international oil prices. Yet actual crude oil production has been lower than projected due to the conflict in the Niger Delta. Worried by this current trend, the Nigerian government seeks alternative sources of revenue to finance public goods. It has also decided to go tough on tax, because the situation on ground calls for more emphasis on increased revenue through tax (Kolapo 2008:64; Chiedozie 2008:17). The National Population Commission (2007:8-9) reports that the country's annual

growth rate during the last decade of the 20th century has been relatively low, averaging 3 percent. The population has grown at approximately the same rate over this period and this indicates the insignificant improvement in the welfare of the average citizen.

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic segmented society. Onigu Otite (1990) identified 374 ethnic groups, which Abdul Raufa Mustapha (2007:3) have broadly divided into ethnic 'majorities' and ethnic 'minorities'. According to Mustapha (2007:3), "the numerically – and politically – majority ethnic groups are the composite Hausa-Fulani of the north, the Yoruba of the southwest, and the Igbo of the southeast." The census of 1963 reveal that the three majority ethnic groups constituted 57.8 percent of the national population, while eleven of the largest ethnic minorities put together constituted 27.9 percent (Afolayan 1983; Mustapha 2007). The issues of ethnicity and religion were diluted in the census of 2006 because of the numeric and hegemonic strength of the ethnic majorities and the array of alliances by the ethnic minorities around the ethnic majorities, particularly in the area of political and economic resources. Yet, Mustapha (2007:3) notes that, "each of the three hegemonic groups tries to build up sufficient alliances to ensure its preponderance in government, or to prevent its being marginalized by competing alliance." The remaining parts of this paper examine the concepts of demographic transition and population explosion, Nigeria's population policies and demographic experiments. In between these sub-themes, efforts are also made to identify the sources of population data and the controversies and misconceptions arising from census and its uses. Finally, the paper recognizes the prospects for population policies.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION AND POPULATION EXPLOSION

The concepts that underpin this study are demographic transition and population explosion. As early as 1795, Condorcet had the foresight to realize the danger of over-population. In his views, this could lead to what he calls a 'diminution of happiness', and possibly be mastered

through a rise in productivity, better management, the prevention of waste and the spread of education. In response to the threat which population could pose to the environment, Condorcet recommended 'dematerialized' growth. In his words, "the same level of production will be achievable with less destruction of raw produce, or alternatively will last longer." Matsuura (2007:53) made reference to the foregoing in his identification of significant developments that will determine future population trends. First, according to Matsuura is that the population growth of the latter 20th century will come to be seen as one of the biggest events in history. Second, there is an abrupt slow down in the rate of growth, due to demographic transition. Third, virtually all the population growth between now and 2050 will take place in the developing countries. Fourth, if current trends continue, the whole of this population growth will be taking place in towns and cities. Fifth, world population is marked by radical inequality of various kinds. Sixth, the aging population – arising from low fertility and higher life expectancy – is another uneven but generally destabilizing trend which will impose an increasing burden.

Matsuura also averred that the challenges of international migration, food security, jobs, poverty reduction, public health, housing, infrastructure, the environment, and the promotion of sustainable development must be addressed. Population growth, he says, challenges development and hampers the fight against poverty. Thus he recommended the emergence of real 'knowledge societies' as the prospect of coping with population growth and aging. He believes in working "for equitable growth and development founded on intelligence, science, technology, and a change in our ways of living, producing and consuming." (Matsuura 2007:53). As if in agreement with Matsuura, Foulkes (2008:3) emphasized the trend in the advanced industrial democracies that, higher incentives for human capital led to a demographic transition, which in lagging or developing countries was slower and, therefore more explosive. Foulkes noted that, "even before the industrial revolution, trade had an impact on the formation of

markets and democratic institutions in Europe.” In developing countries, he says, “lower incentives for human capital slowed institutional formation, which depends on a more equal income distribution generating a more democratic distribution of the de facto power.” To examine how trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), technological change, institutions and demographic transitions interact, attention must be given to the new theory of economic growth. That is free trade and FDI would lead to the equalization of growth rates and production levels across countries. As noted by Foulkes (2008:2) “enquiry into the long-term persistence of income inequality between and within countries underlined the importance of dynamics in population technology and institutions.”

Damianova, Tzvetkovska and Ivanov (2005:27) have also observed the serious effect of demographic factors on municipal economic development potential. In their words, “depopulation of certain regions, migration, and different levels of education and qualification among the labour force all come to bear on implementation of economic policy.” Thus it can be argued that the way families actively manage generational change and succession, and how they attempt to rebuild food security and maintain resilience in the face of adversity may be adjusted. In the 1950s and 1960s, latter-day Malthusians predicted that population growth would outstrip the world’s food supply. This led to the green revolution (Rothberg 2008:9), which spurred the agricultural sector into achievements in terms of radical improvements in production – based on initiative including research, extension, and infrastructure – that brought about increased yields in both developed and developing countries.

It is also important to note the comparison done by Cogwill (1963), of the conditions in the developing countries and the experiences of European countries on which the original version of demographic transition was built. Whereas it took Europe 150 to 200 years to reduce their death rates below 15, the developing countries’ experience is within 15 to 20 years. Fortunately enough, the developing countries

import the death control technology invented by European countries. Resting on this, Idele (1998:159) distinguishes between the revolutionary nature of 'African type' of demographic explosion and the evolutionary European demographic transition, alluding to dialectical materialism; that it is physically more challenging to control 'evolutionary transition' than 'revolutionary explosion'. Idele compared the contemporary urbanization trend in Nigeria with that of Britain. By the 1850s, Britain already had a huge 'urban population base' upon which the industries depended immediately after the industrial revolution, whereas, in Nigeria the unprecedented metropolitan trend occurred at a time when scarcely more than 20 percent of the population lived in open townships. Also, the industrial revolution pulled rural folks to the townships to supply industrial labour in Britain, while the industrial concerns in Nigeria were too few to exert any significant 'pull effects' on the rural dwellers to migrate *en masse* into the cities. In a sense, rural migrants in Nigeria are respectively, being pushed by rural population pressure (such as land dispossession) and pulled by the (often illusory) promise of the existence of better economic opportunities in the cities (Idele 1998:166).

Idele (1998:158) opined that migration to the cities or Europe does have minimal effect on the population because Nigerians are uniquely endowed with the immense 'reproductive capacity' to 'breed like the rabbits' even if in the long run the human beings may have to 'die like the rabbits', hence the non-feasibility of improvement in agricultural production since food supply is fairly inelastic in the short run. The transition to civil rule in 1999 brought about changes in critical areas such as privatization of state-owned enterprises, public sector reforms, leading to large-scale redundancies, market liberalization and removal of fuel subsidies. These policy changes would certainly have implication for the country's demography.

POPULATION POLICIES IN NIGERIA

It will not be out of place to argue that since the attainment of political independence in 1960, Nigeria has had a number of population policies. These policies are designed to facilitate good governance, strengthen her economy, assist in poverty reduction and provide meaningful data for the uplifting of the lives of her populations. Also since the 1963 census, administrative changes in the number of states and local governments have informed the population dynamics by varying degrees. More fundamentally, the physical and effective relocation of the federal capital to the center, lack of uniform nature, direction and quantum of changes in population movements, differential in mortality and fertility rates, season of enumeration, differential in seasonal migration, and lately, the conflict in the Niger Delta have all contributed to the country's population dynamics.

In June 1966, Nigeria had the first recorded reference to population policy in the form of guidelines for the second national development plan. The policy statement of the plan prepared by the Federal Ministry of Economic Development was that, "there is a need to evolve a population policy (including spatial distribution) as an integral part of the national development effort." The statement paid lip service to the various demographic indicators such as over-all population growth rate, dependency ratio, tempo of urbanization and urban unemployment rate, and recommended that the nation's population policy should be evolved essentially on 'high resource base potential'. Idele (1998:161) notes that, the third national development plan only re-echoed the major provisions of the prototype population policy contained in the earlier plan.

At the Arusha Conference of 1984, the Nigerian government reported that the country's population was growing at a faster rate than the rate of food production. This observation was re-echoed at the World Population Conference held in Mexico in 1984. This culminated in the federal government approval of the 1988 national policy on

population for development, unity, progress and self-reliance. The 1988 policy marked the first ever officially documented population policy instrument for Nigeria. Idele (1998:157) describes this 29-page document as 'straightforward and scholarly written', but seriously lacking in its technical format and pragmatic recommendations. He added that the 1988 policy was 'bereft of any form of legal or physical authority' to midwife the 'one-spouse-four-children' reproductive ceiling recommended for the country in any foreseeable future. It has turned out that most families are shrinking because the economy does not encourage the four children per spouse ceiling.

The national population census of 1991, the International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994, and the HIV/AIDS Summit held in Abuja in 1999, alongside the poverty and food security and the population-environment-development nexus all made a revision of the 1988 population policy imperative. The revision led to the government approval of the 2004 national policy on population for sustainable development. Succinctly, the 2004 population policy is designed to improve the standard of living and quality of life of the people, promote material, child and reproductive health, and achieve a lower population growth rate through the reduction of birth rates by voluntary fertility regulation methods compatible with the national policy to achieve even distribution of population between urban and rural areas. The 2004 population policy also aims to prevent the causes and spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic and address the problems of international migration and spatial distribution, as expressed in the Dakar/Ngor Declarations 1992, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development 1992 and International Conference on Population and Development Programs of Action 1994 (Obasanjo 2004). One major weakness of the 2004 policy is attributable to the fact that the social objectives as captured by the Nigerian Constitution are rather non-justiceable.

SOURCES OF POPULATION DATA

Good planning requires an accurate and up-to-date population database. However, like any other developing country, Nigeria faces the challenge of developing a timely and high-quality population database. To address this challenge the country relies on a number of sources for its population data, namely: census, survey, vital statistics and administrative records. Before the adoption of the national policy on population for sustainable development, major demographic surveys conducted include the Nigeria fertility survey (NFS) in 1981/82; the Nigeria demographic and health surveys (NDHS) in 1990 and 1999; the national sentinel surveys (NSS) in 1994 and 1999; the multiple indicator cluster surveys (MICS) and the general household surveys (GHS) (Nigeria 2004:4). Others sources include the core welfare indicators questionnaire (CWIQ) survey, education census, authenticated administrative data from ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), national living standards survey, used for the national poverty assessment, surveys relating to consumption and health indicators, and stakeholders' forum for gathering inputs and validating contents of reports (National Planning Commission 2007:8-9).

The childbirth registration is another source of data for population planning. The NPC is mandated to establish and maintain machinery for continuous and universal registration of births and deaths throughout the federation. This mandate is in addition to the overall duty of undertaking periodical enumeration of population through sample surveys, censuses or otherwise. It was reported that over 10 million children in the country are not registered. Hence the NPC has to recruit the services of religious leaders, traditional institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to assist in educating the public on the importance of childbirth registration (Ande, Nzeagwu and Olagoke 2007:95). On its part, the annual socio-economic survey, established by the Statistical Act 2007, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Act 2007, and the Communication Act 2003 is specifically designed to collect relevant statistics to facilitate the production of gross

domestic product (GDP), information and communication technology (ICT) indicators and monitor economic performance of the country. Suffice to note that non-compliance with the enumerators in the field to achieve the objectives of the survey is punishable under the laws establishing the survey.

Another major source of population data is based upon the internal research by development agencies. For example, arising from its internal research, the United Nations Population Fund Agency (UNFPA) reported that, about three million Nigerians, especially youths, move into the labour market yearly with little hope of getting jobs; and about 48 percent of young girls in the North West zone of the country get married before they turned 15. The research categorized the youths into: “unemployed; under-employed; temporarily out jobs; and fresh graduates from the Universities.” The report advised the productive engagement of a greater percentage of these people to reduce poverty and create wealth. It was also reported by the UNFPA that, “Nigeria has a population of over 140 million and one third of that number (4 million) are young people between the ages of 10 and 24 years. And “approximately three million people in Nigeria, mainly youths, work into the labour market annually with few getting jobs.” (Sam 2008:9).

It is possible to triangulate the UNFPA report with the 2006 census results. Based on the 2006 provisional census figures, Nigeria has a youth population of 80 million, which demographically represents 60 percent of the country’s total population of 140 million. With data sourced from the National Manpower Board and the Federal Bureau of Statistics, only 10 percent of the total number of graduates being produced by the country’s tertiary institutions had been getting paid employment. The implications for the country are enormous. As recently observed, “the rising and disturbing incidence of cultism, prostitution, kidnapping and hostage taking amply illustrates the

frustration of the most active segment of Nigeria's population." (Emenike 2009:14).

Of all the sources of data highlighted above, census stands out significantly in determining the country's population dynamics and governance. Jacobson (2000) has well captured the significance of census. In his words, "the decennial census set the tone for the nation." The data gathered (or generated) from the census report affect a range of issues such as redistricting, congressional reapportionment (or constituency delineation), federal funding for states and localities, and the way populations (or people) think about. Census is for guidance. Businesses use the census to determine population shifts and potential sites and ventures, while public safety officials, such as fire departments and police, use it to locate their precincts. Considering the foregoing factors, "the census becomes more than just an enumeration of the individuals in the nation; it is an indispensable tool for government and private enterprise alike." More fundamentally, the "census provides an account of the country's inhabitants, including their occupations, ethnicity, race and place of residence." It thus "offers a means of comparing population shifts over the decades and the ensuing effect on politics." (Jacobson 2000: 1).

DEMOGRAPHIC EXPERIMENTS IN NIGERIA

Nigeria's demographic experiments in terms of census, its eventual manipulations and their attendant controversies have been well documented in the literature (Awolowo 1966, Adigwe 1974, Ojiako 1981, Idele 1998, Osaghae 2002, Otoghagua 2007, Ibeanu and Momoh 2008, Aghemelo and Osumah 2009). Attempts are made here to review the different versions of the history of census in Nigeria.

Pre-Independence Censuses

It is on record that, Lagos was the first Nigerian city to witness census. According to Idele (1998:168), in 1789, an American sailor, Captain D.

Adamson made a rough estimate of Lagos to the extent that it contained some 5,000 inhabitants. In 1815, the population of Lagos was estimated at 11,000; and in 1861, it was further estimated at 30,000. In line with the British census arrangement at home and in the colonies, between 1871 and 1931, the population of Lagos was estimated every decade as follows: 1871 (29,000); 1881 (37,000); 1891 (38,000); 1901 (42,000); and 1911 (100,000). The 1931 census of Lagos was 126,000. There was no census in 1941 due to the effects of the World War II. In 1950, the census of Lagos was 270,000. It should be noted that census only extended out of Lagos from 1901. Thus the Nigerian population was 18,720 in 1921; 19,928 in 1931; and 31,000,000 in 1952/53.

Post-Independence Censuses

The first nationwide census after independence was held in May 1962. Coordinated by an expatriate, Mr. J.J. Warren, the 1962 census was meant to help gerrymander the entire country into polling and electoral constituencies, and aid economic and development planning, particularly for the development plan of 1962-1968. Otoghagua (2007:53) notes that the expected benefits of the outcome of the census spurred the politicians to hijack the exercise with manipulative tendencies, and this generated a lot of controversies. As a result, a verification test was slated for November 1963 to check the validity of the 1962 census.

The November 1963 Census was also characterized by problems ranging from shortage of census materials through insufficient period of enumeration to politicization of the exercise by politicians. Specifically, the manipulated figures by politicians led to dispute among opposing political camps. Also many elites and rural dwellers developed apathy of sorts towards enumeration and the imported principles of enumeration by the expatriate were not amenable to African situation. The governments of Eastern and Mid-western regions rejected the results on the grounds of inflation, gross irregularities and unauthorized acts. The case for annulment instituted

at the Supreme Court by the Eastern region was dismissed for want of evidence. The young region, Midwest later accepted the result for fear of being denied federal aid. The reaction from the Western region government was a compromise because "Akintola could not afford to bite the finger that fed him," to use the words of Aghemelo and Osumah (2009:59).

In spite of the controversies generated by the exercise the federal government published the provisional results in February 1964 (Ibeanu and Momoh 2008:23). Thus the provisional results became the reference point of analyzing the population dynamics and validating the planning process until 1991 when the Ibrahim Babangida-led regime conducted a nationwide census. From the evidence in the literature, it can be argued that the pockets of opposition that trailed the two exercises were informed by the lack of clear variation between the initial census and the verification test. Also another statutory body was not established to conduct the verification exercise. Even then, data ought to have been triangulated to measure overlapping but also different facets of the phenomenon. Possibly, this would have yielded an enriched understanding to ensure the validity of data (Wilson 2004:22). Were it so, the different stakeholders would have accepted the results even though there was no clear-cut variation between the two results.

The 2006 Census

After a period of 14 years, the administration of Olusegun Obasanjo conducted a nationwide census. The 2006 census report estimates Nigeria's population to be 140 million. The report submitted to the Government of Nigeria by the national population commission (NPC) contained the population figures by sex at the national, state and local government levels. NPC noted the deviation between the final and provisional population totals at the three levels of government to be well within the acceptable demographic norms and absolute percentage population difference is not significant. (Makama 2008:36).

The 2006 census figure placed Kano State as the most populated in the country with more than 9 million people followed by Lagos. Bayelsa State was least populated with 1.7 million people. Former President Olusegun Obasanjo earlier presented the provisional report of the census to the National Assembly in early 2007. On Thursday, January 23, 2009, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua submitted the final figures of the 2006 census to the two chambers of the National Assembly, as stipulated by section 213, sub sections 3 and 4 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria:

Where the Council of State advises the President to accept the report, the President shall accept the same and shall then lay the report on the table of each House of the National Assembly. Where the President accepts such report and has laid it on the table of each House of the National Assembly, he shall publish it in the official Gazette of the Government of the Federation for public information. (Alechenu and Ameh 2009:8).

Commenting on the 2006 census, Makama (2008:36) notes that "the relative ranking of the states do not exhibit any change though some states have gained marginally while others show very small overall decline." The commission expects this trend to "allay any misgivings or fear in any stakeholder of dramatic variation between the provisional and final population totals." At the local government level, there were relatively greater population fluctuations for obvious reasons. First, "the local governments are of vastly differing population sizes." Makama added that, "an accurate and reliable census usually implies that the coverage and content of the census are fairly satisfactory in the given context." Also "no census anywhere in the world is perfect, in terms of coverage and content." That of 2006 was a *de facto* census and only those seen and found during the visit(s) of the enumerators were enumerated. Large cities and towns and their administrative and commercial areas are usually prone to boastings and misinterpretations that high population density (number of persons per square kilometer)

necessarily translate into a very high population size. Whereas, due to commercial activities, markets or public activities (such as educational institutions, hospitals and public or private offices for example), the day time and weak day population could be significantly different than the usual resident population eligible for enumeration on a *de facto* basis.

Census, Controversies and Misconceptions

Once released, any individual, institution or state that has complaints about the census figures can take the case to the census tribunals. The NPC has commenced the dissemination of figures among all stakeholders, to enable them have an idea of what really transpired. NPC has also promised to prepare tables of the various 'demographic variables'. In spite of these mechanisms some still allege that the census was fraught with irregularities in which some areas were not enumerated. A major pointer to the controversies is the parallel census held by the Government of Lagos State to ascertain the actual population figure in the state. The NPC had allocated 9,013,534 of the 140 million populations to Lagos after it released the provisional results of the population and housing census conducted between March 21 and 30, 2006.

However, Lagos State disputed the figures and awarded itself 17,553,924 populations, relying on the result of a parallel exercise it conducted. Armed with the figures, the Lagos State Government perfected plans to articulate its position before the Census Tribunal raised by the Chief Justice of the Federation. The NPC argued that it was illegal for any state to conduct a parallel census, because it is the only body statutorily empowered by the 1999 Constitution to conduct census. Pockets of opposition from states in the East and South-west parts of the country have also trailed the 2006 census figures but it is on record that only Lagos State has challenged the figures of the 2006 census final population totals, to argue that Kano State does not have population more than Lagos State (Otoghagua 2007:361; Alechenu and Ameh 2009:8; Nurudeen 2009:1,10).

The foregoing indicates that indeed, census has become a contentious issue within the Nigerian governance and politics. The reasons for the controversies and misconceptions are not hard to find. First, census is used for political calculation. For example, the use of census in political domination by some regions has encouraged other regions to capitalize on it to change the country's political equation. Suffice to note that it is a criterion for assessing the viability of new states and local government areas and a determining factor in constituency delineation for election purposes. Second, the population figure is used for resource allocation, among the regions in particular and resource distribution in general. Section 162(2) of the 1999 Constitution provides that in determining the formula, the National Assembly shall take into account the allocation principles, especially those of population, equality of states, internal revenue generation, landmass, terrain, as well as population density. This section reinforces population figure as a determinant for revenue allocation, hence stakeholders try to manipulate the outcome of census in their domain.

Third, it is a basis for allocating quotas in recruitment into government establishments. Where there is an alleged breach of federal character principle in the recruitment of staff, the federal character commission (FCC) is empowered by paragraph (8)(1)(c) of section c, part 1, third schedule of the 1999 Constitution and its enabling Act, to "take such legal measures, including the prosecution of the head or staff of any ministry, department or agency (MDA), which fails to comply with any federal character principle or formulae prescribed or adopted by the commission. Thus alleged lopsided recruitment of staff by the management of any government establishment attracts the attention of the FCC. (The Punch 2008:2).

Fourth, a census report can be used to determine the declaration of highways. Increase in population of the country and the subsequent increase in the number of states could lead to a call for elevation of more roads to federal highways. With the creation of more

states in the country, roads now traverse between the states and once a road cuts across more than one state, it automatically qualifies as a federal road. The classification of more roads as federal highways would also aid the development and growth of the affected areas. This was the argument canvassed that led to the resolution on “Declaration of More Roads as Federal Highways” by the House of Representatives in March 2009 (Ossai and Oladimeji 2009:6).

Fifth, a census report can also be used for strategic housing and urban planning. In urban areas, strategic urban planning is impossible without reform of the land policy implementation, land tenure, land administration, land management, land tax, land redistribution, all of which are inextricably linked. It may be virtually impossible to embark on slum upgrading without an adequate land administration system, giving information about the location of state and private land and the location of existing slums. Also, without such information, it is difficult to service an area in terms of infrastructure and for cost recovery. Even land distribution to the urban poor is impossible without proper information and records (The Guardian 2008:62).

However, there are a lot of cultural beliefs and myths surrounding census. For example, the issue of birth and death, which is essential for planning and identification of health and other social needs of the people, has been misconstrued. Whereas, vital registrars are domiciled in the local governments with the mandate to register deaths, as well as births of children born from June 1988 to date, some cultural beliefs and myths are woven round the enumeration of offspring (Oyedele 2009:8). Thus there is misconception of census data, which is designed for sustainable development as against the belief that it is specifically for sharing the national cake. Also, there is hostile reception by the rural dwellers that are not in tune with the objective of the NPC. It is important to note the difficulties in getting to the interior and other poor terrain as part of the logistics problems confronting the population officials. As observed by some stakeholders, “no amount of automation

can yield the desired result unless backed by adequate human resource." (Oyedele 2009:8).

CONCLUSION

In understanding the dynamics of Nigeria's population policies, the role of industrialization, the season of enumeration, mortality and fertility rates, differential level of over count, uncertainties of precise local government and state boundaries, and socio-political and ethno-religious conflicts are important. As noted by Makama (2008:36), these constitute the ground reality but "it is not easily accepted by diehards." Onokerhoraye (1995:1) once argued that, "population growth should be encouraged as it is beneficial to the development process because of the advantages which are associated with the population growth." Attempts are being made to link population to the current global financial meltdown. Yet others think that, not minding the global financial crisis, population can never be stagnant. There must be growth in population and the annual growth rate is 3.4 and many industries have been established and infrastructures have been made (Nurudeen 2009:10).

What aptly describe the competition for political and economic resources are the systematic and overlapping patterns of inequalities that are caused by a complex range of factors, which include history, geography, cultural orientation, religious affiliation, natural resource endowments, current government policies and past colonial policies. (Mustapha 2007:4). These help to explain the peoples' political perceptions, with a tremendous impact on the electoral policies and the composition of government. As noted by Mustapha (2007:15), "since the 1950s, partisan political groups are wont to bandy around whatever data suits their political objectives. Passions within the general population were often inflamed by media publication of selective data on the ethnic composition of different branches of the bureaucracy." (Mustapha 2007:15). This supports the argument by Makama (2008:36)

that many Nigerians are in the habit of making population estimates of a given area mostly to suit their own arguments, political or otherwise. In this case, there may be a wrong mix up of the phenomenon of high population density, which according to their mindset, should necessarily result and translate into, in every case, a very high population size. This places the lives of enumerating staff at risk. There are usually emotional and sentimental outbursts with wild population guesstimates sprinkled in between. Such outbursts negate the very essence of the channel of legitimate grievances. While the body responsible for census may apply required painstaking effort, labour and patience to validate the results for internal and external consistencies, it happens that the country is deprived of the benefits of population policies. (Makama 2008:36).

In the light of the foregoing, this paper recommends some steps to achieve prospects for population policies in Nigeria. First, during subsequent census, enumeration should be done at place of residency, for the purpose of planning. Reference can be made to a place of origin only for traditional, cultural and historical purposes. Second, to vote and be voted for should not be dependent on residency. There should be mobility of franchise to help state actors in dispassionate planning. Third, the officials involved should adequately be trained to attain a high level of proficiency and efficiency in the discharge of their duties. Fourth, Nigerian leaders should make a commitment to population stabilization and resource conservation. This is in tandem with the suggestion by Hinrichson and Robey (2000:5) that, "if every country made a commitment to population stabilization and resource conservation, the world would be better able to meet the challenges of sustainable development." This requires intelligent public investment, effective natural resource management, clearer agricultural and industrial technologies, less population and slower population growth. Fifth, a framework should be designed by government to look beyond census figures as the basis of resource allocation and utilization. With the adoption of more than one source of data, as captured by the 2004

national population policy, misgivings or fear in stakeholder would be allayed, even in the light of deviation between the figures. Finally, resource and power should be shared meaningfully and intelligibly in the light of the behavioral patterns of the Nigerian population.

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Appendix I: 1962 Initial Census Figures and Verification Test

Region	Initial Census	Verification Test
North	29,777,986	29,758,875
East	12,388,646	12,394,462
West	10,278,500	10,265,846
Mid-West	2,533,337	2,535,839
Lagos	675,352	665,246

Source: *Osaghae (2002)*

Appendix II: 1963 Census Figures

Region	Figure
Northern region	29,777,986
Eastern region	12,388,646
Western region	10,278,500
Mid-western region	2,533,337
Lagos	675,352
Total	55,653,821

Sources: Adigwe (1974); Ojiako (1981)

Appendix III: 1999 Census Figures

State	Population Figure
Abia	2,297,978
Adamawa	2,124,049
Akwa Ibom	2,359,736
Anambra	2,769,903
Bauchi	4,294,413
Benue	2,780,398
Bornu	2,596,589
Cross River	1,865,604
Delta	2,570,181
Edo	2,159,848
Enugu	3,161,295
Imo	2,485,499
Jigawa	2,829,929
Kaduna	3,969,252
Kano	5,632,040
Katsina	3,878,344
Kebbi	2,062,266
Kogi	2,999,046
Kwara	1,566,469
Lagos	5,685,781
Niger	2,482,367
Ogun	2,338,570
Ondo	3,884,485
Osun	2,203,016

State	Population Figure
Oyo	3,488,789
Plateau	3,282,704
Rivers	3,983,857
Sokoto	4,393,391
Taraba	1,480,590
Yobe	1,411,484
Federal Capital Territory	378,671
Population Totals	88,514,501

Note: Male Totals (44, 544, 5); Female Totals (43,969,970)

Source: *Otoghagua (2007:197-198)*.

Appendix IV: 2006 Census Figures

State	Males	Females	Total
Abia	1,434,193	1,399,806	2,833,999
Adamawa	1,606,123	1,561,978	3,168,101
Akwa-Ibom	2,044,510	1,875,698	3,920,208
Anambra	2,174,841	2,007,391	4,182,032
Bauchi	2,426,215	2,250,250	4,676,485
Bayelsa	902,648	800,710	1,703,358
Benue	2,164,058	2,055,186	4,219,244
Borno	2,161,157	1,990,036	4,151,193
Cross River	1,492,465	1,396,501	4,151,193
Delta	2,074,306	2,024,085	4,098,391
Ebonyi	1,040,984	1,132,617	2,173,501
Edo	1,640,461	1,577,871	3,218,332
Ekiti	1,212,609	1,171,603	2,384,212
Enugu	1,624,202	1,633,096	3,257,298
Federal Capital Territory	740,489	664,712	1,405,201
Gombe	1,230,722	1,123,157	2,353,879
Imo	2,032,286	1,902,613	3,934,899
Jigawa	2,215,907	2,132,742	4,348,649
Kaduna	3,112,028	2,964,534	6,066,662
Kano	4,844,128	4,539,554	9,383,682
Katsina	2,976,682	2,813,896	5,792,578
Kebbi	1,617,498	1,621,130	3,236,628

State	Males	Females	Total
Kogi	1,691,737	1,586,750	3,278,487
Kwara	1,220,581	1,160,508	2,371,089
Lagos	4,678,020	4,335,514	9,013,634
Nasarawa	945,556	917,719	1,863,275
Niger	2,032,725	1,917,624	3,950,249
Ogun	1,847,243	1,880,855	3,728,098
Ondo	1,761,263	1,679,751	3,441,024
Osun	1,740,619	1,682,916	3,423,535
Oyo	2,809,840	2,781,749	5,591,589
Plateau	1,593,033	1,585,679	3,178,712
Rivers	2,710,685	2,474,735	5,185,400
Sokoto	1,872,069	1,824,930	3,696,999
Taraba	1,199,849	1,100,887	2,300,735
Yobe	1,205,003	1,115,588	2,321,591
Zamfara	1,630,344	1,629,502	3,259,845

Source: Otoghagua (2007:362)