SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF VALUE OF CHILDREN IN KADUNA STATE

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A Publication of
Population Research Fund Management Unit, NISER

Nigerian Institute of
Social and Economic Research (NISER)
P.M.B. 5, U.I. Post Office,
Ibadan.

ISBN 978 - 181 - 214 -1

Printed by
Bummsay (Nigeria) Limited
U.I. P. O. Box 20247
Ibadan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Given the enormous nature of this study, it would not be possible to actually acknowledge the assistance of every one who has contributed to the successful completion of this study on the value of children in Enugu, Kaduna and Lagos States. In spite of the cumbersomeness of the exercise, efforts would be made to put on record the contributions of some bodies and personalities who are focal to the successful execution of the project.

First, we must thank NISER, especially the Director General, Professor Dotun Phillips and the Population Research Fund (PRF) management unit. They provided the funds necessary for the execution of the project. We wish to specifically mention the names of Professor Makinwa-Adebusoye, Professor Ajakaiye and Dr. Odumosu (all of the PRF team) for their encouragement and support.

We are also grateful to our State Coordinators, Mr. Gbadebo Adegoke and his teams of fieldworkers. The efforts of the numerous respondents and members of the focus group discussion (FGD) team without whom the study would have been a futile exercise are also highly appreciated. Many thanks also go to Dr. U. Isiugo-Abanihe who provided us with ample source of literature review and clarifications of some vital demographic terminologies.

Finally, we are indebted to our wives Mrs. Angela Owumi, Mrs. Foluso Isamah and Mrs. Tinuola Okunola for their understanding and support throughout the duration of the study.

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Introduction/Statement of the Problem

With the exception of the spread of nuclear weaponry and threats to global ecological systems, population growth is the most pressing and urgent issue currently faced by humanity. The affluent countries have more food than they can use for themselves, and in most of them, levels of population growth are low or declining. In much of the remainder of the world, population growth is quite staggering and the pressure on available resources immense (Giddens, 1991). Nowhere is this population pressure on resources more compelling in the contemporary developing world than in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) where it is quite evident that rapid population growth has become a major impediment to social and economic growth. Statistics from the World Bank (1990) shows that the SSA population is growing at a rate of 3.1 per cent a year, a population growth rate which the Bank maintains is the highest in the world and which is not expected to decline until the twenty-first century.

Nigeria's population growth rate of 3.3 per cent is unfortunately higher than the sub-regional average and this cannot but have significant implications for the social and economic development of the country. Although, the Federal Government has belatedly recognised the dangers of a runaway population growth rate and in 1988 adopted a National Population Policy, it is clear however that the rate of growth remains quite high.

Demographers have commonly held that it is high fertility rates in the face of declining mortality rates which perhaps accounts for the high population growth rates in many developing areas. Several social, cultural and economic factors function to keep fertility levels high in such countries. As Notestein (cited in Caldwell and Caldwell, 1987) argues, 'fertility in pre-modern countries had been kept, if not artificially high, then high only by the maintenance of the whole series of props - "religious doctrines, moral codes, law, education, community customs, marriage habits and family organisations". It follows therefore that if the population growth rate is to be brought down, values and attitudes

supporting high fertility must be changed. The present study is concerned with one of such props - the value of children to their parents.

A fairly large number of research studies have shown that parents in many parts of the developing world typically value children as economic assets and as old age security insurance. The absence of social security schemes and worsening economic conditions would probably further make children valuable to their parents as sources of additional support. There can be no doubt that such a value of children perception would have family behaviour implications for the country. It is important therefore that the various determinants of the value of children be carefully studied and understood as a prelude to determining how it affects fertility behaviour.

Justification

After nearly three decades of government inaction, Nigeria in 1988 adopted a National Policy on Population (NPP). Among the many objectives of the policy is the attempt to reduce the population growth rate from 3.3 per cent to 2.0 per cent by year 2000. While this is certainly a desirable objective, however experience from the developed countries which have achieved the demographic transition shows that it is quite a difficult task to stem the tide of births in a developing society. This is primarily because certain fundamental changes must occur before such a transition can take place.

Jejebhoy (1978) points our that deliberate fertility regulation may occur when: the demand for children is reduced, attitudes towards fertility regulation become positive and the means of fertility regulation are readily accessible; and such factors as infant and child survival prospects and such natural fertility conditions as fecundity and fecundibility improve to the extent that excess fertility is experienced. Significant advances have been made in many of the areas stipulated by Jejebhoy (1978) above especially in the provision of the means of fertility regulation and in the reduction of infant and child mortality rates.

However, in spite of these the demand for children remain. Perhaps the most important of these constraints is that the demand for children appears to remain quite high for a number of reasons. One of the most common reasons in the literature for this high demand for

children is that many parents tend to regard children as very valuable to them. The point needs to be made that despite the recognition of the value of children as an important phenomenon, not much attention has been paid to its determinants especially in the dynamic and changing social, cultural and economic circumstances of Nigeria.

This is a major gap in the literature which the present study intends to help bridge through an indepth examination of those factors that determine the value of children to their parents. For instance, the steady deterioration of the national economy since the late 1970s culminated in the adoption of a structural adjustment programme (SAP). It would be very useful for population control purposes to find out the impact of nearly a decade of structural adjustment on the value of children in Nigeria. Similarly, a careful study of the effects of social and cultural factors such as religion, education and income level on the value of children would constitute an important contribution both to the scientific literature and for policy making purposes. In the final analysis therefore, it is the belief here that greater progress at fertility control will be made in Nigeria when these factors are adequately understood and subsequently incorporated into future population policies and programmes.

Research Questions

From the brief review of literature undertaken in the previous section and given the peculiar nature of the Nigeria environment, some important questions arise which it is hoped would assist in the conduct of the study.

(i) Do parents in any part of Nigeria perceive their children in terms of cost and benefits to themselves?

(ii) Has the prevailing economic situation anything to do with such perception as exist among parents?

(iii) Are their any aspects of the local cultures that support placing values on children?

(iv) Do parents still see their children as old-age security insurance?

(v) Does education and income have any relationship with the value attached to children?

(vi) Is there any relationship between perceived value of children and fertility behaviour?

Research Objectives

Given the discussion so far, the study therefore has the following objectives:

(i) to assess the perception of parents about the value of children under the prevailing socio-cultural and economic situation;

(ii) to identify and measure the extent to which prevailing socio-economic policy regime has affected the value of children and hence fertility behaviour;

(iii) to assess the influence of socio-cutural and economic factors on fertility behaviour under the prevailing economic regime policy;

(iv) to determine the influence of education and income on the preference for male children; and

(iv) to provide suggestions for the design and implementation of intervention policies and programmes aimed at strengthening the socio-cultural and economic factors that discouraged high fertility.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

A review of the literature reveals the divergent views about the importance of fertility, presence, number, composition of children and their value within the family and society. Generally man places much emphasis on the young ones. This is so because continuity of the human race is to a large extent dependent upon the younger generation (Fapohunda and Ojo 1985). Kagitcibasi (1982), observes that children have always been such an integral part of the family that it does not usually occur to people to ask what their A value is. Couples just have children in the natural course of events, and in the opinion of many people a family without children is not complete.

Similarly, persons without children have failed in a fundamental way. This infact suggest that having children is a fulfilment of one of the most common goal of marriage Becker (1960). Okonofua *et al* (1997) observes among the Yoruba, that a common consequence of a couple's infertility is the expulsion of the woman from the husband's house with or without divorce. Thus, childlessness may be a cause of marital dissolution.

Waite and Lillard (1991) have argued that children born to couples would decrease the hazard of marriage disruption and that this could be due to the fact that having children is a signal of long term committment to the marriage. It may also raise the costs (psychic and financial) of living the marriage. The children may also increase satisfaction with the marriage. Okonofua *et al* (1997), went further to suggest that a woman's ability to make decision within the family and her ability to inherit her husband's property are almost exclusively dependent upon fertility. While the preceeding discussion show the pride of place which fertility and children occupy in the society, the number of the children and the status of the couples also have differing implications. Glenn and McLanahan (1982) observe that child care responsibilities are likely to diminish adult companionship among high-educated married persons consequently, the highly educated may not place high premium on having many children. This is also true of women employed full-time

outside the home. This is due to the difficulties associated with child care. It is the varied value attachement to children that the work attempts to examine and the implications it holds for society.

Social Status and Family Size

A number of studies on fertility population and the value of children have focused on the relationship between social status and family size. One of the most prevalent and consistent finding is that which suggests that the poor tend to have large families while the higher social classes have limited number of children than they can afford or can efficiently care for. Glenn and McLanahan (1982), note that highly-educated person are more likely than others to expect from marriage the kind of adult companionship that child care responsibilities are likely to diminish. In other words, the presence of children could affect marital happiness and thus the necessity for a smaller family or number of children or even none.

This is consistent with Okediji (1966) findings in Ibadan that the higher the level of education the lower the mean number of living children. Kocher (1983) points out that as a result of social-economic modernisation or upward social mobility the average number of children parents want may change as a result of their trying to satisfy desires for both children and other acquisitions within the constraints imposed by their financial and other resources. This point is sustained by Becker's (1960) analysis that as a result of socio-economic improvements, the aspirations that parents have for their children cause them to undertake substantially greater child-related expenditures as their income rise. This, increases the cost per child thereby reducing demand (number of children desired).

While these may be true for some categories of highly placed individuals, findings of some other studies points to some other factors that are completely inconsistent with the social status as determinant of child preference. Askham (1975) found social status measured in terms of unskilled and skilled manual labourer not to be vital in the determination of family size. She found the prefered (desired) number of family or children to be more relevant. The study found that those who prefered smaller family sizes were more likely to achieve the

desired size than families who wanted large family size, a position supported by Fapohunda and Ojo's (1985). Though this finding deviates from earlier ones (Okediji 1966 and Becker 1960) some background facts such as urbanity and to some extent education may have contributed to the choice of the desired family size as suggested (Fapohunda and Ojo 1985).

Decision and Fertility/Value of Children

Studies focusing on decision-making process about fertility and family size in developing world have shown that men are predominant in desiding on the number of children. Fapohunda and Ojo (1985) observe that in some societies, especially Africa and Latin America the culture dictates that it is the husbands' attitude that predominates over any possible objection, by the wife. The above fact notwithstanding, considerable patterns of decision structures are observable among different segments of society and aspects of family life.

Fapohunda and Ojo (1985) found generally that fathers dominate in decision making with reference to when, how many children to have and their education. They went further to suggest/state that women in urban areas had a greater degree of participation in fertility matters than those rural based. In the same vein they noted that urban men were more liberal due largely to their education. Sorenson's (1989) supports the view that women's interest generally dominate in decisions that pertain to children. This fact he supported by the prevalence or preference of the choice of women or wives in the study of marital fertility. Even when spouses private calculations lead to different conclusions about family size women's preferences are given greater consideration.

Sex of Child, Value and Family Size

The sex of the child, and the quality (value) attached have been found to be positively related to the family size. In the United States, for instance, it has been found that the sex of the child have been observed to have influenced the size of the family because of the tendency to balance the composition of the gender of the children. Teachman and Schollaert (1989) conclude that the gender of children affect birth

timing. Yet it is not whether a child is a boy or a girl that is vital. Rather it is gender composition. At parity one, all households have an unbalanced gender composition while at parity two, the results are even clearer. Women with two boys or two girls are more likely to time a third birth rapidly than are women with a boy or girl. Interesting as the above findings would suggest, the picture is a little different from what obtains in Africa and Nigeria in particular. Fapohunda and Ojo (1985) note that the desire by some women for certain numbers of children was influenced by the sex composition of their surviving children. They observe that a woman indicated that she would continue to bear children until she had one or two sons unless she had completed her fertility before then while another remarked that as long as she had three sons she would not mind how many daughters were in addition. In the same token, where the children are predominantly females the mother (wife) is presumed a stranger in the family because of the value placed on male children particularly in a partriarchy where descent is traced from the male line. The views of a white lady married to a Nigerian man is highly indicative of this value. She said: *I have to admit, when I had that boy, the whole neighbourhood knew..... I screemed and yelled. It is a boy! It is a boy!! And it is only one reason that I could be so excited, and that is I had fulfilled my obligation. She went further to observe that his (husband's) family never verbally said anything about a boy or a girl. But I do know that for the two girls my father-in-law gave us N20.00 and N150.00 for the boy. I think the boy, probably I protect a little bit more because I know if anything happens to him I will have another child (Imamura 1986).*

Onwuejeogwu (1981) notes among the Ibos of Nigeria that the number of children a women bears and their sex enhances her social status. This is also true of the Mbeere of Central Kenya (Brokensha, 1973). In this wise the African women as noted by Kigozi (1992) may produce almost a dozen children by the time she is 45 years of age and if unfortunate to have all females she would continue to have children due to cultural values related to the male child preference.

Other similar studies on the subject have also revealed that men have had to divorce their wives or marry another or more wives because their wife or wives could not produce the prefered gender or the number

of children desired by the husband and family (Adamchak and Adeboye 1987; Imamura 1986; Okonofua *et al* 1997). Closely related to this is the issue of the preferred family size desired by couples and families. The patterns of prefered family size in the developed world is at best two children (that is a family of four) while in the developing world the prefered size ranges from four, six, to ten. Fapohunda and Ojo (1985) put the prefered number of children desired by women at four and five for Lagos and Ikorodu women respectively. Over 41.2 per cent of the Ikorodu mothers opined that having more than five children was ideal. Also, Ahmed (1987), notes that about a third of the sample had a fatalistic response of "up to a God", or as many as possible to the question of family size prefered.

Preference in the views of Askham (1975), is a function of a number of factors: The prevailing societal or group norm; and a complex variety of costs and benefits which couples see as the effects of them of a particular family size. She observes that the lower social class situation may affect beliefs concerning preference in general. First, the individual may believe that it is impossible to think in terms of preferences when his life is controlled not by him but by external forces, and he himself is powerless to alter his environment.

In these studies (Askham 1975) and Fapohunda and Ojo (1985), similar conclusion were made. All the respondents who prefered large family size ended up with more children than they desired while those who prefered small family achieved the desired family size due to their high level of education and contraception awareness among others.

Theoretical Framework

Easterlin Framework of Analysis

Numerous models have been enuciated and utilised in the analysis of fertility patterns. While some of these have either been sociological, economic, demographic, anthroplogical, others have attempted to combine various approaches and some analysists have infact modified existing models in other to capture local pecularities. One of such studies attempting to account for fertility patterns adopting a combination of approach is the early Easterlin's (1966) work and Kocher (1983).

Easterlin's (1966) attempted to synthesize economic and sociological perspectives in other to provide an adequate understanding of the causes of fertility change. It is this fact that has endeared us to this model as a guide for the current study given its sociological and economic nature. The model essentially rests on the demand and supply concept but couched in some socio-economic, cultural and biological terms in other to accout for fertility changes. According to Easterlin (1966), couples embark upon the family building process with a structure of preferences relating to goods, children, leisure and fertility control practices which are largely dependent on changing aspiration explicable in developmental ethos of society.

The model uses three basic concepts of fertility: natural fertility, desired fertility, and optimal (actual) fertility. For him, these concepts are influenced by the level of development. As development proceeds, natural fertility increases and desired fertility falls. During part of this period actual fertility rises. This explains the increases in fertility that are often observed before demographic transition. Initially, the resulting excess of actual over desired birth is too small to overcome the cost of controlling fertility. However, as natural and desired fertility diverge or as the cost of fertility reduction decreases, some attempt is made to regulate fertility, and the optimal birth solution begins to fall below natural fertility. As contraceptive cost approaches zero, the optimal solution (actual fertility) will approach desired fertility (Cochrane 1979).

In the same way as the three conceived determinants of fertility change with development so also does the aspiration and value of children to parents also change as a result of socio-economic modernisation or upward social mobility. Thus, the average number of children parents want may change as a result of their trying to satisfy the desire for both children and other acquisition within the constraints imposed by their financial and other resources. These facts suggest that parents have a prefered number of children which they want. This preference is, however, dependent on the supply of children. This supply of children, he suggests is dependent on socio-cultural factors such as fecundity, frequency of intercourse, age at commencement of marriage or intercourse, the use and the efficiency of specific fertility control methods, both traditional and modern. This is what Davis and

Blake (1956) call the intermediate variables. Kocher (1983) classifies these into three categories: those which determine the age at which childbearing commences; those which affect birthbearing; those which determine the termination of childbearing.

By supply of children here, one is implying a range of choice that could be expressed in terms of actual or member of surviving children, desired number of children and achieved number of children which a household wants. While it is true that these facts (intermediate variable) constraint supply, the aspiration of parents for their children affect the demand for the children. The aspirations which parents have for their children make them to incure greater cost on their upbringing and thus, limit the number of children which they have.

Kocher (1983) notes in a similar vein that due to improved socio-economic conditions, parents' aspirations for their children cause them to undertake substaintially greater child related expenditures as their income rises which inverably affects the cost per child and therefore reduce demand for children. In other words, as stated by Askham (1975), preferences are constrained by taking into account the prevailing societal or group norm and a complex variety of costs and benefits which couples see as the effects, of them of a particular family size. Easterlin's (1966) wealth bequest and Becker's (1960) endearment factor is indicative of this fact. For instance Easterlin (1966) notes that parents desire to have a suitable wealth bequest judged from their own parents childhood experiences and equivalent to what they received from their own parent while Becker and Tomies (1976) notes in a similar pattern child endowment judged from prevailing socio-economic conditions as determinant of the demand for children.

In other words, the parents aspiration would affect the number of children desired because of the cost components of child-related expenditures which would invariably affect the demand for children. In fact Easterlin (1966) hypotherised that as society progresses, aspirations for non-child goods and services may be increasing relative to aspirations for children. The average number of children parents want may change as a result of their trying to satisfy desires for both children and other acquisitions within the constraints imposed by this financial and other resources.

While it is obvious that the model has a lot of potentials in the analysis of fertility and child preference it also has some shortcomings in the realm of the unit of household refered to. The couples or the households as a unit of analysis appears ambiguous especially as a household could comprise people of many generations (including Fosterage) and different marital arrangement which would contribute to the supply and cost of children rearing and therefore preference. In this study, it should be noted that there are households that are polygyneous in nature and therefore would contribute to children supply.

The area of parents' earlier childhood exprences in child preference determinant as modelled by Easterlin (1966) would also be agumented by the Becker's endowmennt factor or desired level of expenditure per child to be positively related to parents income. This has become inevitable because as modernisation continues prevailing circumstances affects the values of men and their aspirations

Research Scope and Methodology

Population of Study

Contemporary Nigeria represents what anthropologists call a plural society. There are societies in which formally, socially, economically and politically independent nations have been constrained as a result of colonial rule to coexist as ethnic groups in a situation of fierce competition in modern nation-state. Thus, in contemporary Nigeria, there are about 374 ethnic groups (Otite 1990) each with its own peculiar culture. What is worth stressing here is that in contemporary Nigeria, ethnic feelings and identity rather than diminish are instead being consolidated and utilised by the various groups in the competition with each other over scarce resources at the federal level.

In studying the social, cultural and economic, determinants of the value of children in Nigeria therefore, it is felt that much would be gained by examining, by way of comparism, the view points of some of these ethnic groups. Because of the large number of these ethnic groups the decision was made to concentrate attention on the three states of Enugu (Pop 3, 161, 295) Kaduna (Pop 3, 969, 252) and Lagos (Pop 5, 685, 781). These states have the unique features of being very cosmopolitan in nature, comprising within them not only the three main

ethnic groups in Nigeria, but also some important minority groups especially in Kaduna State. Second, because they are great centres of trade, commerce and other important economic, social, religious activities, perhaps more than other states in the federation, they also reflect the various socio-economic groups to be found in the country. The fundamental assumption of the study therefore, is that the viewpoints of a significant proportion of Nigeria's people can be obtained from these states on the issue of value of children.

Data Collection Techniques

There were three basic methods of data collection techniques used in this study. These were survey method through the questionnaire approach, focus group discussion (FGD) and indepth interview. The principal technique of data collection is the questionnaire schedule. The questionnaire were andministered by specially chozen and trained interviewers. This method was considered particularly appropriate because of the large size of the sample in each state and the need to be able to make systematic comparisons between responses from respondents in the three states. The questionnaire schedule comparises questions designed to elicit information from respondents about themselves and opinions about issues concerned with the value of children and fertility behaviour in general.

In addition to this, data were collected through FGDs. The primary objective of these discussions in which there were a total of six per state (Enugu and Kaduna) while 5 were conducted in Lagos State were to generate qualitative data to complement the survey data. Second, the FGDs were particularly useful in obtaining data on the perception of respondents to the issues at stake. Indepth interviews were also conducted with some important opinion leaders in the various communities. This was particularly helpful in bridging some gaps in the data collected through the aforementioned methods.

Sample of Study

The population of the study, as mentioned earlier, is made up of all the inhabitants of the states of Enugu, Kaduna and Lagos. The first step we took was to identify all the local government areas (LGAs) in the states.

These were ordered alphabetically, for the three states, there are a total of 52 LGAs and since it is patently impossible for time and resources reasons to cover all the local government areas in the study, a third of the local governments per state were chosen for study. This is made up of the following: six LGAs for the study. In making the choice, conscious effort was made to separate predominantly urban LGAs from those that are predominantly rural. The following LGAs and communities were therefore chosen and studied.

Table 2.1: Local Government Areas and Communities Chosen for the Study

State	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	LGA
KADUNA	Kaduna	Kakiri	Kaduna
	Samiraka	Kafari	Soba
	Kafandia	Kagoro	Jemaa
	Kachia	Baka	Kachia
	Zaria	Bajimi	Zaria

From each of the LGAs two towns/villages/neighbourhood as indicated above were randomly selected based on the rural/urbar neighbourhood criterion making a total of 34 towns and villages. The concepts of neighbourhood is used here to represent areas that are selected within city limits. The communities were clustered in other to capture the various socio-economic groups found in the chosen sites. This was done in other to chose a representative respondents for the study.

At the end of the field-work and data analysis the total respondents from the state (Kaduna) stood at 1527. It should be noted however, that 250 respondents were chosen at random from each LGA from each of the council chosen from the two towns/villages, and 125 respondents were sampled from each village/town. The point needs be made that the respondents were chosen from households, which were the basic unit of enumeration here. The head of the household, whether male or female was the respondent for this study.

Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of Households and Respondents

This sections gives a breakdown of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of respondents. One thousand, five hundred and twenty-seven questionnaires were found valid for analysis in the state.

Households

Size: The distribution of household size in the areas of study is skewed to the left with the household size of six accounting for the modal (22 per cent) group. This is followed closely by five and four respectively. Households with seven and eight members have significant showings of 16.8 per cent and 10.3 per cent respectively. There are however households with 9 members (6.2 per cent). This patter is clearly indicated on Table 3.1

Table 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Family Size

Household size	No	%
1	2	0.1
3	62	4.1
4	201	13.2
5	259	17.0
6	336	22.0
7	256	16.8
8	158	10.3
9 and above	253	16.6
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

As was expected, respondents were generally reluctant to reveal the number of living children they have. About 87 per cent of respondents would rather keep quiet on this. However, for those that answered, the modal group is three (2.5 per cent) closely followed by four (2.4 per cent) and five (2.1 per cent). Table 3.2 vividly presents the picture.

Table 3.2: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents According to the Number of Living

No of living children	No	%
1	7	0.5
2	27	1.8
3	38	2.5
4	37	2.4
5	32	2.1
6	18	1.2
7	3	0.2
8	5	0.3
9 and above	26	1.8
No Response	1334	87.4
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

A very significant portion of respondents/households have only one wife (88.2 per cent). This might be attributed to the respondence of the christian's faith in the sample. The two wives categories constituted 7.9 per cent closely followed by three wives group (2.0 per cent).

Table 3.3 Demographic characteristics according to the number of co-wives

No of Co-wives	No	%
1	120	7.9
2	30	2.0
3	11	0.7
4	1	0.1
No of co-wives	1347	88.2
No of response	18	1.1
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

Respondents

Majority of respondents fall between the age group of 35 - 39 years (22.2 per cent), closely followed by 30-34years (20.1 per cent). The third category is the 40 - 44 years age group (13.4 per cent). The distribution of young head of households though low is significant, 6.4 per cent (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents According to Age

Age of Respondents	No	%
15-24	99	6.4
25-34	498	32.7
35-44	543	35.6
45-54	281	18.4
55-64	69	4.4
65-74	19	1.3
No response	18	1.2
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

The sex of respondents is distributed as shown in Table 3.5. It gives a distribution of 87.6 per cent for females and 11.2 per cent for males with 1.2 per cent not indicating their sex. While this distribution gives the an impression that female-led households is the norm in the area under study, it should be taken with caution. This outcome could simply meean that in most household visited, the husbands were simply absent when field staff visited.

Table 3.5 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Sex

Sex of respondents	No	%
Male	171	11.2
Female	1338	87.6
No response	18	1.2
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

The findings on level of educational attainment is quite revealing. A significant proportion of the respondents have no formal education. Table 3.6 clearly demonstrates this fact. Within the category of those with formal education, the OND/NCE came top with 3.2 per cent followed by those who held HND and B.sc degrees.

Table 3.6 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Educational Attainment

Education	No	Percentage
No formal education	1363	89.2
Koranic	31	2.1
Primary	24	1.6
Secondary	24	1.6
OND/NCE	49	3.2
HND/Degree	36	2.3
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

There are two major religious practices in the area of study. These are christianity (46.9 per cent) and islam (50.9 per cent). Table 3.7 clearly reveals the observed pattern.

Table 3.7 Demographic Characteristics of Respondent by Religion

Religion	No	Percentage
Christianity	716	46.9
Islam	777	50.9
Traditional religion	16	1.1
No response	18	1.2
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

The Nigerian ethnic groups are fairly represented in the study area. The major highlights are as follows: Hausa (86.3 per cent), Igbo (2.6 per cent) Fulani (1.9 per cent) and Yoruba (1.7 per cent). See Table 3.8.

Majority of respondents are resident in areas (53.2 per cent). Urban residents account for 46.7 per cent as shown in Table 3.9.

Table 3.8 Demographic Chracteristics of Respondents by Ethnic Grôup

Ethnic group	No	Percentage
Yoruba	26	1.7
Igbo	40	2.6
Hausa	1318	86.3
Igbira/Ebir	6	0.4
Esan/Ishar	7	0.5
Urhobo	14	0.9
Tiv	8	0.5
Fulani	29	1.9
Ibibio/Efik	9	0.6
Calabar	2	0.1
Others	68	5.0
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

Table 3.9 Demographic Characteristics According to Nature of Abode

Nature of abode	No	%
Urban	713	46.7
Rural	814	53.3
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

All the respondents were married. Marriage type were monogamous (1159-75.9 per cent) and polygamous (368 – 24.1 per cent).

Majority of the respondents are civil servants (4.8 per cent), farmers (3.8 per cent) and traders (1.1 per cent). It should be noted here that 87.9 per cent of the respondents did not indicate their occupation. This could be taken to mean that they are full-time housewives (where they were women). Table 3.10 demostrates this clearly.

Table 3.10 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Ocupation

Occupation	No	Percentage
Farming	58	3.8
Civil servants	73	4.8
Trading	17	1.1
Cleaner	1	0.1
Teacher	10	0.7
Driver/Tailor/Hairdresser	7	0.5
Religious cleric	19	2.3
No response	1342	87.9
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

The non-indication of employment status by a great majority of our respondents (87.9 per cent) has made it impossible to have a clear-cut information about income. This has in fact made the analysis based on this issue irrelevant.

A good number of respondents (39.8 per cent) preferred six to ten children, while 281 (18.4 per cent) would prefered to have 1-5 children. Of notable significance were those who prefered 11-15 children

(13.7 per cent) and 16-20 children (12.8 per cent). Although those who prefered more than 30 children are statistically insignificant (1.0 per cent), it is nonetheless sociologically interesting and this will be returned to later.

Table 3.11: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Fertility Preference Desired

No of children	No	%
1-5	281	18.4
6-10	608	39.8
11-15	209	13.7
16-20	194	12.8
21-25	37	2.4
26-30	114	7.5
31-35	8	0.5
36-40	7	0.5
Total	1527	100.0

Source: Field Survey.

The distribution for boy's desired rose steadily from 2.6 per cent desiring one boy to 143, 9.4 per cent for two boys; to 12.3 per cent for three boys and 15.8 per cent desiring four boys. A very significant proportion 12.0 per cent desired to have ten boys. Notable features here also include 15 boys (2.6 per cent) and 20 boys (5.6 per cent). See Table 3.12. On girls the ranking also presented a rather similar picture. Sixty-one respondents (4.0 per cent) wished for only one girl; 19.3 per cent for two girls; 11.9 per cent for three girls, 16.7 per cent for four girls and 11.9 per cent for five girls. Similar to boys distribution there was a significant rise in the indication for 10 girls -14.9 per cent.

Comparatively, the modal distribution for boy's preference is for four boys (241 - 15.8 per cent) while that for girls is two (295 - 19.3 per cent). While only one respondent (0.3 per cent) do not wish to have any girl.

Rulership	Brother	10.5	75.6	13.9	12.4	58.5	29.1
	Sons	52.3	33.8	13.9	28.2	42.7	29.1
	Daughters	1.2	84.9	13.9			
	Wife	0.9	85.2	13.9	1.2	69.7	29.1
	Sons of unmarried daughter	0.1	85.9	13.9	0.1	70.9	29.0
	Grandsons	0.2	85.9	13.9		71.0*	29.0
	Others	2.9	83.2	13.9	-	71.0	29.0
Building	Brother	1.7	84.9	13.4	11.7	59.3	29.1
	Sons	62.8	23.8	13.4	28.6	42.3	29.1
	Daughters	27.4	59.2	13.4			
	Wife	12.8	73.7	13.4	20.0	50.9	29.1
	Sons of unmarried daughter	0.1	86.4	13.4	0.3	70.6	29.1
	Grandsons	0.1	86.5	13.4	0.4*	70.5	29.1
	Other	0.3	86.2	13.4	0.1	70.9	29.1
Money	Brother	1.5	85.1	13.4	11.9	59.1	29.1
	Sons	63.3	23.2	13.4	28.3	42.6	29.1
	Daughters	31.2	55.4	13.4			
	Wife	14.9	71.6	13.4	21.2	49.8	29.1
	Sons of unmarried daughter	0.2	86.4	13.4	0.4	70.5	29.1
	Grandsons	-	86.6	13.4	0.3*	70.6*	29.1
	Others	0.3	86.2	13.4	-	70.9	29.1
Family Headship	Brother	8.6	77.7	13.7	12.7	58.2	29.1
	Sons	56.5	29.9	13.7	23.2	42.8	29.1
	Daughter	1.9	84.4	13.7			
	Wife	1.1	85.2	13.7	12.0	58.9	29.1
	Son of unmarried daughters	-	86.3	13.7	0.1	70.9*	29.1
	Grandsons	-	-	13.8	-	-	-
	Others	0.1	86.2 0.1	13.8	0.4	69.4	30.3

Source: Field Survey.

On the inheritance of wives of deceased husbands, brothers have a significant edge (29.7 per cent) over the sons (2.4 per cent) especially in monogamous family. In polgynous family both sons and brothers are at par (Table 3.13). In spite of this situation, it does appear that widows may face a bit of problem in the area of study if noted that the levirate indication is just slightly above 1/3. The remain 2/3 cases might have to fend for themselves or re-marry. A situation that might likely affect their reproductive health.

Family Planning

Qualitative data collected indicated a general disapproval of family planning by majority of discussants. Argument here tend to be hinged on religious groups. However, a significant though small proportion and mostly western elites show a great awareness and support for family planting.

The survey is very much in line with the focus group discussion (see Pills, Table 3.14). In Terms of awareness, pills scored 78.8 per cent, injection (70.1 per cent), traditional (56.7 per cent) and condom/durex (54.8 per cent) other methods were rated show 40 per cent in term of awareness. On usage, the top four are: injection (17.3 per cent), pills (15.85 per cent) condom (12.6 per cent) and withdrawal (4.4 per cent).

What were the family methods that respondents were using at the time of study? Again the top four score:- injection (14.9 per cent), pills (12.6 per cent) condom (9.8 per cent) and traditional (4.8 per cent). Over 82 per cent of respondents preferred to keep quiet on the issue of family planning method they were presently using. These findings signify that respondents were not generally bothered on the size of the family they presently have. Otherwise, one would have expected thet they would be interseted in planning their family.

Table 3.14 Respondents Knowledge and Use of Family Planning Methods (Composite)

Family planning method	Ever heard			Ever used			Currently using		
	Yes (%)	No (%)	No (%) Response	Yes (%)	No (%)	No (%) Response	Yes (%)	No (%)	No (%) Response
Female sterilisation	18.7	80.5	0.9	1.0	85.9	13.1	0.5	0.7	98.8
Male sterilisation	18.5	81.1	0.5	0.6	18.1	81.3	0.5	0.1	99.8
Nor plant	11.3	88.1	0.6	0.8	11.1	88.111	0.7	0.1	99.3
Injection	70.1	29.6	0.4	17.3	52.9	29.8	14.9	2.5	82.6
Pills	73.8	25.7	0.5	15.8	57.9	26.3	12.6	3.5	83.9
I.U.D/Coils	30.4	69.0	0.6	4.8	26.1	69.1	3.3	1.5	95.2
Durex/Condom	54.8	44.7	0.5	12.6	42.2	45.1	9.8	2.8	87.4
Diaphragm foam jelly	12.0	87.2	0.8	2.0	10.7	87.3	1.2	0.8	98.0
Calculation rhythm safe calendar	21.7	77.8	0.5	3.7	18.6	77.7	2.6	1.0	96.4
Withdrawal	31.9	67.5	0.6	4.4	27.8	67.8	3.1	1.4	95.5
Period abstinence	35.1	64.2	0.7	4.2	31.1	64.7	2.6	1.4	95.9
Traditionaal	56.7	41.9	1.4	6.1	50.0	43.9	4.8	1.0	94.2
Others	3.0	5.4	91.6	0.1	2.9	97.1	0.1	0.1	99.9

Source: Field Survey.

Cost and Value of Children

Introduction

There is no doubt that Nigerian households place a high premium on children because of the benefits derivable from such "gifts of life". These gifts however are not without some costs to the "lucky" parents. For example, Mallam David Ancha (FGD) - Kaduna said: *It is responsibility of parents to train their children by sending them to school.*

This chapter will attempt an exposition of such costs to the parents within the context of the direct and indirect costs and the value of children to parents.

Direct Cost

This section will examine the direct cost of children to their parents. Here, the focus will be on the investment of parents on the education and health of their children. First, the education investment of respondents on children were grouped by sector - urban/rural.

Table 4.1 Investment of Respondents on Education by Sector

	Urban	Rural	Total
Nothing	88(33.3%)	176(66.7%)	264(100%)
1-1000	78(50.6%)	76(49.4%)	154(100%)
1001-2000	63(34.1%)	122(65.9%)	185(100%)
2001-3000	75(44.4%)	94(55.6%)	169(100%)
3001-4000	40(45.5%)	48(54.5%)	88(100%)
4001-5000	58(55.2%)	47(44.8%)	105(100%)
5001-10000	142(52.4%)	129(47.6%)	271(100%)
10001 +	169(58.3%)	121(41.7%)	290(100%)
Total	713(46.7%)	813(53.3%)	1526(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

From Table 4.1, it can be generally concluded that urban dwellers have an edge as regards investment on the education of their children than do rural dwellers. This no doubt will have implications for continued sectoral inequality and could in itself have explain the present position. It can however be argued that such higher investmeent result from the concentration of schools and proximity of parents to school in urban centre. Beside this, the nature of work that were generally available in the urban centres will require their aquisition of western education. Thus, this exposure impacts on the investment on their children's education. Attempt was further made to see whether this level of investment had any relationship with the present number of children that respondents have. Data emanating from the study reveal that the greater the number of present living children, the lower the amount of investement generally by parents. The implication here is that the greater the number of children, the lesser the tendency that parents will expend on their children education. Thus, the less educated the family will become.

How about the effect of religion on the education of respondents? Table 4.2 gives the reply to this question.

Table 4.2: Investment on Education by Respondent's Religion.

	Noth-ing	1-1000	1001-2000	2001-3000	3001-4000	4001-5000	5001-10,000	10,000 +	Total
Christian	74	57	79	92	7.8 58	75	158	149	742
	10.0	7.7	10.6	12.4		10.1	21.3	20.1	(48.7%)
Muslim	190	97	106	78	29	29	112	141	782
	24.3	12.4	13.6	10.0	3.7	3.7	14.3	18.0	(51.%)
Total	264	154	185	170	87	105	270	290	1525
	17.3	10.1	12.1	11.1	5.7	6.9	17.7	19.0	100%

Source: Field Survey.

From Table 4.2, it will be observed that christians invest more on western education than do muslims. Suffice to add the religious distribution here reflect the very ethnic composition that makes up Kaduna State. It should however be put on record that this relatively

lower rating on investment on western education should not be taken to mean lack of interest in the education of their children. As submitted by one of our respondents during the FGD session: *We muslims value koranic education a lot ..... as directed by Allah, we ensure our children acquire literacy in koranic education..... we ensure they start to acquire koranic education as early as they can talk.*

From background knowledge on Nigerian education history, this disparity of investment can also be explained by the initial association of western education with christianity by the generality of people from the north. Further, we sought to capture the perception of respondents as regards their investment on the education of their children. Here, the issue was do they consider this investment as burdensome . A greater percentage of respondents (776-51.5 per cent) do not think so. It is however interesting to point out that the greater the anoumt the score on the burden perception of respondents (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Respondents' Perception on the Burden of Educational Investment.

	Yes	No	Total
Nothing	24 (9.29)	236 (90.8%)	260 (17.2)
1-1000	76 (49.7%)	77 (50.3%)	153 (10.1%)
1001-2000	77 (42.1%)	106 (57.9%)	183 (12.1%)
2001-3000	76(45.29%)	92(54.8%)	1689(11.1%)
3001-4000	50(57.5%)	37(42.5%)	87(5.8%)
4001-5000	63(61.2%)	40(38.8%)	103(6.8%)
5001-10000	180(67.2%0	88(32.8%)	268(17.8%0
1000 +	186(65.0%)	100(32.6%)	286(19.0)
Total	732(48.5%)	776(51.5%)	1508(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

It is interesting to note that no significant pattern emerged in relation to the level of education of respondents and their perception on the burden of education of their children.

Table 4.4: Respondents Share of Payment on Children Education

	50 - 74%	75% +	
No Educ.	1(2.3%)2.3	42(97.7%)97.7	43(100%)
Koranic	1(0.4%)0.4	225(99.6%)99.6	226(100%)
Pry	6(2.7%)2.7	216(97.3%)97.3	22(100%)
Sec.	10(4.2%)4.2	229(95.8%)95.8	239(100%)
OND/NCE	6(3.1%)3.1	188(96.9%)96.9	194(100%)
HND/B.Sc.	6(2.1%)	277(97.9%)	283(100%)
	30(2.5%)	1177(97.5%)	1207(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

Where respondents are not responsible for 100 per cent of their children's education, who are those that make up for the other aspects. A typical response to this emerged from the FGD. One Malam Abdullahi from Saminaka said thus: *Sometimes we have to send one or two of our children to our relatives in town..... sometimes to their grown-up siblings in the city..... or in some few cases they get scholarship from government especially when they want to go to the university.*

Direct Cost: Health Care

The same procedural framework used in the analysis of educational investment was applied under health care cost. The only difference here however is that the health cost was based on spending in the preceding one month. Table 4.5 presents the health care cost.

Table 4.5 Health Care Cost of Respondents by Educational Attaiment.

Education	Nothing	1-200	201-400	401-600	601-800	801+1000	1000+	Total
No educ.	13(28.9)	23(51.1)	5(11.1)	1(2.2)	1(2.2)	-	2(4.4)	45(100%)
Koranic	43(18.1)	23(9.7)	28(11.8)	27(11.4)	24(10.1)	17(7.2)	75(31.6)	237(100%)
PRY	69(24.0)	49(17.1)	49(17.1)	46(16.0)	23(8.0)	11(3.8)	40(13.9)	287(100%)
Secondary	43(17.6)	31(12.7)	47(19.2)	42(17.1)	27(11.0)	12(4.9)	43(17.6)	245(100%)
OND/NCE	85(42.3)	28(13.9)	28(13.9)	22(10.9)	12(6.0)	3(1.5)	23(11.4)	201(100%)
HND/B.Sc	67(22.6%)	34(11.4%	48(16.2%)	49(16.5%)	26(8.7%)	19(6.4%)	53(17.9%)	296(100%)
Total	320(24.4%)	188(14.3%)	205(15.6%)	187(14.3)	113(8.69)	62(4.7%)	236(18%)	1311(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

This finding suggests that a very significant percentage (24.4 per cent) of the total respondents have spent nothing on the health care of their children in the last one month. On the other hand, and of equal significance are those who spent 1000+, they constituted 18 per cent. On the whole, however, it is evident that parents are equally investing in the health of children. Second, the score also shows that education has a significant inference on level of spending on health.

Next, to what extent are respondents responsible for the medical care cost expressed above? Respondents submissions are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Health care Responsibility

Education	<25%	50-74%	75% +	Total
No educ	-	2(4.5)	42(95.5)	44(100%)
Koranic	1(.4)	2(.9)	230(98.7)	233(100%)
PRY.	-	11(3.9)	271(96.1)	282(100%)
SEC.	-	10(4.1)	231(95.9)	241(100%)
OND/NCE	-	4(2.0)	192(98.0)	196(100%)
HND/B.Sc	-	5(1.8%)	281(98.2%)	286(100%)
Total	1 (0.1)	34(2.7%)	1247(97.3%)	1282(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

Table 4.6 shows that there is less dependency outside household head for the payment of health care needs of children. It thus means that parents carry a whole burden in addition to the education cost earlier disscussed. Attempt was made to examine expenses on health at the urban rural level see Tables 4.7A and 4.7B.

Table 4.7A: Education of Respondents versus Grouped Health Cost on Children (Rural)

Level of Education	Nothing	1-200	201-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	1001 +	
No educ.	4(100)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4(0.6)
Koranic	30(20.7)	9(6.2)	17(11.7)	10(6.9)	13(9.0)	11(7.6)	55(37.9)	145(21.4)
Primary	54(30.0)	24(13.3)	26(14.4)	27(15.0)	15(8.3)	7(3.9)	27(15.0)	180(26.6)
Secondary	31(25.2)	8(6.5)	14(11.4)	21(17.1)	12(9.8)	9(7.3)	28(22.8)	123(18.2)
(OND/NCE	66(66.0)	6(6.0)	7(7.0)	9(9.0)	2(2.0)	2(2.0)	8(8.0)	100(14.8)
BSc/HND	36(29.0)	7(5.6)	21(16.9)	18(14.5)	6(4.8)	7(5.6)	29(23.4)	124(100)
Total	221(32.7)	54(8.0)	85(12.6)	85(12.6)	48(7.1)	36 (5.3)	147(21.7)	675 (100)

Table 4.7B: Education of Respondents versus Grouped Health Cost on Children (Urban)

Level of Education	Nothing	1-200	201-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	1001 +	Total
No educ.	9(22.0)	23(56.1)	5(12.2)	1(2.4)	-	2(4.9)	41(100)	4(0.6%)
Koranic	13(14.1)	14(15.2)	11(12.0)	17(158.5)	11(12.0)	6(6.5)	20(21.7)	92(100)
Primary	15(14.0)	25(23.4)	23(21.5)	19(17.8)	8(7.5)	4(3.7)	13(12.1)	107(100)
Secondary	12(9.8)	23(18.9)	33(27.0)	21(17.2)	15(12.3)	3(2.5)	5(12.3)	112(100)
OND/NCE	19(19.0)	21(21.0)	21(21.0)	13(13.0)	10(10.0)	1(1.0)	15(15.0)	100(100.0)
B.Sc/HND	31(18.0)	27(15.7)	21(16.9)	18(14.5)	6(4.8)	7(5.6)	29(23.4)	124(100)
Total	221(32.7)	54(8.0)	85(12.6)	85(12.6)	48(7.1)	36 (5.3)	147(21.7)	675 (100)

Source: Field Survey.

Comparatively a greater number of rural respondents spend nothing on their children's health. However, a greater percentage of the rural dwellers spend more N1000.00 on their children. These two extremes call for attention on health facilities that are available in the rural areas. This submitted is hinged on some of the comments in the FGD. A woman submission with regards to taking care of her children's health: *We don't have health centre around us here , what we have is a medicine store,... so even if we want to take our children to the mordern health care, none is available... where we are forced to it is very expensive because we will have to travel to the town.*

From the various submissions that emerge from the indepth interview and FGD sessions, cost of health care is higher in the rural sector than the urban sector. Further, a look at the cost of health and number of children shows that the more the number of children, the less parents tend to want to incure of health bills (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Health cost of children by number of children presently have

Cost	1-4	5-8	9+	Total
Nothing	116(30.3%)	118(30.8%)	149(38.9%)	383(26.3%)
1-200	83(40.7%)	59(28.9%)	62(30.4%)	204(100%
201-400	89(40.3%)	76(34.4%)	56(25.3%)	221(100%
401-600	76(37.3%)	76(37.3%)	52(25.5%)	204(100%,
601-800	43(35.5%)	45(37.2%)	33(27.3%)	121(100%,
801-1000	20(28.2%)	28(39.4%)	23(32.4%)	71(100%)
10001+	95(37.7%)	80(31.7%)	77(30.6%)	252(100%)
Total	522(35.9%)	482(33.1%)	452(31.0%)	1456(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

Opportunity Cost

It became obvious that the cost of bringing up children is enormous although parents appear to willingly wish to carry thus burden given the

value they have about children . As eralier discussed children are seen as "God's blessing to their parents" and as a "gift from God". A traditional Chief from kachia-mal Babaju Mohammed opined: *"Where there is no children in a family, there is misfortune.. But where there are children they will take care of their parents when they are in need .. if one is old it is the children who will take care of parents till the end of his life.*

With particular reference to female children Madam Talatu S. Mam contributed: *... for female children... they are preparing food washing of cloth and sweeping the surrounding this is because the mother should not be left alone to do household chores.*

Given this value, parents are most willing to invest in the training, educating and the health of their children. In terms of opprotunity cost how do they perceive these investments? First the issues of education cost.

Generally, the perception on education cost as a financial burden reveals that they do not consider the education of their children as a burden. This might imply that parents have no problem executing this task. By the same token, the rural/urban sectoral analysis reveals that no burden is borne, though a greater percentage of rural dwellers opined that it is not burdensome as shown on Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Education Financial Burden by Sector.

	Yes	No	Total
Urban	393 (56.1)	307 (43.9)	700(46.4%)
Rural	339 (42.0)	468 (58.0)	807(53.6%)
Total	732(48.6%)	775(51.4%)	1507(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

In terms of apportunity cost, this response should be considered within the context of what they hope to gain from the children especially at old age. That this is so is clear in the submission of most of the responses from the FGD sessions. A typical response came from Mrs. Kande Dauda: *It is the responsibility of parents to train their children, educate*

them.. feed them well for healthy body and take care of them if they are ill. The "yes" group is equally significant. The implication here is that inspite of the fact that they see it as a burden, they are still prepared to carry that burden given the "benefit" that will acrue from it in future or immediately within the commuinty.

Besides what can be termed material or spare wheel value on children, parents in the area under study also value children for continuity or survival of family name. This is one of the reasons why according to a respondent in Lere (Saminaka LGA) stated that: *We must leave something behind for children to inherit... such things could include houses, farmlands, money, wives, car, etc this can be an addition to the education we are presently giving.* In addition to these and with special reference to female children, Madam Serah opined: *Female children should normally be given same gifts which they would carry to their husband's house when they are married.*

From the FGD discussions, it became clear that the cost of children upbringing, especially in terms of education and vocational training is generally high and are problematic for parents. There is no doubt that it is increasingly encroaching on some immediate family needs such as feeding, clothing, hospitality and other social obligations. That this will be the case should be seen from the present number of children that respondents in the survey general have. We need to bring on record here again that about 64 per cent of our respondents in the survey have over four children. In fact, about 31 per cent have nine children and above. (Tables 4.8 and 4.9).

A significant percentage (452-31.3 per cent) of respondents presently have over nine children in the household. The situation is further compounded if it is noted that another significant percentage (477-33.0 per cent) have five to eight children. There is no doubt that family size in the area under study is generally large. The large family size can loosely be hinged on religion. As one of the respondents from kaduna submitted: *We the Hausas and of course Islamic religion support large number of family because among us God will bless one who will bless at least one take care of the other. The survey tends to support this assertion.*

Table 4.10: Ethnic Group Respondents by Children Presently Have

Ethnic	No of Children			
	1-4(70.0%)	5-8	9+	Total
Yoruba	21(70.0%)	7(23.3%)	2(6.7%)	30(100%)
Igbo	16(41.0%)	18(46.2%)	05(12.8%)	39(100%)
Hausa	423(33.1%)	419(32.8%)	435(34.1%)	1277(100%)
Igbira	4(66.7%)	-	2(33.3%)	6(100%)
Ishan	4(57.1%)	3(42.9%)	-	7(100%)
Urhobo	7(46.7%)	8(53.3%)	-	15(100%)
Tiv	5(71.4%)	2(28.6%)	-	7(100%)
Fulani	10(41.7%)	7(29.2%)	7(29.2%)	24(100%)
Ibibio/Efik	8(80.0%)	2(20.0%)	-	10(100%)
Others	19(61.3%)	11(35.5%)	1(3.2%)	31(100%)
Total	517(35.8%)	477(33.0%)	452(31.3%)	1446(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

Table 4.11: Religion and number of children presently Achieved by Respondents

Religion	No	of	children	Total
Christian	406(55.1%)	231(31.3%)	100(13.6%)	737(100%)
Muslim	114(15.1%)	251(35.1%)	351(49.0%)	716(100%)
Others	-	-	1(100.0%)	1(100%)
Total	520(35.3%)	482(33.1%)	452(31.1%)	1454(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

The issue at this point is how have the parents been coping or more generally, how have households been coping? Several coping mehanisms were highlighted in the FGD sessions. Observations also corrobated some of the mechanisms discussed by respondents coping in mechanisms adopted by parents in order to meet-up with the growing cost of their

children upbringing. There are extracted as follows:

(i) parents foster their children to relatives, kinsmen, and so on;
(ii) well to do sibblings take over the training of the younger ones;
(iii) household prioritize needs and drop lesser needs for the higher one for example, new dresses during festivals;
(iv) multiple vocation by parents in order to augument low income of the family in order to meet their obligations to their children; and
(v) increasing pressure to put children to work. Pratically, this entails children hawking. Children doing mini-work such as dish washing.

This has however been affecting attendance in schools especially in the rural areas, said a head teacher in an indepth interview. According to him: *There are times you come into the school and pupils are generally no where to be found... especially during raining season, they are busy on farms hired by farmers for weeding....*

Observations in both rural and urban areas in course of the study confirm this. Children of school age are seen hawking food items around the communities. There are those who work as porters in the market areas. That the household are willing to go these length to meet their obligations to their children and give them good things of life is a demonstration of the opportunity cost.

Material and Non-Material Values of Children

On the material value of children, respondents in the FGD sessions as well as indepth interviews were unanimous that children are of important socio-economic advantages to parents. Typical responses here include: *(i) From Zaria (Bello Jatau) states that; when we train a child so that they become somebody in life.. one hopes that he/she will be of assitance in future, when one is of old age. (ii) Malam Muhu Saban Gari (Samnaka.) making submission within the context of family size: If Allah gives us plenty children, it is good because one will engage them on the farms. (iii) Hajia Asabe (Kachia): When Allah blesses you with children, they will be able to take care of you when you are sick... they help you take care of household duties. (iv) Kande Dauda (Kafanchan) posits: Generally, children who will help their parents when they become old. (v) Madam Aishat (Kagoro) states: Children should not been seen only as parasites.... No.. they not only assist on the farms with their father... but they can also help in selling few things that will augument the family income and also assist in their own upbringing (vi) Madam Zainab*

(Ikaria) contends: When children are trained you have given them a portion in life and they should not only be able to take care of theselves later in life, they can also help their young ones who are growing up and more importantly assist their parents as well when they are old.

Generally, discussions in the replete is selected with phrases and idioms that point to the non-material value of children such as: "children are gifts from Allah"; "children are the rewards of marriage"; "children are supports in period of ill health"; "supporting hands at old age"; "Helpers at work"; and "a dead man with a child is not dead".

On the part of womens the material value of children is reflected in the benefits/rewards that are bestowed on them by husbands with the birth of additional child especially when such a child is male. Such gifts mentioned in the course of the FGD sessions include: cloths/headgears; shoes; hardwares like casserrol bowls; and wrist watches.

The materials aspects can also be seen in the gifts that flow from communinty members to the parents of a new-born baby. The naming ceremony which is generally marked on the eighth day, provides a formal opportunity for the presentation of a new child to the community. Parents host community members as part of their thanksgiving for the "Gift of God" and in turn communinty members bring gifts of various shades to welcome the child to the community. On the non-material side, we took a look at the non-material rewards and gratifications which women said they get from their husands and the community when they have additional birth. First, do women expect priviledges from their husband for having children? (Table 4.12 for response on male child by sector).

Table 4.12: Reward/Gratification from Husband for Having Male Child by Sector

Sector	Yes	No	
Urban	406(74.9%)	136(25.1%)	542(100%)
Rural	174(26.1%)	492(73.9%)	666(100%)
Total	580(48.0%)	626(52.0%)	1206(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

From the community (Table 4.13)

Table 4.13: Reward/Gratification for Having Children by Commuinty

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Urban	551(81.5%)	125(18.5%)	676(100%)
Rural	496(62.1%)	303(37.9%)	799(100%)
Total	1047(71.0%)	428(29.0%)	1475(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

A breakdown of the reward/gratification exprected from the community is shown in Table 4.14. Of greater significant here is the gratification of "respect/honour" within the community. This sentiment, it can be argued, crystallises into a strong value among women and this enhances theeir value on children. Hajia Memunatu from Ikaria sums it up, from the domestic front: *When you have children for your husband, you can be sure that you will have peace.. you are even more secured when at least are of such children is a male... I should say that children give you marital security*. The values that both parents place on children from the family came out clearer from the FGD/indepth interview findings. We need to add here that this value is affected by the gender of the child. Generally male tend to be valued more than female especially amongst the rural commuinty.

Table 4.14: Breakdown of Reward/Gratifiaction expected from the Community by Sector

Sector	Praise	Gift	Thanksgiving	Respect Hanh	Recoganinm	cating love	peace	tøtal
Urban	7(1.9%)	1(.3%)	-	259(71.2%)	19(5.2%)	58(15.9%)	20(5.5%)	364(100%)
Rural	8(3.0%)	2(.8%)	1(.4%)	82(31.2%)	72(27.4%)	76(28.9%)	22(8.4%)	263(100%)
Total	15(2.4%)	3(.5%)	1(.2%)	341(54.4%)	91(14.5%)	134(21.4%)	42(6.7%)	627(100%)

Source: Field Survey.

First male child is valued more because of the need for the perpetuation of family name as well as because he is expected to inherit family wealth. The survey findings butress this point. On the issue of land, 73.3 per cent of respondents answered in the the affirmative, for titles - 64.9 per cent Rulership -60.8 per cent Building -72.5 per cent, Money -73.1 per cent and family headship -65.4 per cent. Second, having male children gives the advantages of having honour, prestige and dignity in the community. A respondent from Kagoro added: *When you have plenty male children whem they come around on visits you fee proud and commuinty members respect and have regard for you.*

Participants at the FGD session were generally agreed that a family needs at least a male child to ensure the continuity of the family name. Mothers equally desire at least a male child to ensure that they are properly "rooted" in their husbands home. The need becomes more pressing in a polygamous family. A typical submission on this is: *If you don't have male child and your co-wife has your husand will tend t favour her and show more love to her than to you.... And in our area here where more than one wife is permitted there is greater pressure for your husband to have many more if you don't have a male child.* Although the present economic condition is exerting presure on participants to keep down the values placed on material and non-material things earlier mentioned, they are quite still very strong on the people. Beside the religious belief that: *Children are Allah's gift... and once they are given, Allah will provide for their needs....* is still a strong factor encouraging large family size.

For female children, parents especially women have them for some reasons. First, female children are very useful in the household activities such as cooking, washing and sweeping. Second, female children are seen as more useful in the nursing of parents when they are sick. Further, they give you the potential to have in-laws and thus some rights and privileges in society. To conclude therefore, one can safely conclude that both men and women share the sentiment that childlessness is one of the terrible causes of marriage instability and family disorganisation. Both fear and dread childless. Having children from marriage is itself a major fulfilment - to the man, it assures him, he is a man. To the woman, it proves that you have a "fruitful womb".

Not to be able to father a child is one of the worst evils that can befall a man. One becomes a nobody an runs the risk not having a befeting burial particularly in areas around Kachia and Kagaro. This is so because when such a man dies the continuity of his lineage is nil.

On the part of women, besides the problem of being abandoned, such a woman is seen not only a failure as an individual, her parents become an object of ridicle for bringing into the community someone who cannot reproduce.

Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter presents the findings on the value of children in Kaduna state. This segment concludes the presentation. Here, we summarise the findings and draw our conclusion and make some recommendations.

First, the study covered data generated from 1527 respondents scattered over six local government areas in the state. The survey was supplemented with observations. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and indepth interview. Of the total respondents 88.7 per cent were females while the remaining 11.3 per cent were males and they were all married. Sectoral stratification gave 46.7 per cent for urban residents and 53.3 per cent for rural settlers. Over 80 per cent of the respondents have had no formal education. The literacy rate is quite low. The occupation of respondents include: farming (34.7 per cent) civil servants (43.7 per cent), trading (10.2 per cent), cleaner(0.6 per cent), teacher, driver, tailor, hairdressing, (4.2 per cent) and religious cleric (0.6 per cent).

In terms of family size, it can be generally concluded from the survey that most respondents favour large family size with residence not having any significant effect. It would however appear that religion is the major factor to consider here. Ethnic influence can not be discussed at this level given that a great percentage of respondents were Hausa and were mostly muslims. However, education of respondents appears low but had no significant influence on number of children presently achieved (for example, 116-9.2 per cent). Second, majority of the respondents whose first issues were males(69.3) and 92.6 per cent of respondents' father were responsible for the education of the first issues. Across all the children, fathers were responsible for over 90 per cent of their children's education. In terms of education financing, a greater percentage of parents do not see it as a burden. The concern for children's education is general across sectors although the urban sector seems to have an edge when it comes to the actual amount spent. Education of respondents did not really have a significant effect on investment on education of children .

Third, respondents were equally spending a lot on the health of their children. Survey shows that rural dwellers were ahead in terms of those "spending nothing " and those spending the highest amount. In spite of the large family size and the financial burden of children on parents, it was found out that children were still valued not only for socio-economic or material gains, but also for non-material rewards such as recognition and respect in the community. In this high regard for children, male children were preferred for the major reason that they help in the continuity of the genealogical stock. Generally however, both parents dread childlessness and a barren mother will mostly likely pay with her matrimonial home, while a childless father is a failure to his kinsmen.

The value that parents have of children is equally reflected in their readiness to leave something behind for them in terms of inheritance. Across all options available (material and non-material- land. title, rulership family headship and money) male children are favoured over female either under polygynous or monogamous marriage. However, in the area of widow inheritance, brothers have a significant edge over the sons. In the area of family planning methods, it was found that respondents have heard of pills (73.8 per cent), injection(70.1 per cent), traditional (56.7 per cent) and condom (54.8 per cent). In terms of use, only 17.3 per cent have used injection, 15.8 per cent used pills and 12.6 per cent ever used condom. Further, on the family planning method currently using injection (14.9 per cent) pills (12.6 per cent) and condom (9.8 per cent) topped the list. The implication of this finding were no doubt grave within the context of the age group bracket of our respondents.

Arising from these findings, it would be germane to conclude that given the low/poor socio-economic background of the respondents in the face of prevailing high cost of living, parental aspirations for siblings tend to be low and invariable have no significant negative implication for desire for large family size. In other words, in spite of the high burden of child rearing, desire for children remains high, because parents' have low aspirations and therefore low investments on their children.

Recommendations

In the light of the stated findings, we wish to make the following recommendations as a way of resolving some of the issues identified.

Education at the primary level should be made free and compulsory especially in the north and Kaduna State in particular, while education at other levels should be subsidised by government. Achievement of this aim would not only improve awareness of the utility of family planning/civil society development but enhance and advance parents' aspirations for children and invariably inhibit the desire for more children or large family size.

If the educational pitfall can be rectified, the male child preference which is predominantly hinged on inheritance would also be weakened. If there are no parental wealth to inherit, the emphasis on gender would be de-emphasised and also put pay to the desire for large family size.

Child protection agencies or the police should restructure their operations to ensure that child labour is discouraged. Reliance on child labour as a survival strategy would reduce the urge for more children or large family size.

Aggressive family planning campaign should be instituted to ensure potential consumers are not only made to be aware of the service but to consume and know the utility of the services rendered. It should be noted, that subsidies would also facilitate utilisation at inception of the programme.

The age at marriage should be raised so that the number of birth per women would be reduced. This may not be through direct legislation but by a way of enforcing age at entering and leaving learning school, compulsory national service and access to some national facilities. For example, only married women are entitled to be paid leave allowance.

Health care facilities in the rural areas should be improved. The high cost of health care is partly to the non-availability and the cost borne by patients in their quest for health care. If provided, it would encourage greater level of health care service utilisation.

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