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Maqasid Al-Shari'ah and The Challenge of Population Control in Northern Nigeria

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Abstract

Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa. It is the most populous black nation in the world. It is also estimated to be the third most populous country in the world by 2050 with a population of 399 million people. In all ramifications, Nigeria's population is growing faster than development can cater to, faster than resources to maintain it. The predominantly Muslim North constitutes the larger percentage of Nigeria's population. Thus, it is unsurprising that the region suffers mass poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and insecurity. This article discussed the issue of overpopulation in northern Nigeria and its adverse effect on the region. Furthermore, the issue of population control within the context of maqasid al-Shari'ah was discussed. The author sought to demonstrate that despite popular opposition within the populace and religious circles in northern Nigeria, there is room for population control within the shariah, and it is in fact encouraged in certain circumstances.

Keywords: population, maqasid, shariah, Nigeria, population control

Meaning of Maqasid al- Shari'ah

'Magasid' is the plural form of 'magsid', which literally means objective, goal, intent, purpose, or end. Al- Shari'ah refers to refers to God's immutable divine law. Thus, in simple terms, Magasid al- Shari'ah refers to the purpose or intent or wisdom behind Islamic rulings. According to Abdulazeem and Dusuki (2018), Magasid al-Shari'ah is the objective and the rationale of the Shari'ah, and a comprehensive and careful examination of Shari'ah rulings entails an understanding that Shari'ah aims at protecting and preserving public interests (maslahah) in all aspects and segments of life. The uppermost objectives of Shari'ah rest within the concept of compassion and guidance that seeks to establish justice, eliminate prejudice, and alleviate hardship. It promotes cooperation and mutual supports within the family and society at large. This is manifested in the realisation of maslahah (public interest) which Islamic scholars have generally considered to be the all-pervasive value and objective of the Shari'ah and is to all intents and purposes synonymous with compassion (Abu Hurayra, 2015). According to Auda (2008), Magasid al-Shari'ah is the branch of Islamic knowledge that answers all questions of 'why' on various levels, such as following question: Why is giving zakah one of Islam's principal pillars? Why is drinking any amount of alcohol a major sin in Islam? Why do Muslims greet people with Salam (peace)? Thus, Maqasid al-Shari'ah explain the wisdoms behind rulings, such as 'enhancing social cohesion,' which is one of the wisdoms behind charity, being good to one's neighbors, and greeting people with peace. 'Developing consciousness of God,' is one of the rationales behind regular prayers, fasting, and supplications and 'preserving people's minds and souls' explains the total and strict Islamic ban on alcohol and intoxicants. Auda (2008) further explains that Magasid are also the group of divine intents and moral concepts upon which the Islamic law is based, such as, justice, human dignity, free will, magnanimity, facilitation, and social cooperation. Thus, they represent the link between the Islamic law and today's notions of human rights, development, and civility.

Al-Tahir ibn Ashur (d. 1325 AH/ 1907 CE) proposed that the universal maqasid of the Islamic law is to maintain 'orderliness, equality, freedom, facilitation, and the preservation of pure natural disposition (fitrah) (Ibn Ashur, *Maqasid*, 2001). Yusuf al-Qaradawi (b. 1345 AH/1926 CE) also surveyed the Qur'an and concluded the following universal maqasid: 'Preserving true faith, maintaining human dignity and rights, calling people to worship God, purifying the soul, restoring

moral values, building good families, treating women fairly, building a strong Islamic nation and calling for a cooperative world (Al-Qaradawi, *Kayfa*, 2006). Taha al-Alwani (1354 AH/ 1935 CE) also surveyed the Qur'an to identify its 'supreme and prevailing' maqasid, which are, according to him, 'the oneness of God (tawhid), purification of the soul (tazkiyah), and developing civilisation on earth ('imran) (al-Alwani, 2001).

Furthermore, it is important to this paper to highlight the fact that in the twentieth century, writers on maqasid, significantly, developed 'preservation of offspring' into a family-orientated theory. Ibn Ashur, for example, made 'care for the family' to be a maqasid of the Islamic law, in its own right. In his monograph 'The Social System in Islam,' Ibn Ashur elaborated on family-related purposes and moral values in the Islamic law (Ibn Ashur, *Usul*, 2005)

Definition of Population Control

According to the dictionary, population means the whole number of people or inhabitants in a country or region ("Population"). It therefore comprises of all the members of the same specie living in a specific geographical region at a point in time. It could be drawn from the above statement that population control is practice of intentionally controlling the rate of growth of a human population. Population growth is normally influenced by three main factors namely- birth, death and migration. Population control, as a major international development strategy, is a relatively recent phenomenon. However, its origins reach back to social currents in the 19th and early 20th centuries, culminating in an organized birth control movement in Europe and the United States (Hartmann, 1997).

Historically, human population planning has been implemented with the goal of increasing the rate of human population growth. However, in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s, concerns about global population growth and its effects on poverty, environmental degradation and political stability led to efforts to reduce human population growth rates ("Human population planning"). Thus, population growth has in recent years been labelled as a threat to human survival, a cause of world disorder, a hindrance to human progress and a stumbling block to the fulfilment of human dignity (Seng, 1971). Akanwa, Anyanwu & Ossai-Onah (2013) lament that overpopulation has an

adverse effect on the economy of any nation especially developing countries, and on the social, economic and psychological life of its citizens. However, Olanrewaju (2012) is of the opinion that population *per se* does not have an adverse effect on the economy on a nation and argues that population growth affects economic development in two ways: by promoting economic development, and this occurs in developed economies like USA, Great Britain, Germany etc, and by retarding economic development and this occurs in developing countries like Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe, etc. Thus, he submits that population could be blessing for developing countries if a large part of it constitutes a well – trained and informed human capital.

Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa. It is the most populous black nation in the world, and indeed one of the highly populated nations of the Less Developed countries (LDCs). Nigeria's Population was 169. 28 million in 2013. It increased to 173.938 million in 2014. This placed Nigeria the seventh most populous country in the world in 2014 (IMF, 2014).

From the 1900's to 1950's, Nigeria's population was not an issue because even though Nigeria's birth rate was high, death rate was also high which balanced the population. But since after the civil war, Nigeria's medicare has improved and women and child mortality has drastically declined. There is now a condition of high birth rate and declining death rate which has contributed to what is known as population explosion (Akanwa, Anyanwu & Ossai-Onah 2013). It was noted by another author that the more developed countries have undergone the so-called "demographic transition": they have shifted from a pattern of high birth rates and high death rates to a pattern of low birth rates and low death rates. Unlike in the less developed countries where since the World War II, the death rates have fallen sharply due to the benefits of advanced scientific, medical and sanitary knowledge from the more developed countries, yet the birth rates have continued at their past high levels (Seng, 1971). We can therefore conclude that population explosion in Nigeria, as well as other countries worldwide, has been caused by falling death rates, and not rising birth rates.

Northern Nigeria and The Adverse Effect of Overpopulation

According to a study by Osam (2019), the causes of population growth were low mortality rates, early marriages and procreation rates, insatiable desire for coitus, general ignorance and reluctance to adopt family planning measures, intense cultural pressure for male children, polygamy among Muslim faithful and traditionalists. According to Nsofor (2018), in 1960 Nigeria's population was

estimated to be 45.2 million. In 2015, the estimated number of people in Nigeria had grown to 182.2 million a 300% increase in 56 years. Nigeria is estimated to be the third most populous country in the world by 2050 with a population of 399 million people. In all ramifications, Nigeria's population is growing faster than development can cater to, faster than resources to maintain it, faster than the best attempt at any type of population control. It is a concern because the magnitude of overpopulation has become a problem to national security agencies due to violent crimes, kidnappings (Ngwama, 2014). At the 2018 Nigerian Economic Summit Group, the minister of finance, Zainab Ahmed, acknowledged that the economic growth was less than 1.0% GDP while population growth was 3%. She identified that this poses a great challenge in the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) of the Federal Government (Kwen, 2020). To put it into perspective, the 2017 budget presented to the national assembly by President Muhammadu Buhari is the largest ever budgeted in the country. Yet, if the 7.298 trillion naira budgeted is shared equally amongst 182 million Nigerians, each person would get a measly 40,000 naira. With today's exchange rate of 450 naira to 1 dollar, 40,000 naira equals approximately \$89. There are simply not enough resources to cater for Nigeria's burgeoning population, which unfortunately is a time bomb waiting to go off (Nsofor, 2018).

There are adverse problems of population growths, the inability of poor families to cater for their numerous children has led to protracted problems of violent crimes of different sorts, kidnappings for huge ransoms, kidnappings for rituals, frauds, corruption, day light robberies, street begging, school dropouts and a failure of the social system to cater to ordinary Nigerians as evidenced by the lack of affordable health insurance which currently covers less than 4% of Nigerians (Bankole, 2019).

Northern Nigeria, which consists of 19 states with large Hausa and Fulani speaking populations, is pre-dominantly Muslim. According to estimates, the population of Northern Nigerian currently stands at about 105 million (NBS, 2017).

The challenges of having uncontrolled number of children have wrecked families, leaving caregivers with huge problems of providing basic needs and educating many children. And although Safiyanu and Bugaje (2020) suggested a reinvention of the *almajirici* system of education in northern Nigeria, the fact still remains that the existence of the *almajirai* or child beggars has caused social problems such as poverty, illiteracy, and violent crimes. Several researchers (Abbo,

Zain & Njidda, 2017.; Awofeso, Ritchie & Degeling, 2003; Aghedo and Eke, 2013) have linked the almajirai children to the violent extremism of Boko Haram which according to BBC News (2021) has lasted for more than a decade and has killed at least 36,000 people and displaced two million in north-eastern Nigeria. The situation is so serious such that the former Emir of Kano Alhaji Sanusi identified polygamy as the primary factor for overpopulation, poverty and terrorism to the social problems of the Northern Nigeria. Consequently, he proposed banning poor Muslims from practicing polygamy. He stated that the number of children born into poverty were too many. He decried illiteracy, backwardness of the Northern states to polygamy, and the practice of early marriages of girls as a drag on development (Ogbonna, 2017). Indeed, one of the drivers of violent conflicts in northern Nigeria is widespread illiteracy engendered by poor education. To date, the North has the highest level of illiteracy in the country (Aghedo and Eke, 2013). This is of course not unconnected to issue of overpopulation. Odusina (2011) has also noted that another factor that has contributed to overpopulation is early marriage most especially in the northern part of Nigeria. Early marriages tend to lead to high birth rate because women will have opportunity of having many children due to long childbearing/reproductive years. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) is a measure of how many children a woman would give birth to at the end of her childbearing years. According to the 2018 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS), the national average stands at 5.3 births per woman. The TFR is higher in the North-East and North-West with 6.1 and 6.6 respectively. Furthermore, the report shows that Bauchi, Jigawa, Sokoto and Katsina are all having above 7.0 (NPC, 2018). Simply put, a woman of child-bearing age in Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara States has an average of approximately seven children. It is not uncommon for women in this region to give birth to more than 10 children (Nsofor, 2018).

Attitudes about family planning, population, and development in northern Nigeria relate to broader political concerns about the moral basis of the state's authority over matters concerning human reproduction and about what constitutes progress. For some, development is associated with government efforts to improve economic and living standards without giving particular attention to population issues. For others, population growth is viewed as detrimental to development, and its control is a key aspect of the government's development plans (Renne, 1996).

Thus, for some northern Nigerians, the idea of calculating or limiting births is anathema, deeply rooted in the religious belief that one must accede to the will of God and should not try to supersede

it. To them, a secular government should not interfere in such matters for they are not considered to be part of its legitimate domain. Nor should such private affairs as human reproduction be treated as a general public concern (Callaway, 1987). Renne (1996) submitted that to treat childbearing openly as a matter of calculation for the economic benefit of individuals and families and as a program of national development is considered offensive by some, because it associates childbearing with material interests rather than spiritual ones. They also argue that it is the moral bankruptcy of Nigerian government officials and the policies and practices of international agencies that have undermined economic development in Nigeria, rather than its growing population. Accordingly, to these set of people, social and political reforms, along with correct religious practice – rather than a focus on family planning or population control – will lead to the proper management of our resources and subsequently, Nigeria will be able to sustain its population

On the other hand, others see population growth as hindering development and tend to emphasize the economic aspects of development. Their reasoning is simple – an increase in income per capita, and reduction of population growth would increase an individual's share of the 'national cake'. Here, the premeditated planning of births and family size is viewed as moral and responsible behaviour, not as an affront to God. Furthermore, limiting the size of the family limits economic hardship as well, because there are fewer children to feed, clothe, and educate. To participate in modern society a person needs to be economically rational. Consequently, a secular government not only has the authority but also has the responsibility to advance programs that will improve materially the lives of its people, programs that include the formulation, promotion, and implementation of a federal population policy (Renne 1996). Northern Nigerians who emphasize population planning, population limitation, and material well- being are also inclined to believe successful development apparently depends on a combination of government programs (such as a national population policy and state-sponsored family planning programs) and individual initiative based on economic rationalism rather than general social and political change.

Islam and The Issue of Population Control

In Islam, contraception is mainly addressed in the context of marriage and family. As a social system, culture, and civilization, Islam considers the family the basic unit of society. The Shari'ah views marriage as sacred and identifies the husband and wife as the principals of family formation (Roudi-Fahimi, 2004). The Quran contains several references to the institution of family, for example: And one of [Allah's] signs is, that He has created for you mates from yourselves, that you may dwell in tranquillity with them, and has ordained between you Love and Mercy (30:21); It is He who created you from a single soul (*nafs*) and therefrom did make his mate, that he might dwell in tranquillity with her (7:189). These verses suggest that tranquillity is an overall purpose of family life and is achieved through marriage. Thus, from the Islamic point of view, when procreation takes place, it should support and endorse tranquillity rather than disrupt it.

In all its institutions and regulations, Islam addresses itself to reason and keeps in harmony with man's natural character (fitrah). It never fails to demonstrate its great compassion for its people, nor does it ever seek to impose undue burdens and intolerable restrictions upon them (Omran, 1992). The Quran states this principle thus: Allah desires for you ease [yusr]; He desires not hardship [usr] for you (2:185); And has not laid upon you in religion any hardship [haraj] (22:78); and Allah desires to lighten your burden, for man was created weak (4:28). Furthermore, in a tradition reported by Malik and Ibn Maja', the prophet (SAW) said "No harm and no harassment". This is a general ruling that is invoked by jurists in religious judgements particularly in the absence of a categorical text of prohibition. Thus, if excessive fertility leads to proven health risks to mothers and children, and/ or if it leads to economic hardship or embarrassment to the father, or if it results in the inability of parents to raise their children religiously, educationally and socially, then Muslims would be allowed to regulate their fertility in such a way that these hardships are warded off or reduced (Omran, 1992). Islam being a religion of moderation and maslaha will not push Muslims to continue their unregulated fertility in face of hardships as that would be rather harsh. For Islam sponsors moderation and discourages excesses, extremism, rigidity, and undue restrictions. The Quran neither prohibits birth control, nor does it forbid a husband or wife to space pregnancies or limit their number. Thus, the great majority of Islamic jurists believe that family planning is permissible in Islam. The silence of the Quran on the issue of contraception, these jurists have argued, is not a matter of omission by God, as he is "All-Knowing", and Islam is

understood to be timeless (Roudi-Fahimi, 2004). Thus, there is no doubt that Islam encourages family planning especially if spacing pregnancies and limiting their number makes the mother more physically fit and the father more financially at ease, particularly since these actions do not violate any prohibition in the Quran or in the Prophet's tradition (Sunnah).

Furthermore, Islam being a timeless religion means that this religion should cater not only for the time of the Prophet and the Arabs of the seventh century (AD) but should satisfy the requirements of future generations and different population groups until the end of time. Historically, Mortality rates were high for all communities including the early Muslim community during the pre-modern period especially in the periods of epidemics (plagues), famine and war. Child mortality was particularly high. In face of such losses, high fertility was advantageous. The rate of population growth fluctuated from year to year, but the net increase was very small. However, with improvements and innovation in healthcare and hygiene, mortality rates began to decline with little change in fertility pattern, and the rate of population growth increased. In addition, modernization in other areas such as housing, transportation, recreation, schooling, etc, have made changes and new demands at the family level. The cost of raising a child has greatly increased especially in urban areas. Family-size preferences have changed, especially as more women seek education and participation in the labour force. Families are becoming more aware of the reproductive risks associated with unplanned and excessive fertility (Omran, 1992). It has therefore become imperative on us, as Muslims, to kickstart the discourse on population control in northern Nigeria. With limited availability of resources and overwhelming needs, family planning and child spacing must be brought to the front-burner of national discourse. We just cannot keep dodging the issue and expect to leapfrog development in Nigeria. By 2050, these six countries are expected to exceed 300 million in population: China, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, and the USA. The difference will lie in whether the resources available to each country can effectively take care of its citizens (Nsofor, 2018).

After reviewing various sources of Islamic jurisprudence, Dr. Omran (1992) developed a list of justifiable reasons under Islam for using contraception. Muslims may use contraception to:

- 1. Avoid health risks to a breastfeeding child from the "changed" milk of a pregnant mother;
- 2. Avoid health risks to the mother that would result from repeated pregnancies, short birth intervals, or young age;

- 3. Avoid pregnancy in an already sick wife;
- 4. Avoid transmission of disease from parents to their offspring;
- 5. Preserve a wife's beauty and physical fitness, thereby continuing the enjoyment of her husband, ensuring a happier married life, and keeping the husband faithful;
- 6. Avoid the economic hardships of caring for a larger family, which might compel parents to resort to illegal activities or exhausting themselves to earn a living;
- 7. Allow for the education, proper rearing, and religious training of children, which are more feasible with fewer children;
- 8. Avoid the danger of children being converted from Islam in enemy territory;
- 9. Avoid producing children in times of religious decline; and
- 10. Enable separate sleeping arrangements for boys and girls after puberty, which is more feasible with fewer children (Roudi-Fahimi, 2004).

Opposition to Population Control

The question of multitude (*kathrah*) or numbers has been a key issue in this debate because its advocates believe that the larger the number of Muslims and the higher their growth rate the greater their power and the closer they are to pleasing Allah and His messenger. They proclaim that multitude is ordained by religion and that failure to achieve it is a deviation from the right path. They find support for their view not only in the Qur'an but also in the Sunnah (Omran, 1992). For example, in a tradition reported by Abu Dawud, the prophet (SAW) said: "Marry and multiply, for I shall make a display of you before other nations on the Day of Judgement." This is the belief of majority of northern Muslims, as frequently emphasized by our scholars. Furthermore, as noted by several authors, there is a popular belief in the region that family planning and any form of population control is a western propaganda aimed at limiting or reducing the population of Muslims in the world (Renne, 1996; Omran, 1992; Roudi-Fahimi, 2004).

In reply, proponents of family planning and population control, on the other hand, believe that the future of today's Muslims has more to do with quality, piety and solidarity than sheer numbers. They do not believe that the Islamic world lacks numbers. They see a need for greater solidarity and co-operation among Muslim countries, as well as for more spiritual, socio-economic and

technological training and excellence. They view the rapid population growth in most Muslim countries as the most serious obstacle to the development process.

According to Roudi-Fahimi (2004), It is not uncommon for family planning programs to become politicized in Muslim societies. In recent history, opposition groups in a number of countries have rejected their governments' organized family planning program as a political move, invoking Islam in support of their position. History has shown that pragmatism eventually prevails. Within days of the Islamic revolution in 1979, for example, Iran's new leaders dismantled the country's family planning program on the grounds that it was a Western plot. Ten years later, however, as Iran struggled to provide for the basic needs of its growing population, its Islamic government reversed the policy and established one of the most successful family planning programs in the developing world. Currently, 74 % of married women in Iran use contraception—the highest among Muslim countries and comparable with countries such as France and those in the United Kingdom. Algeria has also reversed its position on family planning. At the 1974 United Nations World Population Conference, Algeria was among the countries that opposed family planning programs on the grounds that they were an imperialist conspiracy aimed at limiting the population of the developing world. However, as part of its national development plan, the Algerian government later adopted a population policy that promoted family planning.

Another key issue cited by opponents of family planning and population control is the issue of Infanticide (Wa'd). They argue strenuously that withdrawal (*al-azl*) or any practice that prevents pregnancy is infanticide, something that has been repeatedly condemned and prohibited in the Qur'an. They cite the following verses as proof: Kill not your children, on a plea of want. We provide sustenance for you and for them (Q6:151); Kill not your children for fear of want, We provide sustenance for them and for you, the killing of them is a great sin (Q17:31); And when the girl-child who was buried alive is asked 'For what sin she was slain?' (Q81:8-9); and, And they will not slay their children (Q60:12).

However, according to prominent jurists, including Al-Ghazali maintain that wa'd occurs biologically when a live born child is slain or buried alive or when a formed foetus is aborted, practices that they, as Muslims, detest and forbid. They maintain that contraception merely prevents pregnancy and involves no killing. In support of their claim they cite Ali who, in the presence of Caliph Umar and other Companions denied that al-azl is wa'd. Ali maintained that

wa'd could only apply once the foetus reached the seventh stage of creation, i.e. the stage of being 'another creature' (khalqan'aakhar). He based his opinion on the verses in Sura al-Mu'minoun explaining the stages of creation (Omran, 1992)

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is easy to conclude that Nigeria's population is growing faster than development can cater to, faster than resources to maintain it, faster than the best attempt at any type of population control and the northern region, which is predominantly Muslim, suffers greatly from the adverse effect of overpopulation. Unfortunately, there is a deep-seated belief amongst the populace that any attempt at population control is politicized and a western propaganda aimed at reducing the number of Muslims in the world. Thus, it is not uncommon to see the castigation of any proponent of population control in the north, as seen in the cases of the former emir of kano, Sanusi Lamido and the current minister of finance, Zainab Shamsuna.

Furthermore, the opponents of population control base their arguments within the shariah arguing that family planning or any other means of population control goes against the fundamental tenets of Islam.

However, this article has shown that population control has a place in Islam, and it is in fact encouraged. Several Islamic scholars around the world have issued fatwas in support of population, basing their arguments within the concept of maqasid al-shariah. Furthermore, History has shown that pragmatism eventually prevails. For example, at the 1974 United Nations World Population Conference, Algeria was among the countries that opposed family planning programs on the grounds that they were an imperialist conspiracy aimed at limiting the population of the developing world. However, as part of its national development plan, the Algerian government later adopted a population policy that promoted family planning.

It has therefore become imperative on us to us, as Muslims, to kickstart the discourse on population control in northern Nigeria. With limited availability of resources and overwhelming needs, family planning and child spacing must be brought to the front-burner of national discourse. We just cannot keep dodging the issue and expect to leapfrog development in Nigeria. Government and

religious stakeholders must take the mantle in ensuring that the general populace is sensitised and re-oriented on the issues of population control and its adverse effect on our regions and religion. They must convince the general public that the future of today's Muslims has more to do with quality, piety and solidarity than sheer numbers. There is a need for greater solidarity and cooperation among Muslim countries, as well as for more spiritual, socio-economic and technological training and excellence.

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