

**URBANIZATION NEEDS AND PHYSICAL
PLANNING POLICIES FOR NIGERIA**

**Thesis for the Degree of M. U. P.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
OBI BASIL ACHUNINE
1974**

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ABSTRACT

URBANIZATION NEEDS AND PHYSICAL PLANNING POLICIES FOR NIGERIA

By

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The knowledge of the size of the urban population in an area and its rate of growth is of great importance in planning for economic, physical and social development. Although Africa is the least urbanized of the major world regions, the rate of growth of the urban population has recently been, and is estimated to continue to be, the most rapid in the world. The urban population increases by the balance of births over deaths and by net migration, especially from rural areas to the towns and cities. For Africa, the unprecedented increase of the urban population in the recent past and the prospects for further increase in the near future have immediate economic and social implications concerning employment, housing, education, health and all other urban infrastructure. Unless positive planning measures are taken, this rapid growth of urban population in Africa is likely to aggravate the present urban pathology, expand the slums and squatter settlements and lead to chaotic and uncontrolled urban forms. However, the degree of urbanization and rate of growth of urban population in Africa vary considerably from country to country and from one sub-region to another.

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Nowhere in Africa are the above trends of more urgent consideration now than in Nigeria; it is the largest single country in Black Africa and is said to have the largest population and greatest natural resources. Nigeria is the most urbanized country in tropical Africa. If a population figure of 5000 persons were to be used to define an urban settlement, Nigeria, although accounting for only about 20 percent of the total population (prior to the 1973 census) of tropical Africa has nearly 35 percent of its urban population. Since the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, development in Nigeria has been marked by rapid commercial, manufacturing and urban growth. But this growth and development have been concentrated in three main areas or "growth poles." One is located in the southwest, where the port-city and federal capital of Lagos has become a vast industrial complex and national transport hub. The second is in the north, a central, closely-settled zone embracing the cities of Kaduna, Zaria and Kano. It includes the administrative, commercial, manufacturing and transport node of Northern Nigeria, characterized in its rural parts by intensive agricultural production. The other is located in the south-east, a well-knit network of urban places dominated by the cities of Port Harcourt, Onitsha, Aba, and Enugu. It is also industrial and administrative in character.

This trend has ultimately led to spottiness of development or over-concentration in a few centers. In other words, there have been spatial disparities in development. Streams of population movement have been generated as a response to the economic incentives found in the growth poles, thereby reflecting economic differentials from

area to area, particularly between urban and rural areas. Migration to them accelerates as the youths flock into the few existing cities, in search of employment, the "good things" and amenities. The cities become extremely congested with traffic and people. Slums and sprawling, coupled with a special brand of squatting, dominate the city-scape and life. As the rural areas are denuded of their youthful population, problems of low agricultural productivity, degeneration and sometimes sheer neglect mount. Unemployment and underemployment become serious problems in the cities.

These problems would have been arrested or at least minimized if sound physical planning policies had been formulated and enforced by the Federal Government. But there has been a lack of national urbanization and planning policies--no physical planning structural organization. The only existing Town and Country Planning Ordinance has been so inadequate that there has been much emphasis on economic planning with only minimal attention to physical planning. The circumstances described above call increasingly for the infusion into national and state development policies of the concepts and techniques of urban and regional planning. The vast resources and the complex problems that confront Nigeria are unique and indigenous. It is, therefore, only logical that solutions peculiar to these conditions are required. These solutions--policies and plans--must be responsive to the complex problems of Nigeria as a developing country. In addition, they must be receptive of the unique needs and demands of the physical, social, economic and administrative environment within the political framework.

A thorough analysis and assessment of the problems created in Nigeria by inadequate government response to the urbanization and urban planning issues are therefore necessary. The future trends and inherent potentials point to the fact that in order to effectively guide the future growth and changes of the country towards a more desirable pattern, workable policies represented in the goals, objectives and implementation devices need to be adopted. These policies are to be prepared, directed and enforced by the National Government, together with the administrative organization. The goals should be in keeping with those of the total Economic Development Plans, which envisage a united, strong and self-reliant nation with a great and dynamic economy; a just and egalitarian society; and full opportunities for all its citizens.

To solve the problems inherent in the foregoing statements, the following recommendations are made.

1. In order to avoid the diseconomies of urban congestion, the rapid increase of slums and squatter settlements and the inefficiencies in the administrative machinery in the few existing urban centers, a *National Urban Growth Policy* should be established which would guide the location and planning of future growth centers in the most efficient manner.

2. In the process of developing a comprehensive approach, the national policies and plans should be so formulated as to bring together all professions relevant to the improvement of environment and to integrate the physical, social, economic, and political dimensions in the planning process.

3. In an attempt to regulate the rapid rate of rural-urban migration, the National Government should actively influence the location of new industries. This should be done in such a way as to control the movement of people, as well as the upliftment of the disadvantaged rural areas, through the creation of more urban growth centers on a regional basis, with a development strategy of planned dispersion.

4. Because administrative inefficiencies and deficiencies exist, substantial reorganization should be made to create a viable and dynamic administrative framework. Thus the machinery for the formulation and implementation of development policies and plans will be improved; and maximum coordination among various departments or ministries and level of government will be achieved.

5. In order to guide the formulation of sound policies and the preparation of effective plans, as well as to facilitate their implementation, the Federal Government should embark on massive educational and research programs which will include continuing research, information systems, data gathering on rural and urban issues, sustained and intensive public education programs to elicit informed and active citizen participation, and a faster, more generous program to train competent technicians and professional planners.

6. Every state government will produce master plans for their main urban centers describing in detail their physical development for several years with definite targets for the provision and expansion of essential facilities like water, housing, sewage and other urban utilities.

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To achieve the above desirable ends there have to be appropriate implementation devices for land-use and for housing in particular. Land-use control measures such as zoning ordinances, effective building regulations, subdivision controls and housing controls should be introduced and adapted to the cultural and institutional circumstances of Nigeria. Serious efforts should be made to provide sufficient housing units to satisfy the tremendous demand. Land use and housing policies should aim at controlling densities in both the existing cities and those to be established in the future. Adoption of federal and state urban growth and physical planning policies does little by itself to make streets cleaner, provide more shelter, enhance the quality of urban life, or even coordinate the actions of federal, state and local government toward these objectives. But it is a step toward the achievement of such goals.

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER IN URBAN PLANNING

School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture

1974

dedicated to my family. . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude goes to many people for their time and effort in helping me complete this thesis. I wish to express my indebtedness to my thesis and academic advisor, Professor Charles Barr, for his valuable assistance and guidance. Also, I want to thank Dr. Carl Goldschmidt, for getting me through the final research stages of the work for this thesis.

Sincere appreciation is also extended to my other professors and classmates, who in various ways have made my stay and studies at Michigan State University one of the most rewarding, productive and learning experiences in my life.

Most of all, I wish to express my loving thanks to my dear wife for painstakingly typing the rough draft of this thesis and for lending me the support which I very much needed along the line.



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INTRODUCTION

Although Africa is the least urbanized of the major regions, its urban population growth rate is among the most rapid in the world. On the other hand, the population of Tropical Africa is still overwhelmingly rural. Of the 1970 estimated population of 242 million persons, covering thirty-five countries, only some 26 million, or eleven percent, lived in settlements with 20,000 or more inhabitants. According to Horace Miner:

"Africa is the least urbanized of the continents, but this demographic fact belies the new importance of African cities. A decade ago the continent was a colonial patchwork and Africans a powerless people. Today the caucus of independent African nations has a third of the votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations. At home, African leaders are no longer traditional chiefs or renegade rousers of unrest, but are the holders of the economic, military and political power of the new nations. The habitat of this new elite is the city. Here is the center of commerce; the seat of government, the source of news and innovation and the point of contact with the outside world. As in other modernizing nations of diverse peoples, the emergence of national cultures in African countries is overwhelmingly an urban phenomenon. The bearers of these cultures are not to be found in yesterday's tribal cultures and rural life, on colonial organization, and on history's 'seen through blue eyes'. Even attempts to understand today's African as a mixture of primitive and modern runs the risk of overlooking him as a new kind of person dealing with new kinds of problems requiring new kinds of solutions."¹

¹Horace Miner, "The City and Modernization: An Introduction", in *The City in Modern Africa*, Horace Miner, ed., London, Pall Mall Press, 1967, pg. 1.

Certainly one of these "new kinds of problems" is that of a dramatically increasing rate of urban growth. African urban areas, particularly the larger cities, now display the world's fastest rates of population increase. At current rates of growth, many of the larger cities (Kinshasa, Lagos, Dakar, Dar es Salam, Addis Ababa, Lusaka, Accra, as examples) will double in size within the next decade. The characteristics and consequences of this situation of severe population pressure on the major cities, matched with current governmental responses, become critical.

It has been argued that aside from (and of course closely related to) the increasing plight of the major cities, the low and embryonic level of African urbanization in general offers unique development opportunities. Africa's very lack of development makes it the most favored developing area in the world. This, perhaps, excessively optimistic judgment is based on the view that, because most new African states are largely uncommitted through past investment to specific lines of development, they have the most options open to them. For most of Africa, the lack of cities in general means that there may still be an opportunity to urbanize without creating the misery which stamps pre-industrial cities with the pollution and other environmental problems and which attended unplanned urban growth in the "developed" nations of the western world. Urban form has not yet come markedly into being in Africa, except in the larger primate cities. Growth cannot yet be limited, but eventually growth will generate a relatively inflexible form.

This hopeful view is the basis of the current growing interest in urban, regional (or spatial) planning in almost all African countries. There is obvious ubiquitous concern among planners in Africa (whether indigenous or foreign advisors) with new growth centers, industrial location policy, new communication networks, resettlement schemes, integrated rural-urban development as a technique of organizing the countryside. These efforts will be coupled with policies designed to influence population distribution-- in essence, to discern and impose a systematic "voluntary geography."

The situation in Nigeria is typical of the urban problems and potentials throughout Black Africa. While Nigeria has a low percentage of urban dwellers in cities of over 20,000 population (15 percent) it does have one of the highest urban growth rates and total absolute urban population in all of Tropical Africa (Table 1). As Nigeria prepares to launch a combined industrial, agricultural and educational revolution, the unprecedented rapid urbanization continues to accelerate with attendant urban problems. One of the main causes of these problems is excessive migration into the existing cities.

In Nigeria today, with the acceleration in the flow of migrants from country to towns and cities, city growth, in the opinion of some observers, is separated from economic and social development. The hope of the Nigerian Federal Government and other state governments to raise living standards through increased agricultural output is being defeated through the drain from the countryside of the most able-bodied, competent, and progressive young men. "*Per capita*" agricultural production appears to have declined in recent years.

TABLE 1

Population Estimates, Tropical Africa, 1970

Country	Total population (millions)	Urban population (millions)	% Urban
TOTAL	242.3	26.2	11
WEST AFRICA	111.9	15.8	14
CENTRAL AFRICA	35.5	3.9	11
EAST AFRICA	94.9	6.5	7
<u>WEST AFRICA</u>	<u>111.9</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>14</u>
Nigeria	66.1	10.1	15
Ghana	9.0	1.6	18
Upper Volta	5.3	0.2	4
Mali	5.1	0.4	8
Ivory Coast	4.3	0.8	19
Guinea	3.9	0.4	10
Senegal	3.9	1.1	26
Niger	3.8	0.2	5
Dahomey	2.7	0.3	11
Sierra Leone	2.6	0.4	13
Togo	1.8	0.2	11
Liberia	1.2	0.2	17
Mauritania	1.2	0.02	2
Portuguese Guinea	.6	0.02	3
Gambia	.4	0.03	7
<u>CENTRAL AFRICA</u>	<u>35.5</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>11</u>
Congo-Kinshasa	17.4	2.2	13
Cameroon	5.7	0.4	7
Chad	3.7	0.3	8
Central African Republic	1.5	0.2	13
Congo Brazzaville	.9	0.3	33
Equatorial Guinea	.3	0.03	10
Angola	5.5	0.4	7
Gabon	.5	0.06	12

TABLE 1 (continued)

Country	Total population (millions)	Urban population (millions)	% Urban
<u>EAST AFRICA</u>	<u>94.9</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>7</u>
Ethiopia	25	1.2	5
Tanzania	13.2	0.7	5
Kenya	10.8	0.8	7
Uganda	8.5	0.2	2
Madagascar	6.9	0.7	10
Malawi	4.4	0.2	5
Zambia	4.3	1.0	23
Rwanda	3.5	-	-
Burundi	3.6	0.08	2
Somalia	2.7	0.3	11
Rhodesia	4.5	1.1	24
Mozambique	7.5	0.2	3

Source: Demography and Social Statistics Section, Economic Commission for Africa (data from ECA worksheets).

Traditional production has suffered, as well as the possibilities of developing innovation. There are other effects, such as the decline in the construction and repair of rural houses, community buildings, roads, etc., and the disruption of normal family life. In the cities the migrants often add to the growing number of unemployed, strain limited social services and help to perpetuate the unhealthy slums, shantytowns and squatting practices.

The colonial inheritance in Nigeria has also affected the planning of its main cities. The planned metropolitan cities were developed to serve the administrative and commercial needs of the colonial masters. Most of them developed as a result of non-Nigerian

enterprises and were treated as major centers of non-Nigerian activity, with little or no attention paid to the expanding indigenous urban and peri-urban population. However, in recent years attempts have been made to evolve and adopt an urban policy to assist the growth of a more integrated urban society. A few new cities are being built, but some of them are poorly planned. Housing is very scarce and, for various income groups, is often segregated. Social aspects of communal life are totally ignored. In some cases, slums are arising even before new construction has taken place.

In most of Nigeria the settlement pattern is generally assuming the form of a growing metropolitan region with a primate urban core surrounded by a tributary hinterland. The primary city drains the material and human resources from a network of settlements usually consisting of hamlets and villages. The resulting severe demographic, social and economic imbalances between city and countryside and between different sections of the country threaten effective overall development. High migration rates from rural to urban areas make policy requirements pressing for the protection of the welfare of migrants and city dwellers, as well as for the design of a settlement pattern conducive to the rapid and sound development of the region and nation.

In order to cope with this dynamic situation and to establish a rational basis for the growth and expansion of Nigerian cities and settlements, a close examination might be made of the institutional and technical framework that must determine the form and character of social, economic and physical planning in the country. Attention

should also be given to the size of settlements and the preparation of standards for planning and related purposes, in light of population and socio-economic growth trends. The way out may be to create regional or growth centers based on agro-industries. /

The regional concept implies a coordinated system of human settlements, from the small village as a unit of production, to the intermediate communities and regional centers (or secondary urban centers) as units of service and distribution of goods, to the large city--as the center of the national economy and the administrative system. It is being suggested that a major aim of regional development in Nigeria should be to place or locate services and industries in such a way as to bring modern development closer to the farmer. But perhaps the Nigerian farmer wants to identify himself more closely with urban development. In this respect, the commuting habit (mainly seasonal) between the city and country of many Nigerian "rural-townsmen" is often a matter of choice rather than compulsion.

The disparities in the ways and standards of living between the city and country dwellers are so great that the flight from the village seems inevitable. The government authorities responsible for urban planning and administration should, therefore, face the concomitant problems rather than hope that rural-urban migration would slow down. The following steps are recommended:

1. First, that administrative and economic decentralization measures designed to attract rural migrants to smaller urban centers should be adopted. Such a policy seems more feasible in Nigeria than in most other parts of the developed world because the population is

still mainly rural and industrialization only in infancy.

2. Secondly, in order to mitigate the problems which the drift from the land, combined with a rapidly increasing population is causing in the existing cities, viable industries should be established and attempts made to stimulate the growth of centers other than those cities.

3. Thirdly, the federal and state governments and local authorities should pursue a forward-looking policy regarding city and peri-urban land and the adjacent areas in order to regulate and control development.

4. Fourthly, self-help schemes such as urban community development programs and action research centers should be fostered and encouraged more. In addition to this, programs of mass education, training and research are urgently needed to meet the complex and varied socio-economic requirements of Nigerian urbanization. Nigerian education should be adapted to the changing political, economic and social problems of both rural and urban areas.

The Nigerian Federal Government has not been fully involved, nor has it attempted to grapple with the consequences of drift to the cities and subsequent rapid urbanization. Though it has been allocating funds for "Town and Country Planning", it has not been able to formulate any meaningful guidelines or policies to the states to make sure that basic concepts of urban planning are adopted. Furthermore, there have been few, if any, urban planning books or texts dealing with the unique problems of Nigerian cities and their physical planning.



The aim of this thesis, *Urbanization Needs and Physical Planning Policies for Nigeria*, is to propose broad general principles upon which the Federal Government of Nigeria can base the formulation of National Urbanization and Planning policies. It will fulfill the need for an urban planning reference that can be understood and utilized by government functionaries with little or no urban planning knowledge or experience in formulating such policies. In short, the thesis provides ideas and suggestions for understanding, evaluating and dealing with broad needs and problems of urbanization and physical planning in Nigeria. The proposals have been very broad because specific issues have to be based on a general framework and such is woefully ineffective where it exists at all or lacking altogether at the national level.

The thesis is divided into five major chapters. The first chapter provides geographical background material to convey a perspective and understanding of Nigeria. It traces previous urbanization patterns from pre-European times through late colonial era.

The second chapter attempts to outline the present urban setting in Nigeria. It discusses recent trends and patterns of urbanization and migration to the cities as the major cause of both rapid urbanization, planless cities and other social and economic problems.

In chapter three, the author examines critically the efforts made both by the federal and state governments to direct urban growth. The response is found to be inefficient in controlling urbanization and physical planning patterns.

Chapter four sets out something like universal urban development strategies. The applicability of such policies or strategies within the Nigerian context is evaluated. There are also brief comments on regional development, land development as it relates to land tenure and public acquisition of land for urban development.

Finally, policy recommendations in a hierarchy of goals objectives and implementation are made. A few implementation techniques for land use and housing are also discussed.

CHAPTER I
BACKGROUND

GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Nigeria is situated almost in the center of the curve made by the continent of Africa. This places it nearly equidistant from the extreme corners of the continent and it makes air connections with these places easy. Thus Lagos is only a few hours by air to Dakar--the educational and cultural headquarters of the French Community countries in West Africa; it is less than half a day to Tripoli and Algiers, cities in the Mediterranean countries of North Africa. It takes about half a day to fly from Kano to Cairo--the capital of the most important Arab country in Africa; less than that time to Addis Ababa--the capital of the oldest independent state in the continent and only overnight by straight flight to Johannesburg--the economic center of gravity of the Southern African sub-continent (Figure 1, Nigeria in African Setting).

Figure 2 shows that the country lies roughly between longitudes 3° and 15° east of Greenwich and between 4° and 14° latitude north of the equator. The greatest distance in Nigeria from east to west is approximately 800 miles, and the greatest distance from north to south is about 700 miles. Nigeria has a total area of 356,670 square miles. It is thus 3½ times the size of the United Kingdom. It is

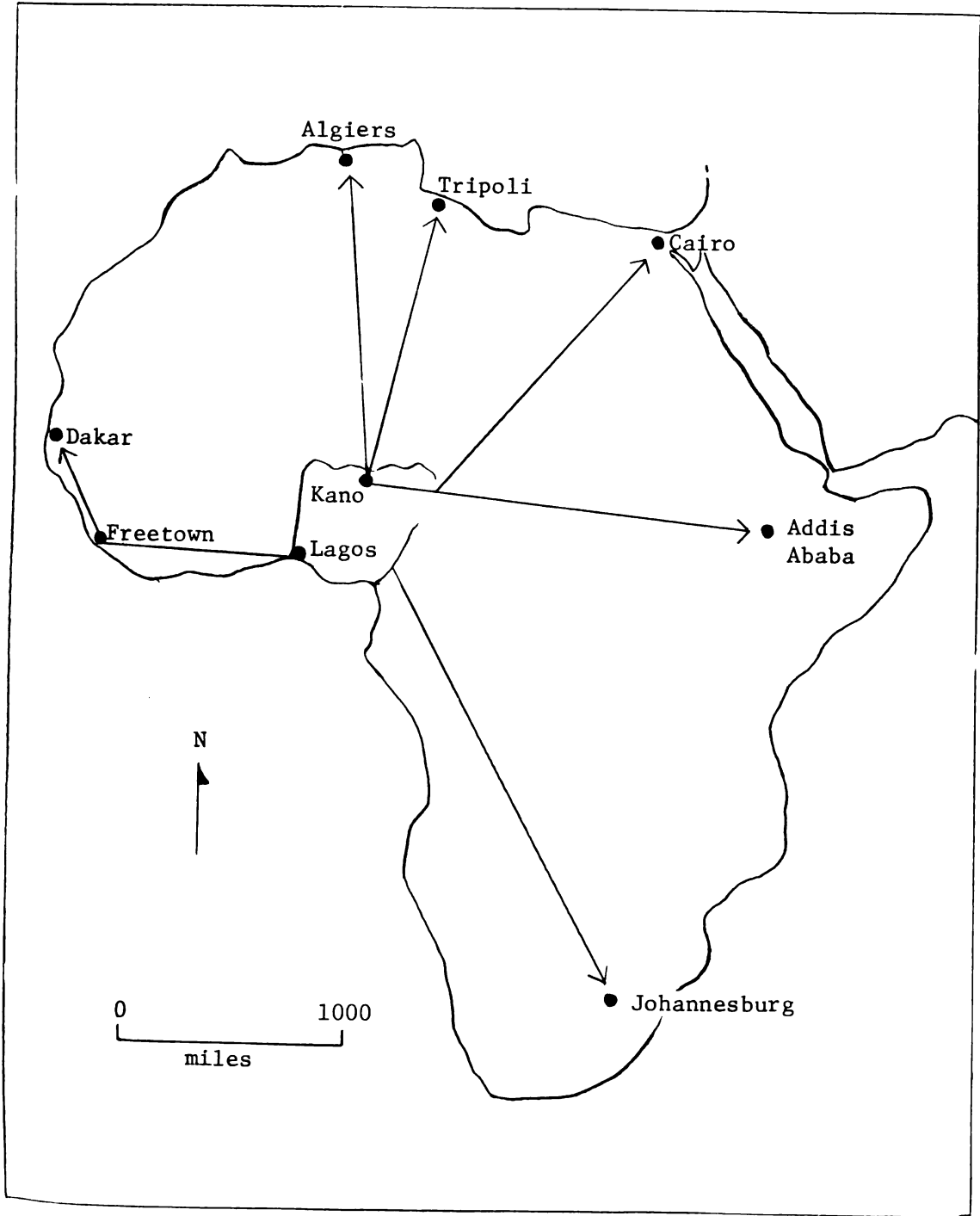


Figure 1. Location of Nigeria in Africa - Nigeria in African Setting.

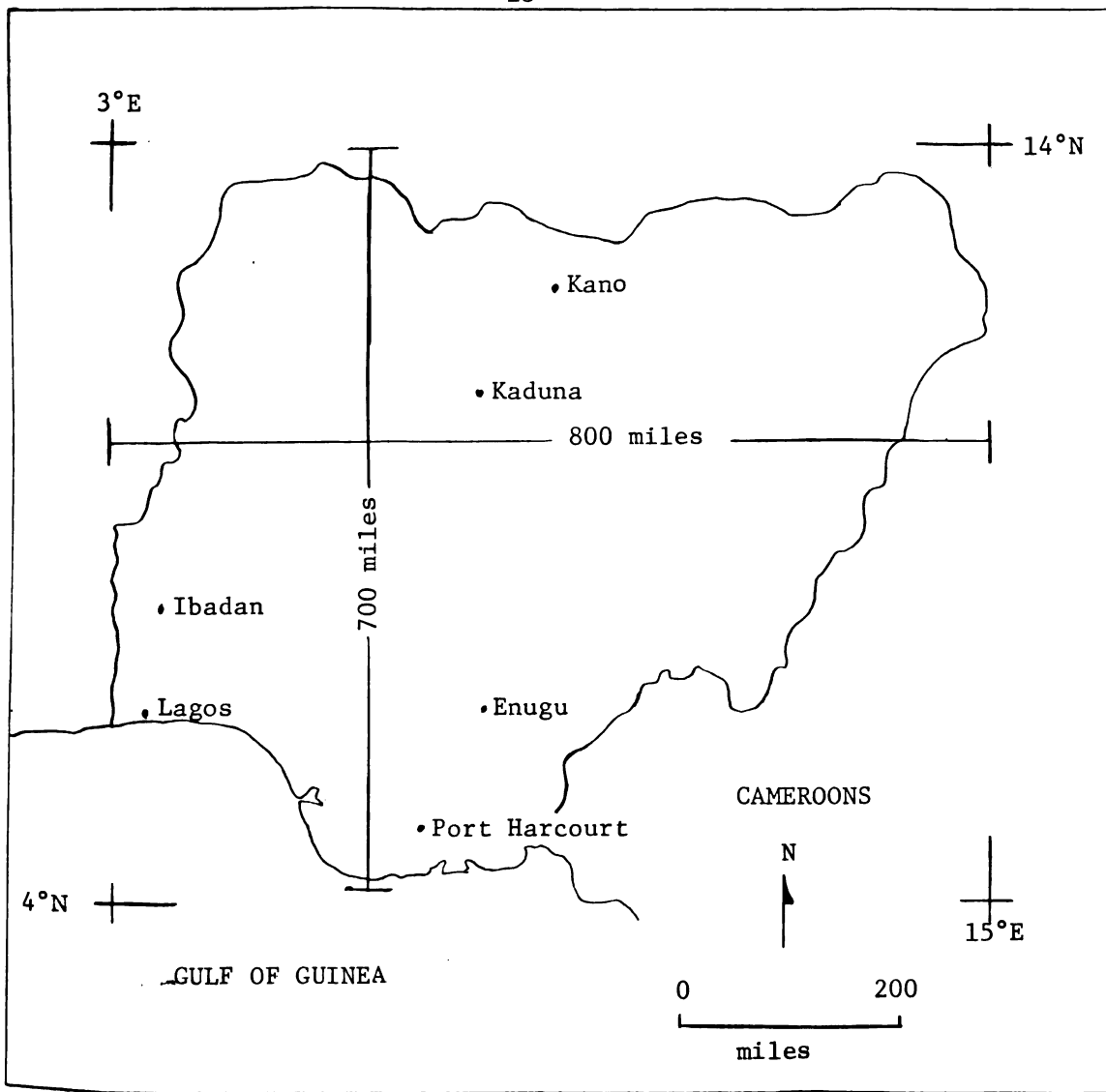


Figure 2. Map of Nigeria Showing Size.

2011
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2014

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nearly four times the size of Ghana, about 13 times larger than Sierra Leone, and occupies one-seventh of the settled and productive area of West Africa. Nigeria is about the size of the State of Texas when compared with the United States.

The total area is made up of the following component states:

	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Approx. % of total</u>
Northwestern State	65,004	1.82
North Central State	26,949	7.2
Kano State	16,630	5.0
North Eastern State	120,854	33.3
Benue Plateau State	41,844	16.5
Kwara State	28,672	7.8
Lagos State	5,747	2.0
Mid-Western State	15,344	4.8
Western State	29,100	8.2
East-Central State	8,746	2.6
South-Eastern State	13,730	4.3
Rivers State	7,008	2.4

(see Figure 3 - States)

One of the highlights of the geography of the country is the wide variation in the features found within its territorial boundaries; altitude varies from 5000 to 6000 feet on the Jos Plateau to less than 50 feet above sea level over much of the delta area. Nigeria contains some of the oldest rocks in Africa, yet deposits are still being laid down by the River Niger. Rainfall averages over 80 inches per annum in the south, 40 inches in the center of the country, but only 25 inches in the north.

Urban development in Nigeria is to be found in the contrasting environmental conditions within the country given above. Basically, the country straddles two distinct natural regions. There is the

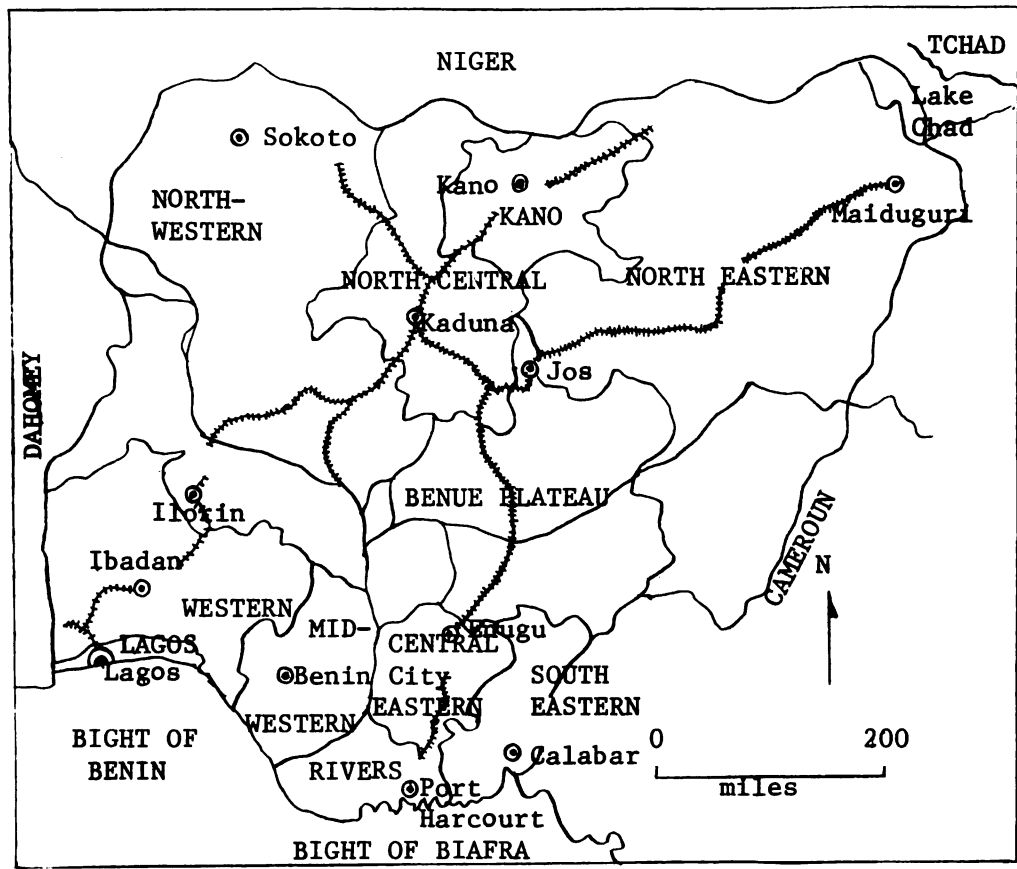


Figure 3. Nigeria--The New 12 States and Capitals.

southern forest zone which succeeds the stretch of swampy, mangrove vegetation inland from the coast. This forested area occupies only about one-third of the country. The remaining two-thirds is occupied by grasslands or savannas of varying characteristics. These include tall, wiry grass of the Guinea Savanna in the south, as well as the short, clumpy grasses of the Sahel Savanna close to the border of the Sahara Desert.

POPULATION

According to the 1963 census, Nigeria had a population of approximately 56 million and this is estimated to be 58.0 million by mid-1972, and 84.7 million by 1985.² Because of the various problems connected with the 1963 census, it has not been possible to identify what proportion of this population is urban. The 1952 census, however, showed that of a total of 31,168,000 persons in the country some 19 percent or nearly 6 million lived in urban centers of 5000 people or over. What was perhaps most striking was the wide variation in this proportion from region to region. In Northern Nigeria the proportion was 9 percent, although for the Hausa area alone it rose to 12 percent; in Eastern Nigeria it was 14 percent, while in Western Nigeria it was as high as 49 percent.

Reviewing the pattern of population concentration in Africa as far back as 1950, Trewartha and Zelinsky noted that, if the population figures of 5000 were to be used to define an urban settlement, Nigeria,

²Pop. Ref. Bureau Estimates, 1972. It is to be noted that an official national census was conducted in December 1973, and it put the population at approximately 80 million. This figure is not accepted widely due to allegations of irregularities of counting in some parts of the country.

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although accounting for only about 20 percent of the total population of tropical Africa, has nearly 35 percent of its urban population. This unusual concentration of urban population poses an exciting challenge to our understanding of urbanization in pre-industrial circumstances.

This extensive open grassland country provided the setting for the earliest urban development in Nigeria. Agriculturally, large parts of it are very fertile. Rainfall varies from 20 to 40 inches, but most of it comes during a single season from May to October. As a result, although a wide range of crops can be grown, notably grains like sorghum and millet, only a single harvest can be had in a year. Fortunately, however, temperatures are never so low as to prevent cultivation of crops at other times of the year so that, with the aid of water from wells or from rivers which are permanent or semi-permanent, other crops have been added to the staples. Most important of these has been rice; but vegetables, tobacco and a number of other market gardening crops like onions, tomatoes and beans are also raised by these methods.

The agricultural wealth of the Sudan grassland region has been an important factor in the development of its cities. The open nature of the countryside, offering great scope for unobstructed human movements and organization has also been of decisive significance. Yet it is in this part of Nigeria that we still have wandering cattle rearers, or nomads, who are not amenable to permanent settlement in large agglomerations. Especially during the medieval period, these grassland areas became the scene of an extensive interregional

and international commerce and witnessed the emergence of various kingdoms and empires providing peace and stability necessary for carrying on this commerce. This development affected the whole of the Western Sudan from the extreme west in the Cape Verde Region eastward beyond Lake Chad and including much of the area of present-day Northern Nigeria.

PRE-EUROPEAN URBANIZATION (18th-19th CENTURIES)

Urbanization in Northern Nigeria in the 19th Century

By the time of the European penetration, Northern Nigeria had certainly evolved its own system of cities, a good number of which began in the medieval period. In spite of the vagaries of their political fortunes, the relative stability of the various kingdoms served to maintain some semblance of order and peace necessary for their survival. Sokoto had emerged by the end of the 19th century as the most populous city in Northern Nigeria, more because of its political importance than its commercial functions. Below it in size were the "metropolitan centers", the headquarters of the various emirates whose population by the early 20th century varied between 30,000 and 60,000 persons. Cities served the purposes of trade and craft and were important in the pattern of administrative organization linking the most remote parts of the ancient kingdom of Sokoto to the capital city.

Viewed from the vantage point of our times, these pre-European towns were not particularly impressive either in their size, their

buildings or their layout. However, in their own time, their physical distinctiveness from the ordinary settlements was outstanding. Moreover, their number appeared great and distances separating one from the other were somewhat regular. The size and spacing of Northern Nigeria urban settlements emphasize the existence of an *urban hierarchy* in this area in the pre-European period. It was a hierarchy reflecting the prevailing economic conditions and the dependence on animate means of transport such as camels, asses, donkeys and human beings. It is these aspects of economic life--the relatively low volume of production, the comparatively low average per capita income and the relatively undeveloped state of transport--that were the matrix within which the towns and cities were formed. When these conditions were drastically altered in the era of colonial administration, significant departures from the patterns of the 19th century occurred.

Southern Nigeria

Yoruba Towns and Their Origin. In spite of possible connections and contacts with Sudan from early times, the impression must not be created that Yoruba towns owed their origin to the same cause, namely the thriving trade across the Sahara to North Africa. One fact, however, stands out: Yoruba towns arose largely as a form of "colonial settlements" among indigenous, more backward, and perhaps hostile people. The towns were not products of indifferent growth but were a conscious attempt to dominate and control the unorganized

mass of aborigines found in the region. Present in the history of many of the towns are references to numerous hamlets and villages being forced to break up and move into the town. This method of founding towns seemed to be elevated to the status of tradition.

Yoruba towns were basically administrative centers and over the centuries they have evolved an elaborate power structure and a hierarchical system of administration both at the city level and the level of a kingdom. Trade based on agriculture and craft production was a major element in the survival of Yoruba towns. Considerable movement of people and goods became a major factor linking the towns and determining the nature of their interaction one with the other as well as of their coexistence.

By the middle of the 19th century, three Yoruba cities were at least close to the 100,000 mark and a few others were certainly of considerable size. Irrespective of the way they developed, most Yoruba towns approximated a given town-plan. The most salient physical elements in this plan were those related to the administrative, the trading and the defense functions of the town. However, today most of the important Yoruba towns such as Ibadan, Oyo, Oshogbo, Abeokuta, Iwo and Ede show no discernible town plan and their streets are narrow and winding. From this it has often been mistakenly inferred that Yoruba towns had no plan or layout. However, the historic towns were planned.

Such, then, is the picture of Yoruba urbanization up to the time of the European penetration at the end of the 19th century. It was an urbanization based largely in the open grassland area where human movement and contacts were easy and frequent.

The Ibos and Other Ethnic Groups--Urbanization Efforts. It has been claimed that the Ibo and Ibibio lands had no ancient tradition of urbanization (Mabogunje, 1968). History has it that in the Niger Delta, the vigilance of the British Naval Squadron had brought an early end to the slave trade. The Niger Delta area included parts of the Ibo and Ibibio lands. The needs of the trans-Atlantic trade in slaves led to the building of a number of towns at the mouths of the numerous distributaries of the Niger Delta. Such towns like Bonny, Old Calabar and New Calabar (Kalabari) and Brass grew up in this way. Each of these towns occupied an island site dominating the mouth of the river, and except for trade relations within interior centers, they were isolated from one another by wide tracts of swampy land. However, the Ibos and Ibibios have been by nature republican in their political and social organization and never needed a "feudal authority" like an Oba or Emir. If urbanization is based on specialized services, neither the Yorubas nor the Hausas could be regarded as more urbanized than the Ibos or Ibibios. The village councils in Iboland served as the central authority for providing specialized services, maintaining and encouraging peace and progress. In fact, the Ibo and Ibibio villages had large agglomerations of population, though in greater spread patterns; hence these are thought to be "rural."

Along the lower Niger, a number of urban centers also developed as a result of the trade in slaves. In Ibo country, Aboh was reckoned perhaps the most important of these places because of its strategic importance at the head of the three great outlets of the Niger--the Benin, the Bonny, and the Nun. Later, this trade on slaves gave way

to trade in commodities of legitimate commerce. What the effect of this trading arrangement and effort was on the urban development in Nigeria is not clear. Since, however, the African "agent" had to seek existing centers of commerce if his own operations were to be profitable, it was certain that the tendency was for trade at this stage to emphasize the relative traditional importance of various urban centers. Thus, especially in Yorubaland, places like Abeokuta, Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode came to feature prominently in the commercial relations of the period.

MODERN URBANIZATION--EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD 1900-1930

The early years of British rule in Nigeria were to have remarkable effects on urban growth and development in the country. It was a period of far-reaching changes in the general economic conditions of the country. Initially the major preoccupation was the creation of peaceful conditions and orderly government, without which economic activities could hardly flourish. With the introduction of "Indirect Rule" as a form of provincial administration, a basis for the maintenance of law and order was provided. It was then necessary for economic effectiveness to attempt improvements and modernization on a more restricted basis. Existing concentrations of population provided the means of doing this.

In 1917 the government passed the Township Ordinance which provided for the creation, constitution and administration of all towns where the population was sufficiently homogeneous for it to be administered by a Native Administration. Three categories of

townships were constituted and designated: first, second and third. A first-class township was administered by a Town Council; second and third-class townships were administered by officers appointed by the Governor and assisted, in the case of the second-class township, by an Advisory Board. First and second-class townships had their own annual estimates of revenue and expenditure; in the case of third-class townships, the revenue was paid into the Government Treasury.

The Township Ordinance operated until the end of the Second World War. Throughout the period of its operation, Lagos was the only first-class township in the country. Second-class townships consisted principally of larger centers of trade (see Table 2, showing Townships and their classification). An inspection of the list shows that these were centers either along the railway line or on the coast, so that they represented places where European traders had set up stores. They were not particularly distinguished by the size of their population nor their traditional importance.

LOCATION OF MODERN URBAN UTILITIES AND TOWNSHIP STATUS

Township status seems initially to have guided the distribution of government amenities especially medical services. The same principle seemed to have underlined the provision of other public utilities like water supply and electricity. Lagos had pipe-borne water in 1914, Enugu in 1927, Onitsha, Aba, Kaduna and Kano had their

TABLE 2

Table of Townships

A. First-class township 1919

Lagos

B. Second-class townships, 1919

Southern Provinces

Aba
 Abeokuta
 Calabar
 Enugu Ngwo
 Forcados
 Ibadan
 Itu
 Onitsha
 Opoko
 Port Harcourt
 Sapele
 Warri

Northern Provinces

Ilorin
 Kaduna
 Kano
 Lokoja
 Minna
 Zaria

C. Third-class townships, 1919

Southern Provinces

Aba	Ahoada	Bonny
Abak	Arochukwu	Brass
Abakaliki	Asaba	Burutu
Ado	Awka	Degema
Afikpo	Badagri	Eket
Agbor	Benin	Epe
Ife	Ijebu-Ode	Ogwashì
Ikom	Ikorodu	Okigwi
Ikot-Ekpene	Omohia	Ilaro
Ondo	Oron	Owerri
Koko	Kwale	Obubra
Obudu	Ogoja	Ubiaja
Uyo	Uzuakoli	

TABLE 2 (continued)

Northern Provinces

Abuisi	Jebba
Ankpa	Kontangora
Baro	Maiduguri
Bauchi	Offa
Bida	Sokoto
Ibi	Zungeru

Source: The Nigerian Handbook, London, 1936, pg. 212.

water schemes completed by 1929, while small schemes were established at Lokoja, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Benin and Abeokuta.³

The division of Nigerian towns into grades serves to underline the fact of increasing differentiation among the towns. Therefore, the characterization of Nigerian towns can best be appreciated if treated from three viewpoints which take account of the tremendous changes that occurred during the colonial period. These viewpoints relate to: (1) the physical forms of Nigerian cities; (2) the nature of their economic activities; and (3) the social and demographic characteristics of their population.

A basic distinction exists between northern and southern towns in Nigeria. This is a distinction related to the design and architecture of the houses and derives from the influence of climate, as well as of history. Traditional houses in most Nigerian towns were

³*Nigerian Handbook of Commerce and Industry*, Lagos, 1952, pgs. 87-88.

built wholly or partly of mud. In most of the southern parts of the country, the mud walls of houses were rectangular in ground plan. In the north, while such a plan is found, it is also possible to find houses with round walls. Moreover, some traditional mud houses in Northern Nigeria are two-storied, a feature which represents modern innovation in the south. Everywhere, a characteristic of the traditional Nigerian house is the absence or inadequacy of ventilation. Various reasons have been put forward to account for this. One possible reason is that the state of the arts of the people was not sufficiently developed to resolve the problem of fitting windows in houses. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the thick walls of traditional houses were poor conductors of heat and most houses, in spite of the absence of windows, were relatively cool. Moreover, the existence of windows exposed the privacy of home life to prying eyes. In an age of strong community control, it may be that the windowless house was a protection against public disapproval of private irregular behavior. Everywhere the roofs of the houses were constructed of thatch, but quite early in the development of Northern Nigerian towns, the thatched roof was replaced by the flat, mud roof. This has given most towns in the north a distinctive appearance reminiscent of cities in North Africa.

Traditional houses in Nigeria are more correctly referred to as "compounds." A compound housed an extended family, comprising a man's immediate, though polygamous, family, the families of his grown-up male children and sometimes the families of his brothers. A compound could thus be a very elaborate building or group of

buildings containing many rooms and sometimes occupying several acres. The basic unit of traditional residential organization in Nigerian towns, however, was the quarter. A quarter consisted of groups of compounds occupied by members of one or more extended families.⁴

With the disappearance of the compound went many other forms of town organization. The "quarter system" is remembered only through the fact of the existence of a chief or family head, but it has little functional significance today. The functions he performed have been taken over by numerous other bodies: the representational role by the elected local councillor, the ritual role by the various churches and mosques and the jurisdictional role by the courts. Changes in the form and layout of the city are more complex. In general, however, increasing exposure to modern Western technology and economic institutions has resulted in a greater demand for wide, straight roads and for buildings of multi-story dimensions serving other than residential functions. Furthermore, the vehicular traffic which these functions generate has brought with it new problems and given new meaning and importance to different parts of the city. The result is that specialized areas are beginning to emerge in Nigerian cities. Their control and regulation, which pose challenging problems to city administrators throughout the country, will be adequately exemplified in the following chapters of this dissertation.

⁴A village in this sense would combine a large agglomeration of kindreds and compounds inhabited by people of the same ancestral lineage with strong family and community ties. Though the population of a village could be from 3000 to about 15,000, there was a lack of modern amenities and the major economic activity was farming.

In the last hundred years, Nigerian cities have undergone tremendous changes in every aspect of their construction and physical organization. Many of these changes had their origin in Lagos and have gradually diffused inland from the coast. One of these was the replacement of the mud wall by a baked-brick wall. In the succeeding years, brick walls were gradually displaced by those built of blocks. Cement, however, can be used not only to provide blocks, but also to plaster over mud and brick wall surfaces. In this way, the latter are given better protection against the elements of climate and therefore have a longer life. Houses in present-day Nigerian towns vary from purely mud houses to mud houses with cement plaster to houses built of blocks.

Generally, the rate of change has been quicker in the southern than in the northern towns. In the latter, one often notices that, while houses in the traditional city (the birini) are still largely of mud, in the southerners' quarters (Sabon gari) of the city, they are of more diverse materials. The roofing material for houses has also been affected by great changes. As with the building material, the direction of changes has been from Lagos inland, the effect being hardly felt in the traditional city of the north.

The introduction of both cement and corrugated iron sheets into the building technology of the country had far-reaching consequences. Differences in income and wealth began to give rise to differences in taste, standards of living and expectations. The effect of this development was felt on kinship ties and family authority. It was more visibly reflected in the strains and stresses which were imposed

on the form and design of the compounds. The "improving" members of the family were thus anxious to break up the compound and to enclose and improve their portions of it. The disintegration of the compound into a number of houses containing a unit family is thus a feature of Nigerian towns in the past sixty years.

Just as the physical structure of Nigerian cities underwent tremendous changes during the colonial period, so also did their economic base. On this issue, four points need to be emphasized. First, generally throughout the period of the colonial regime, Nigerian towns remained essentially centers of trade and commerce as they had always been. Secondly, in the Northern and Western parts of the country where there has been a longer tradition of urbanization, craft activities were almost as important as trading--an indication of the survival of some traditional skills in these centers. Thirdly, by and large, opportunities for employment in non-agricultural activities tended to increase as a town grew in size. Lastly, in Eastern Nigeria some places regarded as urban in the medium-sized category hardly performed urban functions.

There can be no doubt that whereas the colonial period undermined in a serious way the crafts of traditional Nigerian cities, its general economic impact was one of a gradual increase in per capita income and rising social expectations. Modern urban facilities--especially water supply, electricity and hospitals--were concentrated in a number of centers identified as townships during the first quarter of the century. There were also schools, primary and secondary, as well as dispensaries, maternity homes, improved roads

and housing. The presence of such utilities will naturally serve to attract a number of modern businesses to a town. Thus, both the glamour of modern urban utilities and the new employment opportunities exerted a strong pull, drawing population to the urban centers.

Clearly, only a certain category of the population can hope to compete successfully for employment within the new urban milieu. This comprises those with some literacy in terms of being able to either read or write or both read and write. There are, of course, others who, though not possessing this qualification, would feel confident because of their youth of finding some way of surviving in the city as unskilled labor of various kinds. Thus, we shall expect changes: (a) in the social characteristics of Nigerian towns, measurable in terms of educational attainments, and (b) in the demographic conditions, measurable in terms of a great proportion of young adult males and females in the urban centers.

BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE PAST NIGERIAN URBANIZATION PATTERN
(COLONIAL ERA: 1914 TO ABOUT 1952)

The above description of the characteristics of Nigerian towns has given some insight into the variety of urban conditions in the country, but it did not explain the cause and pattern of this variety. In some instances regional contrasts were so vivid that they obscured the effect of degree of variation. There is no doubt that by 1952, as asserted by Mabogunje, in spite of the persistence of strong regional contrasts, the British had largely succeeded in welding Nigeria together into a single economic entity.

Given this fact, any understanding of urbanization in Nigeria must regard the towns and cities as forming a spatial system with individual units interacting amongst themselves and reacting with the rural areas to promote the economic development of the country. What pattern of urbanization evolved by 1952? It has been suggested that the date 1952 is fixed by the reliability of the census data obtained then. The pattern revealed by the census is important because even in later years much of it did not change materially and the reason that, even where there have been changes, the position of 1952 serves as a landmark against which to measure the changes that occurred up until then.

The Central Place Theory of Lösch and Cristaller serves as a conceptual basis of analysis even in the Nigerian case. Towns grow in particular places to discharge necessary functions. But according to this theory, a system of cities results from an economy that is largely devoted to trading and similar tertiary activities. This is because such an economy requires that certain goods and services which cannot be provided everywhere should be made available at central places for the benefit of the population within defined tributary areas. Such a requirement leads to the generation of a system of cities principally because the prices of these central goods and services vary with the distance from the point of supply. Interference with this system of cities by an "all-powerful authority", such as a colonial government, would lead eventually to a readjustment. This change would be characterized by the progressive upward shifting of central functions to higher order centers, with the

resulting accelerated growth of these higher order centers.

Of the dynamic elements leading to this shifting of central functions, perhaps the most critical is transport. Transport determines the varying ranges of goods, the extent of market areas and the variety of establishments that can agglomerate profitably in a center. Moreover, it determines the efficient distance between central places. Nevertheless, changes in transportation media and their effectiveness will lead to a general shift of functions to higher order centers only where such changes are "organic" (in the sense of having grown from within rather than being imposed from outside the system of cities) or are pervasive throughout the system at about the same time.

In short, the theoretical questions that could be raised here are these: What happens to a system of cities developed under one set of market and transport conditions when a new, faster, more effective, more capacious transport system is imposed? What happens when this is done in a rather selective manner as to the area served? What happens when the spatial economic integration which is achieved by this new transport system focuses the flow of commodities within the system on a few selected points, with a view to facilitating the export of these commodities out of the country? What is the nature of the adjustments that can be assumed to be taking place within the system in consequence of this new development? What effects would these adjustments have on the efficiency of the system and the growth of the economy?

For Nigeria, it is immaterial whether the organization of the towns took on a hierarchical form with discrete grades of towns or whether it assumed the form of a continuous size distribution among the cities. The important point is that the variations in their size and importance should be related to their importance in the trading economy. It is therefore into these hierarchical and spatial systems of cities generated both by traditional trading activities everywhere in the country and by the pre-industrial level of technology that the British introduced a more sophisticated trading organization and a more advanced transport technology. From this point of view, one can see the seventy or eighty years of British administrative control of the country between 1885 and 1960 as imposing a new, but what observers called "arbitrary", spatial integration of Nigeria.

Logan has tried to explore the issues concerned here in using the above spatial system as an instrument in the structural transformation of Nigeria as an ex-colonial developing country. The key components in the spatial system in any country therefore are: the urban centers, the transportation network that links them, and the organizational structure that propels demand and other incentives through the system.⁵ One would like to elaborate further on these concepts with particular reference to Nigeria which serves to illustrate the problems that are associated with spatial organization in the developing nations in its colonial background, in its current poverty and

⁵M. I. Logan, "The Spatial System and Planning Strategies in Developing Countries", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 62, No. 2, April, 1972, pg. 230.

rich resources, and in its recent tendency toward national disintegration and reintegration.

In Nigeria, the present transportation network, the urban system, and the organizational control mechanism are related directly to the British colonial policy of the past. The institutional basis of British policy was a few large trading companies that handled the collection and dispatch of all goods produced for export and the importation and distribution of manufactured consumer goods. The largest of these companies was the United African Company (U.A.C.) formed in 1929. By the 1940's it accounted for more than 40% of the export and import trade of Nigeria. The companies enjoyed enormous privileges, such as freedom from taxes on their income. Though their investment was relatively small, they played a dominant role in the spatial organization of the country. For one thing, they provided the organizational control necessary to incorporate millions of small-scale subsistence farmers into commercial agriculture, and these farmers at present account for about 60% of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product and for about 70% of total Nigerian exports.

Small-scale peasant export farming, as distinct from plantation farming, was the second component in the colonial system in Nigeria. The British consistently refused to alienate land to Europeans; as a result, plantations and European rural settlement, so widespread in Southeast Asia and East Africa, were never established in Nigeria.

As Helleiner comments,

"Rather than acquiring the ownership of the means of production, as he (the foreigner) did elsewhere in his exploitation of mineral resources or establishment of

plantation, he contented himself (or was forced to be content) with purchasing the output of the existing producers."⁶

Increased agricultural production occurred by bringing more land into production and by using more labor rather than by applying capital in the form of technical innovation.

The British policy of working within the existing economic system but of organizing it in a different way (which was similar to their policy of indirect political rule) meant that a "dual economy" did not evolve in Nigeria. The spatial system, on the other hand, was created deliberately to facilitate the organizational control that was the real basis of British economic policy. The British-created spatial organization, which operated through a "corridor-type" transportation system, was superimposed on an indigenous pattern characterized by substantial trade and a relatively high degree of urbanization. Although it is doubtful if a national urban system existed in Nigeria, or indeed if one was created by colonialism, the impact of the British certainly had spectacular effects on urban places and rural areas.⁷

Large increases in agricultural productivity were achieved through the new colonial spatial organization, and a number of distinct regional economies quickly emerged, each based on its comparative

⁶Gerald K. Helleiner: *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria*. Homewood, Illinois, 1966, pg. 3.

⁷Akin L. Mabogunje: "Urbanization in Nigeria - A Constraint on Economic Development", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 13, 1964-65, pgs. 413-438.

advantages for the production of cocoa, oil palms, groundnuts and cotton. Towns on the new transportation lines that linked the agricultural areas to the ports grew rapidly, and those not so favorably sited experienced relative if not absolute decline. Improved transportation technology, then, had both favorable and unfavorable effects. The development impulses propelled along the transportation system by the British trading firms created a dynamic situation in which labor moved to the new export crop areas and to the towns that served them. These elements, the export-agricultural areas and the food production areas linked to the towns, constituted what Friedman has referred to as the "core areas of the space economy". But the rest of the nation remained isolated and experienced the effects of backward development, including a loss of productive human resources, a movement of people out of the indigenous settlements to the growing towns, and even deindustrialization. In the next chapter, aspects of this rural-urban migration will be fully explored. What effects has it had on the present urbanization and planning patterns and policies in Nigeria? The answers to this question follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE URBAN SETTING

RECENT TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF URBANIZATION

Settlements vary in Nigeria from a village of several huts sprawling on the high grassland plains of Hausaland to complex urban centers such as Lagos, Ibadan, Kano and Enugu. Each community reflects the physical site, location and the cultural heritage of its own people. While there are several large urban centers in Nigeria, the majority of the settlements are small and dependent on the agricultural environment that surrounds them.

The use of the term "urban" to describe a particular settlement in Nigeria creates a problem because of the changing connotations it has assumed over several decades. In the interest of clarity, the term urban requires a brief explanation in the Nigerian context. The 1952 census indicated that there were 329 urban centers in Nigeria. The urban centers were defined as places having a population of 5000 persons or more. It represented 18.4 percent or 5.6 million of the total 30.4 million people then in Nigeria. In 1952, there were two urban centers with population over 160,000 (Lagos and Ibadan) and six with population between 80,000 and 160,000: Ogbomosho, Kano, Oshogbo, Ife, Iwo and Abeokuta. (Note that most of these are in Western Nigeria and none in the former Eastern Nigeria.)

More than 250 of the 329 urban centers so defined by the Nigerian Census Bureau hardly merited the standard because the majority of the population was not employed in the city, nor did they perform any urban function.

The urban system in any country represents a certain degree of economic activities either in primary, secondary or tertiary industries. In 1952, 42.7% of the male population in Nigeria was employed in agriculture and fishing; 11.6% was in non-agricultural activities while 45.7% represented a high dependency ratio, the unemployed sector of the population which was comprised of children and aged people. According to Mabogunje, however, urbanization in any of the developing nations is not evidence of industrialization. Industrialization, where it has occurred, has produced a degree of regional specialization that is unknown in non-industrialized societies. It has given rise to urbanization in Western countries, but it is not a prerequisite to urbanization.

In Nigeria, the index of urbanization had been based upon the census definition and the work of William Bascom. Some authors, however, have redefined urban centers in Nigeria by using an index of urban employment for adult males. An index of urban employment is computed thus:

$$U = \frac{R_i}{M_i} / \frac{R_n}{M_n}$$

where U is the urban employment, R_i is the percent of non-agricultural workers in town i, M_i is the percent of adult males in town i and the subscript n stands for the national average.

It is reasoned that a town whose urban employment situation was the same as that for the nation as a whole would have an index of 1.0; however, the index may rise up to a maximum of 4.77, which is the reciprocal for the national ratio. Any urban center that had an index below 1.0 should be disregarded as an urban center. In recent years Nigeria has adopted the standard U.N. definition of urban centers--"settlements with more than 20,000 persons." For Nigeria, towns with populations of 20,000 or more inhabitants whose occupations are not mainly agrarian are classified as urban.

An urban center ought to be non-agricultural in terms of the functions it performs. Urbanization is not a measurement of population per se; rather, it is a function of urban employment and activities. Thus there were 40 urban centers instead of 329 so defined by the Nigerian Census Bureau in 1952. The population of Nigeria increased more than 83% over the past eleven years. In most cases the increase occurred in urban centers where urbanism is a reflection of the traditional agricultural pursuits. Agriculture is the main economic activity in Nigeria and employed 69.2% in 1963-1964. Thus, the urban centers of Northern Nigeria coincide with the groundnut producing provinces of Kano, Kastina, Bornu and Sokoto. The cocoa economy is concentrated in Ibadan, Abeokuta and Ondo provinces, while the heartland of the palm oil activities correspond with the most densely populated area in Eastern Nigeria.

Urbanization in Nigeria can be seen as a development spread out over a wide technological spectrum from pre-industrial to industrial. As the national income rises, we can expect an increasingly substantial

shift towards modern industrial technology which is bound to have great impact on the character of Nigerian cities. The effectiveness of this impact will be partly conditioned by the extent of the survival of the pre-industrial past.

The issue of the survival from the past raises the question of whether Nigeria is at present over-urbanized. "Over-urbanization is a concept which relates the proportion of a country's population living in urban areas to the level of that country's development." Implicit in this concept is the idea of an "optimum" level of urbanization in respect to a given stage of economic development. Clearly, the concept has significance only in situations where the goals or objectives of a society are defined unequivocally as the advancement of the economic well-being of the masses of the population. Since 1952, Nigeria has become more concerned with the economic development of her people and it is from them that the question of whether the country is over-urbanized or not has relevance.

Hoselitz defines the state of over-urbanization in three ways:

(a) when urbanization in a country is running ahead of industrialization and the development of administrative and other service occupations is characteristically concentrated in cities; (b) when there is great disproportion between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for urban dwellers and the earning capacity of the people congregated in cities; and (c) when the migration to the city is due less to the "pull", that is, the attractiveness

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which the city exerts, and more to the "push" experienced in the rural areas.⁸

Viewed in this context, it is easy to see that Nigeria may be described as over-urbanized. First, having emerged with numerous urban centers, most of which are not industrial in the modern sense, the country is faced, even from the start, with many people living in urban places for whom no modern urban employment is available. In the second place, the effect of the social amenities provided by the colonial administration has been to lower the death rate everywhere in the country and to force up the survival rate of the people. Thus, especially after 1931, the population of the country has been rising at an annual rate of over two percent. Because of the greater concentration of amenities in urban centers, their rate of growth has been much higher than the average for the country.

However, for the rural areas, the impact of this growth of population was staggering. It led to a sharp reduction of the fallow period and a significant decline in soil fertility. The result was a massive exodus of population from rural to urban areas. The influx of migrants into the urban areas has been aggravated in the last ten years by a new wave of unemployed and sometimes unemployable young school leavers and recently by people who were displaced and dispossessed by the recent civil war. Many of the complex problems the planner has to face when working in these overcrowded areas arise from the large-scale immigration from the country to the town, causing

⁸Bert H. Hoselitz, "Urbanization and Economic Development in Asia", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 6, No. 1, October, 1957, pg. 44.

rapid development of major new residential areas in the mainland and suburban parts of the townships.

Today, there is no doubt that Nigeria's level of urbanization is inconsistent with its stage of economic development. Comparison with a number of other countries shows that Nigeria is far more urbanized than countries like Kenya or Uganda, which have about the same per capita income (see Table 3). On the other hand, Britain, with her

TABLE 3

Projected Growth of the Total and Urban Population 1970-1980:
Selected Countries in Tropical Africa

Country	Total Pop. in millions			Urban Pop. in millions		
	1970	1980	% increase	1970	1980	% increase
Totals	158.1	208.7	32.0	18.8	32.7	73.9
Nigeria	66.1	87.6	32.5	10.1	17.7	75.3
Ghana	9.0	12.5	38.9	1.5	2.8	86.7
Congo-Kins	17.4	22.4	28.7	2.2	3.6	63.6
Kenya	10.8	15.1	39.8	0.9	1.7	88.9
Uganda	8.5	11.3	32.9	0.2	0.4	100.0
Tanzania	13.2	17.4	31.8	0.7	1.4	100.0
Ethiopia	25.0	31.5	26.0	1.2	1.9	58.3
Zambia	4.2	5.9	40.0	1.0	1.7	70.0
Senegal	3.9	5.0	28.2	1.0	1.5	50.0

Source: Demography and Social Statistics Section, U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (data from ECA worksheets).

national per capita income more than twelve times that of Nigeria, has proportionally only four times as much of its population in urban centers.

TABLE 4

Population Estimates of Selected Countries of Tropical Africa, 1970

Country	Total Pop. (millions)	Urban Pop. (millions)	% Urban
Nigeria	66.1	10.1	15
Ghana	9.0	1.5	18
Congo-Kins	17.4	2.2	13
Kenya	10.8	0.9	7
Uganda	8.5	0.2	2
Tanzania	13.2	0.7	5
Ethiopia	25.0	1.2	5
Zambia	4.2	1.0	23
Senegal	3.9	1.0	26

Source: Demography and Social Statistics Section, U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (data from ECA worksheets).

FACTORS CAUSING URBANIZATION IN NIGERIA

There are basically two ways an urban population can increase: naturally, as a result of a higher urban birth-to-death rate, and by net migration when in-migration into urban centers exceeds out-migration. Studies of the causes of urban growth in Black Africa and Nigeria in particular indicate that net migration is still the predominant factor. However, it is speculated that there may be a few cities in Nigeria in which natural growth has already become the primary cause of population expansion and consequently urbanization. The trend is supposed to be in this direction because the rural population supply is undergoing a relative decline and there is an increasing number of women of child-bearing age in the cities. We should therefore stop thinking in terms of an urban-rural dichotomy and see

the process of urbanization as affecting and being affected by both the "pull" of the city and the "push" from the countryside. Since rural-urban migration is still a major cause of urbanization, it is pertinent to examine the ways migration has caused urbanization. Also, what factors are responsible for rural-urban migration?

Urbanization and Migration

An examination of the causes of in-migration and continued urbanization helps to provide an understanding of Nigeria's urban inhabitants' practices and perspectives as well as prevailing social forces. Knowledge of the causes of in-migration into cities and urbanization also facilitates an understanding of the larger political, social, economic and cultural systems of which the urban areas are a part. It also makes a better understanding of the impact of the relationship between urban areas and larger socio-political environments. This impact may be negative or positive.

The disruption of family life is one example of a negative impact. Perhaps the most important of the positive effects is the contribution to panethnic integration since it serves to bring rural inhabitants from all parts of the country into contact with the centers of their new society. Scaff puts it this way: The cities, and especially the National Capital (Lagos) bring together the people of different ethnic and language backgrounds and help to produce the more cosmopolitan relations necessary to support a modern nation.

There are various types of migration which can usefully be distinguished in attempting to delineate causes and effects. We

differentiate between temporary and permanent migration, spontaneous and controlled migration, and directional and non-directional migration. In Nigeria the temporary migration trend predominates, though the permanent migrants are increasing. However, the temporary stay of urban migrants might last several years so that the urban population remains fairly stable. Spontaneous and controlled migration are not important aspects of urbanization in Nigeria. However, because the causes of migration to urban areas are not randomly distributed among areas and peoples, a clear geographic pattern emerges. The direction of a Nigerian rural-urban migrant is determined by specific perceived opportunities. A number of factors induce migration from the rural areas of Nigeria to the towns and cities. These include economic betterment, attraction of city life and multiple causation.

Economic Reasons. Economic reasons that induce migration include need for money, relative rural underdevelopment, economic gains in the cities. Many of the Nigerian migrants into cities are what may be called "target workers" (i.e., they come to the cities temporarily to make a specific amount of money, or to achieve other specific goals). That money accumulated, the migrant would return home.

The traditional subsistence economy in Nigeria can no longer meet the growing demand for food in the rural areas. Economic development plans are usually more concerned with industrialization than with increasing agricultural productivity. Thus, the countryside is relatively underdeveloped because capital is concentrated in the urban

areas and their manufacturing industries, and many young adults leave rural areas during their prime years of productivity and innovation.

Agriculture is Nigeria's primary resource, and land productivity is closely linked to the probability of rural out-migration. Evidence from various parts of Nigeria supports the proposition that migration intensity reflects the degree of rural-urban disparity. Rural overpopulation is a problem in some areas because mortality rates have already dropped sharply due to the introduction of public health practices, medicines and sanitary controls. However, these have been accompanied either by a drop in fertility or by a sufficient increase in agricultural production. The "excess" population sometimes is faced with a nearly hopeless situation at home and a chance for improvement in relatively wealthy urban areas is naturally motivation to migrate. It should be pointed out that such overpopulation can exist in areas of varying population density, the crucial factor being how large a population the land can support given the existing resources.

Migration from rural areas is not invariably a satisfactory solution, because the urban areas then become heavily populated while those who remain in the countryside tend to be women, children, and old men--all relatively dependent people. Although women generally do a great deal of the agricultural work, they are often dependent on men for clearing the fields before planting. The current pattern, in other words, is to relieve absolute rural overpopulation by draining off the most productive people. Unfortunately, "old people do not make an agricultural revolution"--yet such a revolution is necessary

because production from the land must meet not only rural subsistence requirements, but also those generated by the increasing number of non-agriculturally productive urbanites.

Nigeria, as a developing country, gives high priority to the building of schools, while the introduction of mass education is seen as evidence of modernity. But, children who have spent a couple of years at school do not return to working the soil and, as other opportunities of employment are not available, they migrate to cities.

Attraction of City Life. It would over-simplify matters, however, to say that urbanization in Nigeria is the result of push factors only. The large cities in particular lure many people from the rural areas. This is because excitement and the benefits of modernity are readily available in urban areas. Modern means of communication, diversification of the economy because of the construction of new roads, railways and public works, periodicals and films, television, sporting events, all create artificial needs among the rural populations of Nigeria, causing the city to become the symbol of comfortable houses, electric lights, automobiles and fine clothes. The most primary need of urban dwellers is money. Money is a necessity for urban living, but the acceptability of money as bride-price makes it also possible for a young man to obtain a wife for himself without depending upon his parents or relatives.

Thus, the migrant expects to find more permanent and rewarding employment in the city, better housing and health conditions and education for his children. Many are therefore greatly disappointed

when they find neither shelter nor occupation, and consequently enlarge the legions of footloose and unemployable "marginal" urban men and women in the cities. There is also for many Nigerians freedom in the cities--freedom from many of the social and moral obligations operating in rural areas. A special aspect of this freedom is greater opportunity for accelerated upward social and political mobility. To achieve ambitions early in life, many youths must migrate to the cities where they can achieve leadership positions not open to them at home due to age and status restrictions.

Sojourn as a Status. The fact that rural-urban migration continues unabated means that there are other factors, social and purely personal, which are operating to enhance the movement. In a variety of ways urban experience is related to rural status in terms of increased prestige from an urban sojourn and the experience as an initiation rite. Situations vary only in details all over the country, but the social changes occurring are a special case for contemporary as well as historical reasons; the trend is significant for the rest of Africa.

People in the villages seeking high social status send their sons and daughters to urban relatives to be taught a trade or "minded" while at school. Traders come in to replenish their stock. The fact that there are frequently kinsfolk at hand to receive and house the migrants also adds to the city's attractions. In addition to these reasons, many of the younger people move citywards for the sake of adventure. Not only is there apparently much more excitement than in the home village, but "immersion in the city" serves as a modern form

of initiation rite. A youth cannot expect to win a girl's favor unless he can show the brand of the city upon him. Prestige and the symbolic achievement of adult status are both related to the advantages a "townsman" has with the women of his home village.

In most Nigerian societies it is highly prestigious to have been to a major urban area. Success in town is especially valued. Gugler correctly observes that

"The man who has won success in town plays a role very similar to that of a man prominent in the traditional context...He has attained rural status through urban achievement."

Leslie writes about the young man who returns home on leave loaded with his new clothes, a bicycle, a watch, stockings, records and phonograph. "Everyone, elders and youngsters, comes to welcome the conquering hero...His stay-at-home contemporaries listen with barely concealed envy." Some returnees may soon exhaust their resources, but it is the urban experience plus the initial impact upon returning which usually matters. Hence youths continue to migrate to the urban centers in Nigeria in anticipation of the above status usually accorded urban returnees.

On the other hand, it must be mentioned that migration to an urban area does not invariably bring prestige. The relationship between prestige and migration is a function of the specific culture involved. Most Nigerian townsmen retain links with their rural homes, visit regularly and continue to "care about the opinions people in the village hold of them." A study of selected rural compounds in the former Eastern Nigeria reports that 89% of the absentees had visited

their home at least once in the preceding three-year period, and that 76% has visited at least once in the preceding twelve months.⁹

It should be noted that there is also a material reason for maintaining such links. Systems of freehold are rare and therefore rural land cannot easily be converted into cash; the permanent severance of ties with one's rural home might well mean the loss of a valuable asset, land. Thus, the personal urbanization of most townsmen is far from complete, for old ties and ways remain strong in Nigeria.

Whatever their pattern of migration, most Nigerians want to return to their traditional home sooner or later—at least to die there because of the "religious" significance of the relationship between land and ancestors. Schwab found that among the settlers, "perhaps the only common characteristic" was their desire to return home someday.¹⁰ However, the other opinion is that the desire to return home is sometimes more symbolic than real; indeed, several elder Jos residents left town to retire in their village but changed their minds and returned.

Multiple Causation. Because economic factors are so frequently mentioned about Nigerian migrants and long term townsmen in explaining their respective decision, there is a temptation to dismiss other factors as less important. However, a careful examination of the patterns of migration indicates that there are many other factors

⁹Gugler, Josef, "The Relationship Urban Dwellers Maintain with Their Villages of Origin in Eastern Nigeria", Paper read at the Fifth World Congress of Soc., Washington, D.C., September, 1972, pg. 7.

¹⁰Schwab, William B., "Oshogbo - An Urban Community?" In Hilda Kuper, ed., *Urbanization and Migration in West Africa*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1965, pg. 16.

equally important. Sometimes it is manifestly impossible to single out any one reason which motivates the migration of people from one habitat to another. In Nigeria, practically any migration shows that the motives are complex, so that economical, social, judicial and cultural incentives may simultaneously be in the picture.

Examples of multiple causation abound in Nigeria. Some young people abscond and arrive in large cosmopolitan towns like Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, and Onitsha because their home life is unhappy. Perhaps a father or mother has remarried, and the youth has been left to the mercy of an unsympathetic step-parent or guardian. Motor transport makes escape comparatively easy. If a runaway finds a relative or friend to provide lodgings, so much the better; if not, he soon learns the trick of living by his wits and sleeping at night within a shed at the market or in some deserted building. Some of these youthful vagrants become so accustomed to a life of wandering that they eventually lose all sense of ties to their home and native village. Quite often the boys become members of delinquent gangs while the girls generally drift into prostitution.

A youth who is fortunate may manage to apprentice himself as "motor boy" to the driver of a lorry. His job is to service the vehicle, look after passengers, goods, etc. In return for these services the "motor boy" is instructed in driving, provided with lodging and food, is paid a small daily wage, and may be able to do a profitable trade in vehicle spare parts, as well as earn tips. With the prospects of promotion to driver, it is an attractive opening which draws to the cities even literate youths who have been through

school. Thus, migration is encouraged to continue by these personal aspirations and social opportunities.

GEOGRAPHICAL PATTERN OF MIGRATION

Having examined in detail the factors that generate migration, it is logical at this point to see what the geographical patterns of migration have been in recent years. How has migration affected the urbanization process and patterns and the whole question of population movement and distribution? The numbers involved and the regional patterns that emerge become quite critical issues of population growth, urbanization and urban planning in Nigeria.

Prior to the Second World War, Nigeria's population was growing at a rate of approximately 1.8 percent yearly. The major population movements were rural-to-rural and much migration was seasonal and temporary. In 1952 (as indicated by Table 5), the largest town was Ibadan, consisting of 460,206 persons and having an annual population growth rate of 2.1 percent. This indicated an insignificant rate of urbanization. The second largest town by 1952 was Lagos, followed by Kano. Like Ibadan, Kano owed its expansion to natural increase in population rather than to any tangible degree of rural-to-urban migration. The only evidence of an imminent "take-off" into urbanization appeared in Lagos. Here, by contrast, the 1950 census in its 1952 national census revealed a sudden upsurge in population growth attributable more to in-migration than to natural increase.

Between 1952 and 1963, Lagos heeded what may be described as no less than an urban revolution, which spread rapidly to other parts of Nigeria. This revolution was accompanied by an unprecedented rise

TABLE 5

Population Growth and Rate of Nigerian Cities (1952-1963)

	Pop. 1952	Pop. 1963	% Growth Rate (annual)	Migrants
I. Metropolitan Lagos	N/A	1,089,868	11.5	644,586
Lagos City	267,407	665,246	8.6	
II. Kano	127,204	295,432	7.6	232,000
Kaduna	44,540	129,133	10.6	
Zana	92,434	166,170	5.5	
North-central core area (in- cluding Jos)	302,705	685,186	7.6	271,000
III. Port Harcourt	59,548	179,563	10.5	262,000
Aba	58,251	131,003	7.6	
Enugu	63,212	138,457	7.4	
Onitsha	77,087	163,032	7.0	
Total of Southeast			8.2	
Ibadan	495,196	635,011	3.0	
Maiduguri	56,740	139,965	4.8	
Ilorin	40,994	208,546	4.0	
Katsina	52,672	90,538	5.0	
Sokoto	51,986	89,817	5.9	
Benin	53,753	N/A	5.8	
Calabar	46,705	N/A	4.5	

Source: *Urbanization in Nigeria*, by Akin Mabogunje, University of London Press, Ltd., 1968.

in the overall rate of increase in the country's population from 1.8 percent annually to what several authorities estimate as a rate of 2.8 percent.¹¹ Such a rate was comparable to that of the United States during the years of its greatest population expansion.

As the country's population thus multiplied, internal movements from rural to urban areas accelerated even more quickly for the reasons advanced before. Tables 6, 7 and 8 clearly illustrate this point both for Lagos and other major cities of Nigeria and depict the regional patterns.

Table 5 shows that of over 644,000 people estimated to have migrated to Metropolitan Lagos, nearly 510,000 of them originated from Western Nigeria, over 106,000 from Eastern Nigeria, over 32,000 from Mid-Western Nigeria, and only about 6000 from Northern Nigeria (see Figure 4). The history of Africa records no previous movement of this magnitude, a movement which in this case was neither seasonal nor temporary but permanent.

Writing about the growth of population in Lagos from 1901 to 1950, Mabogunje attributed it to developments in commerce, port functions and industrialization which gave rise to a phenomenal increase. However, all the censuses, like previous ones, were based on a house-to-house enumeration and, like them, because of the circumstances of Lagos, must be taken as only more or less accurate. The trend they depict is, however, clear. A cursory analysis of Tables 6 and 7 shows that the population of Lagos was increasing

¹¹Cf. H. U. Eke, "Population of Nigeria, 1952-63", *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, July, 1966.

TABLE 6

Ethnic and National Derivation of Migrants into Lagos, 1911-1950

	1911	1921	1931	1950
<u>NIGERIANS</u>				
Yoruba	N/A	N/A	45,811	85,042
Ibo	264	1,609	5,147	25,577
Ijaw	264	1,097	1,327	3,500
Edo	291	1,463	3,324	6,800
Hausa	3,533	3,951	3,593	3,725
Others	1,125	9,884	6,777	14,483
TOTAL	5,477	9,884	20,168	54,085
<u>OTHER AFRICANS</u>				
Ghana-Togo	634	1,192	1,140	1,736
Sierra Leone	940	1,373	1,187	631
Liberia	2,680	1,707	1,273	---
Dahomey	1,493	1,857	2,567	3,873
Others	609	1,135	944	283
TOTAL	6,356	7,264	7,111	6,523
<u>EUROPEANS AND ASIANS</u>				
British	484	992	1,053	2,044
French	21	26	37	178
German	73	3	34	---
Syrians and Lebanese	36	53	134	288
TOTAL	614	1,074	1,258	2,510

Source: *Urbanization in Nigeria*, by Akin Mabogunje, University of London Press, Ltd., 1968.

TABLE 7

Population Growth of Lagos in the 20th Century
(see Figure 5)

Year of Census	Area covered by Census (sq. miles)	Total Population	Annual Rate of Increase
1891	1.55	32,508	
1901	N/A	41,847	2.5%
1911	18.00	73,766	5.7%
1921	20.17	99,690	3.1%
1931	25.59	126,108	2.3%
1950	27.22	230,256	3.3%

Source: *Urbanization in Nigeria*, by Akin Mabogunje, University of London Press, Ltd., 1968, pg. 257.

TABLE 8

Proportion of Migrants in Lagos 1911-1950

Year	Total Population	Yoruba Migrants	Non-Yoruba Migrants	(c)	(d)	(e)
1911	73,766	--	14,478	--	20%	--
1921	99,690	--	23,045	--	32%	--
1931	126,108	45,811	28,468	36%	23%	59%
1950	230,256	85,042	61,057	37%	26%	63%

(c) Yoruba migrants as a percentage of total population.

(d) Non-Yoruba migrants as a percentage of total population.

(e) Total migrants as a percentage of total population.

Source: *Urbanization in Nigeria*, by Akin Mabogunje, University of London Press, Ltd., 1968.

greatly. It was retarded during the next decade by a combination of disastrous circumstances, including the 1914-18 War, the influenza epidemic which broke out soon after the war, and the post-war slump in trade.

This trend continued after 1952 owing to more deaths from bubonic plague as well as to the general world economic depression. The Second World War stimulated a new upward trend which by 1950 had had the effect of raising the population to almost twice the size of the 1931 population.

The most important factor stimulating in-migration into Lagos and hence its population during the period 1901-50 was the ever-widening gap in employment opportunities between Lagos and the rest of the country. This gap became more pronounced with the effects of the Second World War, which led to the influx of unemployed people. Therefore, to ensure that those normally residing in Lagos had a chance of securing employment, the registration of workers in Lagos was closed to people from the provinces by a series of government orders.

Even then, more people continued to flock into Lagos, but after 1945 their number was swelled by a fresh stream of migrants, namely ex-servicemen (veterans). The general demobilization of troops serving overseas had begun in October 1945 and it was made incumbent on all employers in Lagos to register and employ veterans. All the above trends therefore were preparing Lagos for a metropolitan explosion with attendant uncontrolled spectacular spatial expansion of the continued built-up area beyond the legal confines of the

municipality with consequent slum and squatter living fashions. The trends also affected other major cities in other parts of Nigeria to a lesser extent, giving rise to the growth-pole centers clearly evident in the current urbanization process.

In the north, the population of Kano doubled; Kaduna grew even more remarkably, as did Zaria situated between them. Well over 271,000 people are estimated to have migrated to this central core-area and over 232,000 to the three cities of Kaduna, Kano and Zaria alone. Of these in-migrants, 182,000 originated from Northern Nigeria (including 100,000 from the rural parts of the core-area itself), over 33,000 from Eastern Nigeria, about 15,000 from Western Nigeria and nearly 2000 from Mid-Western Nigeria.

In the south-east, Port Harcourt tripled its population between 1952 and 1963, while Enugu and Onitsha more than doubled. Urbanization in these functionally complementary centers thus accounts for a combined growth rate of 8.2 percent and an estimated 262,000 in-migrants from the rest of Nigeria, the great majority coming from what is now the East Central State occupied by the Ibos.

Outside those three population growth-poles migration accelerated to provincial capitals including such cities as Ibadan, Maiduguri, Ilorin, Katsina, Sokoto, Benin and Calabar. As a result, a hierarchical pattern of urbanization emerged by 1963. At its apex stood the primate city of Metropolitan Lagos, with a population expanding at four times the national rate of growth. Second were the core-areas of Northern and Eastern Nigeria with urban populations expanding at about three times the national rate. Third came certain provincial

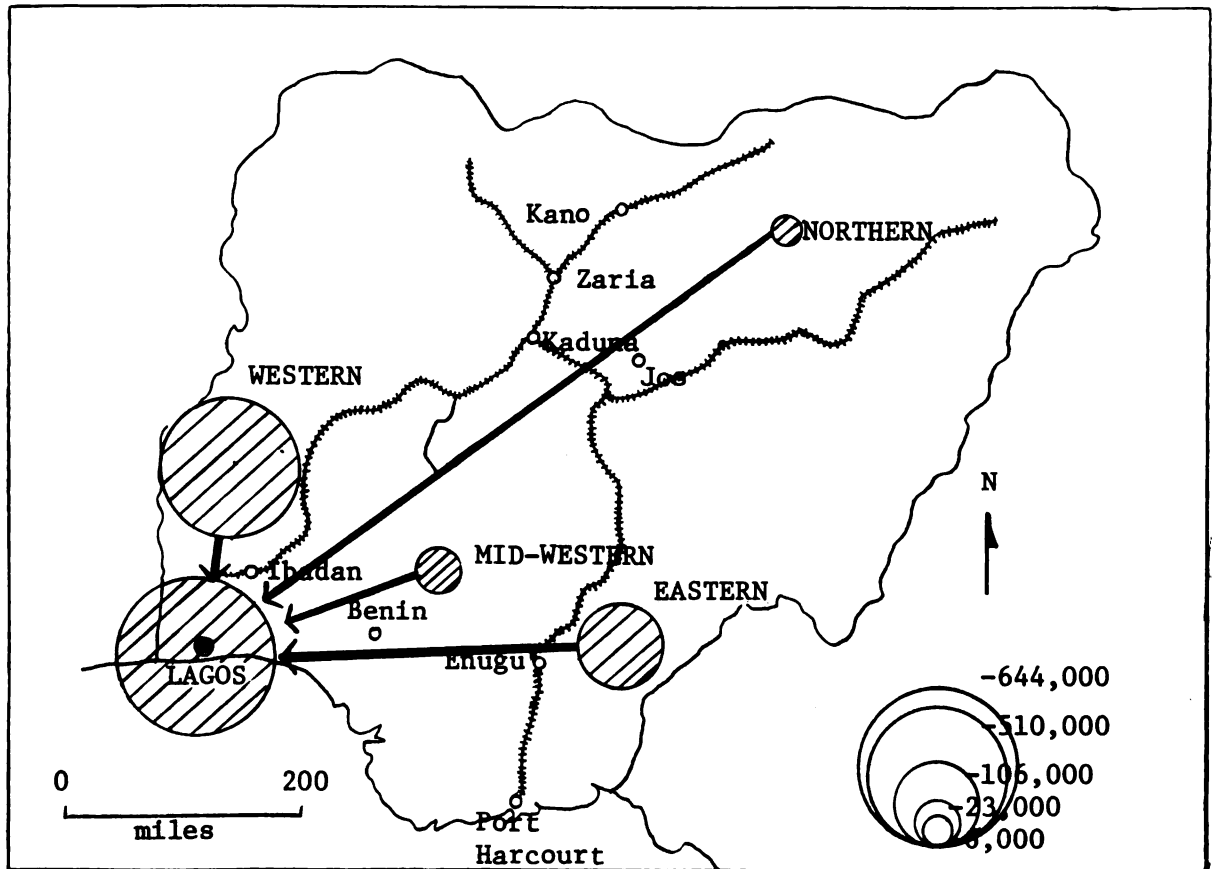


Figure 4. Volume of Migration into Lagos - Regional Origin.

capitals and other locally important towns, with population expanding at approximately twice the national rate.

Between 1963 and 1967 these trends undoubtedly persisted, and the rate of urbanization rose in at least three major growth-poles, as industry, commerce and administration gravitated to them. In consequence, during the fifteen-year period ending in early 1967, the three areas received an estimated influx which easily surpassed in volume the total migration population of the entire country. This was estimated at 1,500,000 persons and marked the end result of long lasting and persistent population movements. Migration to other urban centers undoubtedly involved thousands of additional people.

RURAL-TO-RURAL MIGRATION

Unprecedented movements such as those described above have been accompanied by substantial rural-to-rural movements. The reasons for these have been varied, and there has not been any documented survey to determine the reason. Nevertheless, examples rather than causations will be quoted. From the Benin and Urhobo divisions in Mid-Western Nigeria there has been movement to the Ondo, Owo, and Ekiti divisions in Western Nigeria. Rural migration has occurred from Tiv to the Lafia, Wukari, Idoma, Lowland and Muri divisions in Benue Plateau State. From the Igbirra and Igala divisions in Kwara State migrants have moved to the Ekiti and Owo divisions in Western Nigeria.¹²

¹²Most of the data in these pages are obtained from "Urbanization in Nigeria, A Planning Commentary", Ford Foundation Report by Leslie Green *et al.*

Other instances of rural-to-rural migrations include those from Bornu and Dikwa divisions to Bauchi, Gombe, Kano Bedde and Lafia divisions--all in Northern Nigeria. People have moved from Bida to Abuja and Kontagora, and from Sokoto to Gombe, Bauch and Kontagora divisions. All such movements have had a significant impact on variations in population growth rates from area to area in recent years. It has to be remarked here, at least, that most rural-to-rural migrants are perhaps out for local adventure; sometimes they look for more fertile farming and grazing areas and for others personal and intangible reasons may cause them to move not to the urban centers, but to other rural areas.

CONSEQUENCES OF URBANIZATION AND TOWN-WARD MIGRATION

The greatest visible impact of the patterns of migration described heretofore has undoubtedly occurred in the three major growth poles where, between 1953 and 1967, the urban populations expanded at overall rates of between eight and twelve percent annually. This does not mean, however, that areas which are primarily rural have not been severely affected. Outside Metropolitan Lagos, a drain of some 750,000 persons from Western Nigeria in fifteen years has seriously depressed population growth-rates in the southern districts of Abeokuta and Ijebu provinces, and in Colony province. Since the great majority of the out-migrants have been under thirty years of age, the average age of the rural populations has risen, and in spite of a high rate of natural increase, their numbers have become stationary or have even declined in some instances.

Migration to the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna growth-pole has had a similarly depressing impact on growth-rates in the districts of Zaria, Kano and Katsina divisions, especially in the latter two. Generally speaking, since 1952, divisional rates of population growth in the Northern Nigerian region have tended to fall with distance from this growth-pole; except in some southern areas, where rural-to-rural movements of people have continued to take place from, for instance, Ilorin, Igbirra, Bida and Tiv divisions but also to parts of Southern Nigeria, and especially to the eastern portions of the Western Nigerian cocoa-belt.

The following general pattern of population growth has emerged in the Northern Nigerian region: (1) a central core-area, which focuses on the three fast-developing cities of Kano, Zari and Kaduna and has an overall population growth-rate above the rate of natural increase; (2) a peripheral belt surrounding the core-area, which has an overall population growth-rate equal to the rate of natural increase but which contains some areas suffering heavy net losses of population to adjacent areas within the belt, to the central core-area and to Southern Nigeria; and (3) fringe areas surrounding the peripheral belt, from which a net exodus of people takes place mainly to that belt and the central core-area in population growth-rates falling below the rate of natural increase (see Figure 6, showing three levels of population growth-rates).

Elsewhere, most divisions of Mid-Western Nigeria have recorded growth-rates above three percent per annum, and its urban centers of Benin, Sapele and Warri have expanded enormously. Eastern Nigeria

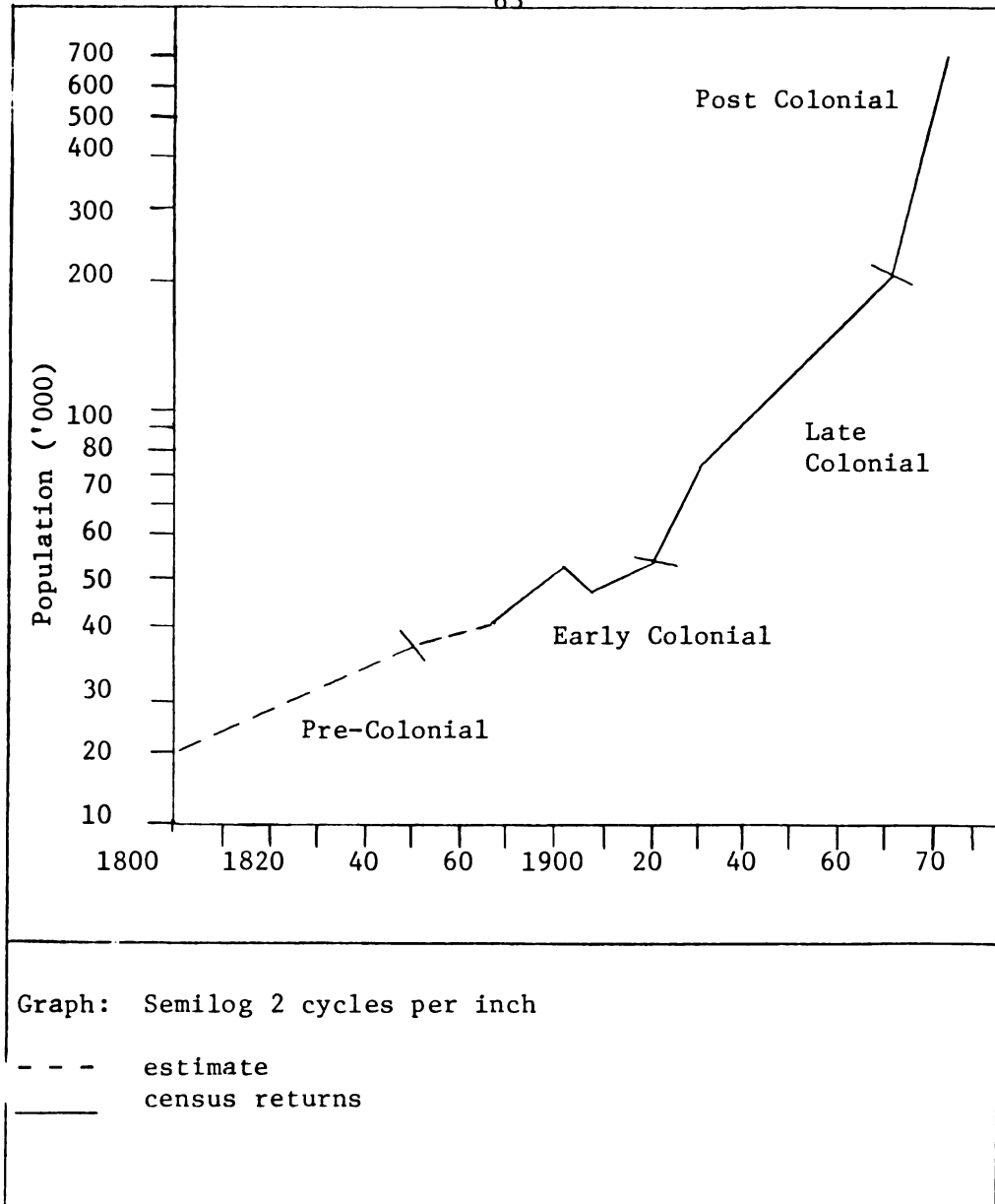


Figure 5. Growth of Population in Lagos 1800-1962.

Source: Adapted from A. L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria*, University of London Press, Ltd., 1968, pg. 269.

as a whole experienced a growth-rate as low as 2.2 percent between 1952 and 1963, because of an out-migration to the rest of the country (estimated at over 633,000 persons). By contrast, the East's urban centers of Port Harcourt, Aba, Enugu and Onitsha grew at rates of between seven and eleven percent during the same period. Thus the rural areas of, for example, Onitsha, Awka, Oigwi, Orlu and Oguta experienced a very large out-migration of people, both rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban in character. From district to district, population growth-rates in fact varied greatly during the intercensal period and, since 1952, Eastern Nigeria has been especially marked by an extremely wide divergence in rates of increase in population between many of its urban and rural areas.

MAJOR GROWTH POLES IN NIGERIA: DISPARITIES AND PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It has been mentioned earlier that the greatest visible impact of the existing patterns of migration, population distribution and economic development in Nigeria is the emergence of major growth poles. Before examining how this came about and what its occurrence has meant to urbanization and the physical planning of the cities of Nigeria, it is expedient to examine growth pole concept and see how it has affected the Nigerian scene.

The concept of growth poles was conceived originally by Francois Perrous (1950), who claimed that

"economic growth does not appear everywhere at the same time: it reveals itself in...poles de croissance with variable intensities."¹³

Perroux was not concerned with geographical space but with a more abstract economic space and with the *propulsive* effect of key economic sectors on the economy as a whole. A propulsive industry (or firm) according to well established interpretation has three basic characteristics:

First, it must be relatively large in order to assure that it will generate sufficient direct and potentially indirect effects to have a sufficient impact on the economy.

Second, it must be in a relatively fast growing sector.

Third, the quantity and intensity of its interrelations with other sectors should be important so that a large number of induced effects will be transmitted.

Lasuen (1969) argues, however, that the key characteristic of an activity constituting a growth pole is in fact its innovative nature and he emphasizes the influence of "Schumpeterian innovations" on Perroux's work.¹⁴ Although there remain a number of differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of Perroux's ideas, their spatial relevance is clear and, following Boudeville in particular, the "growth center"¹⁵ as a specifically spatial notion has become a key

¹³Peter E. Lloyd and Peter Dicken, *Location in Space: A Theoretical Approach to Economic Geography*, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1972, pg. 264.

¹⁴J. R. Lasuen, "On Growth Poles", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, June, 1969, pg. 139.

¹⁵The term growth center is used in a general sense to include all types of spatially concentrated investment in urban environments such as "growth zones", "growth corridors", etc.

concept. The polarization of economic activities in space is a dominant feature of the economic system.

The spatial organization of the system is structured around the urban centers and the interconnections between them. This is a hierarchically organized system through which economic growth is channeled with the transmission of growth impulses down the urban hierarchy. Growth occurs most rapidly, therefore, at certain key nodes within the hierarchically structured urban network. Area development policy should therefore be framed around a system of growth centers rather than in terms of a dispersal of resources over as wide an area as possible. There are strong economic arguments for such a policy, for there can be little doubt that an economy, to lift itself to higher income levels, must and will first develop within itself one or several regions of economic strength. Where such centers do not exist, it is argued that their creation, either de novo or on the basis of existing agglomerations, is likely to produce the greatest net benefits both to the national economy as a whole and to its individual components.

Therefore, as Perroux argues, economic space as an abstract field of forces leads to the notion of a vector of economic forces, and hence to the concept of growth poles. But his further view that economic development necessarily requires spatial polarization is an inaccurate and damaging limitation to this concept.

But what has happened in Nigeria over the last two or three decades? The striking contrasts in population growth from area to

area have had important economic causes and consequences.¹⁶ For instance, the output of Nigeria's manufacturing industries grew by about 17 percent annually between 1950-1965, and their share of the gross domestic product rose from 0.5 to 5.0 percent. The geographic distribution of these industries was severely limited, however. By 1965, about thirty-two percent of the country's total manufacturing plants were concentrated in Metropolitan Lagos alone, and a further fifty percent were accounted for by the urban centers of Kano, Zaria, Kaduna and Jos in Northern Nigeria; Benin and Sapele in Mid-Western Nigeria, Port Harcourt, Aba, and Onitsha in Eastern Nigeria and Ibadan and Abeokuta in Western Nigeria (see Figure 7 - Industrial Zones and Railways of Nigeria. Each circle represents the proportional concentration of industries in each growth pole and constitutes a growth pole).¹⁷

The three major growth poles have thus dominated the field of manufacturing during the past two decades. They have also increasingly dominated the field of commerce and administration. For example, whereas in 1958 only nineteen percent of the trade by road between Northern and Western Nigeria (including Lagos) originated from Kano and only nineteen percent ended in Lagos, by 1964 as much as thirty-nine percent began in Kano and seventy-one percent was destined for

¹⁶Leslie Green and Vincent Milone, "Urbanization in Nigeria: A Planning Commentary", International Urbanization Survey, The Ford Foundation, 1973, pg. 12.

¹⁷O. Aboyade, "Industrial Location and Development Policy: The Nigerian Case", *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3, November, 1968, pg. 46.

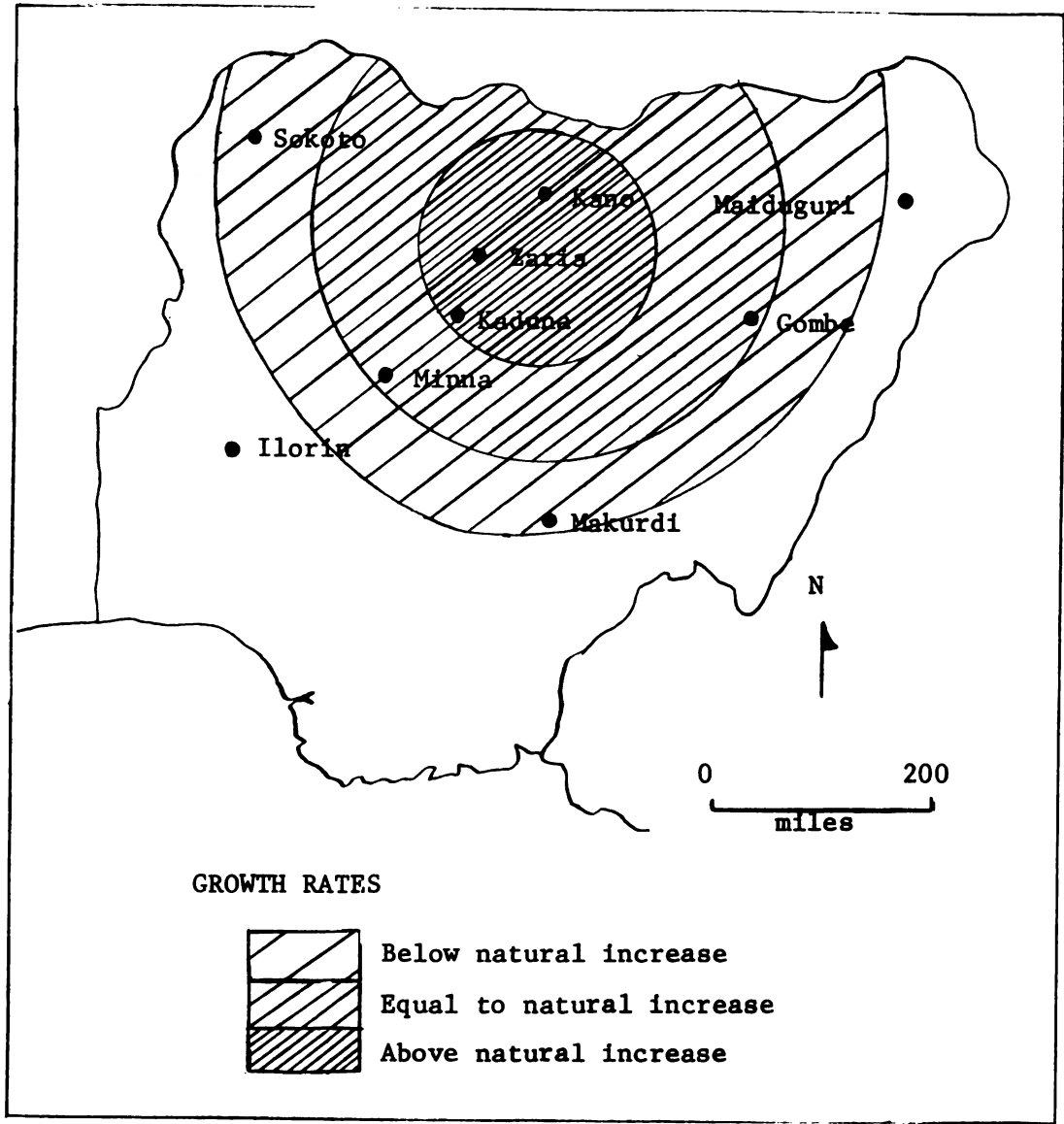


Figure 6. Northern Nigeria: General Pattern of Population Growth.

Lagos. In Eastern Nigeria, by 1963, Port Harcourt (36%), Aba (24%), Enugu (19%) and Onitsha (18%) together accounted for ninety-seven percent of all registered businesses in that region.

As far as the country as a whole is concerned, the results of this continuing concentration of manufacturing and commercial activities in three main zones have been

"a growing economic frustration by a politically disenchanted population and the intensification of an unemployment distribution pattern that [has become] a source of national embarrassment."¹⁸

As far as the three main zones themselves are concerned, physically, socially and administratively their towns and cities have proved increasingly unable to meet the challenge of an economic and spatial development which threatens to overwhelm them.

In Metropolitan Lagos, for example, chaotic traffic conditions have become endemic; demands on the water supply system have begun to outstrip its maximum capacity and power cuts have become chronic as industrial and domestic requirements have escalated. Factories have been compelled to bore their own wells and to set up standby electricity plants; public transport has been inundated; port facilities have been stretched to their limits; and the conditions have degenerated over extensive areas within and beyond the city's limits, in spite of slum clearance schemes. Also the city government has threatened to break down amidst charges of corruption, mismanagement and financial incompetence.¹⁹

¹⁸ O. Aboyade, *op cit.*

¹⁹ Leslie Green and Vincent Milone, *op cit.*

In the rural hinterland of Lagos, the huge exodus of the most productive age-groups to the metropolitan area had a depressing effect upon the rural farm economy and its revenue-producing capacity. The southern districts of Abeokuta province and the rural districts of Colony province have in particular been marked by derelict oil (palm) mills, empty houses, broken bridges and deteriorating roads. In Northern Nigeria, four states which are not exporters of population because of rural-to-urban and rural-to-rural out-migration face similar situations. By contrast, Kano and North Central States, which together embrace the central core area (less Jos), are not importers of population, financially strong and enjoy diversifying economic bases. Even so, accounting for some 25 percent of Nigeria's new industrial investment since 1965, their urban nodes of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna have begun to experience traffic, housing, water, power, market and administrative problems similar to those already manifest in Lagos. Lacking tax bases geared to their sharply-rising demands for investment in social services and overheads, they face the probability of a deterioration in physical and social conditions which, as in Lagos, will be increasingly inimical to continued economic growth.

In Mid-Western Nigeria, a recent study of the oil-town (petroleum) of Warri reveals the same kinds of difficulties arising in an urban center distant from the three major growth poles. Estimated to have grown from 55,254 persons in 1963 to about 100,000 in 1971, and having a suburban fringe population of an additional 30,000 persons, Warri now faces serious unemployment and housing

shortages, the prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities have soared, land values have quintupled since 1965, and the condition of its road network become deplorable. The town has been overwhelmed by the transfer of the headquarters and operations of the major oil companies to it, upon the outbreak of the civil war.

These are just a few examples of the repercussions upon Nigeria's urban and rural areas of the divergent rates of development from area to area which have so strongly marked the country's evolution in the last two decades. It is noticeable that, so far, there is no apparent tendency for the divergencies to diminish. If anything, they are tending to widen, especially between the major growth poles and the rest of the country, particularly it seems because these urban nodes are the hubs of the national and regional transport systems. Outside the major growth poles, however, there are important if isolated growing points, consisting of mining areas (e.g., Jos and Warri) and of plantation farming (as in the southern parts of the Mid-Western State); areas of export-crop production (as in the cocoa-belt of Western Nigeria); and areas of induced growth (as illustrated by the irrigation schemes now under way in Kano State). It should be noted that the growth pole found in the former Eastern Nigeria is not discussed here. There was a lot of destruction done to industries and other establishments and, while those in East Central State have been modestly reconstructed, those in Port Harcourt forming the bulk of the zone remain basically in disuse and disrepair.

Surrounding these major and minor growth areas are peripheral and fringe areas of economic isolation, backwardness and rural depopulation. An essential problem of development is how to mitigate the widening disparities of growth from area to area without significantly retarding the rate of national development. This could be done, for instance, to assist the urbanizing areas to begin to cope with the physical, social and administrative difficulties which rapid expansion thrusts upon them, and to assist the peripheral and fringe areas to break down their isolation and backwardness. These are predominantly tasks for urban and regional planning, the need for which becomes increasingly urgent as the rate of national development accelerates.

RAPID DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

The most obvious and immediate result of the process of population growth and concentration in the urban areas of Nigeria is the rapid deterioration of the human environment, caused by the increasing gap between economic growth on the one hand and population growth and concentration on the other. In some instances, the population in slums and shantytowns agglomerates at the staggering rate of 12-15% a year! This "spontaneous" urbanization leads to a situation in which squatter settlements mushroom in cities of all sizes, in all parts of Nigeria, providing inadequate shelter and frequently not even basic facilities for the rural migrant. Pure water and sanitation are often lacking; filth and squalor prevail, while disease and mortality rates climb. Rarely does the newcomer find sufficient employment in the city to improve his condition. In fact, he often

exchanges a miserable rural subsistence for urban living at an even lower level. Seldom does his chosen community welcome him; neither do its institutions serve him well.

Congestion, slums, unemployment and disease cause the suffering of hundreds of thousands. In some of the large metropolitan areas like Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu and Kano, the plight of large groups of the population is not much better than victims of a natural disaster, the only difference being perhaps that no international campaigns are organized to come to their rescue. Even by modest standards, it has been estimated that from one to two-thirds of a typical Nigerian city population must be considered to "live" in slums. Notions of slum clearance applied in the U.S. and other advanced countries are therefore virtually useless in the Nigerian situation. A more detailed discussion on slums and squatting follows in the next chapter.

GENERATIVE AND PARASITIC CITIES IN NIGERIA

A corollary of the unbalanced regional economic development and issue of growth poles in Nigeria is that of generative and parasitic cities. Today, there is no doubt that Nigeria's level of urbanization is inconsistent with its stage of economic development. What all this points to is, of course, that most Nigerian cities today are not functioning effectively in the economy. In return for the investment on social amenities made in them, only a few are making positive productive contributions to the economy. Many others whose contribution is very little or non-existent have been described as

"parasitic" in the system by Mabogunje.²⁰ They represent a substantial drag on the rate of economic development in the country.

Two reasons in particular help to make the problem of parasitic cities a serious one. The first is the phenomenon of "social identification." This relates to the attitude of migrants in most of the urban centers to the social and economic conditions of their home towns or villages. These have formed pressure groups for the agitation for amenities and progressive administration in their home villages. In consequence, scarce infrastructural investments were diverted to areas where, for some considerable time to come, they cannot generate any significant productive capacity. It is common knowledge in Nigeria that the program for the installation of various public utilities--electricity, water supply, medical centers and dispensaries--has not always been guided by the needs of the economy but by the desire to provide amenities for the home villages and towns of the politicians with an eye to winning more votes in the next election.

This is not to say that "social identification" operates in only a negative manner. Indeed, it has been the basis of significant developmental efforts and investment in such vital areas as education. Many secondary grammar schools have been built in the rural areas by the unstinting effort and the monthly financial contributions of migrants in the urban areas. The net result of such efforts, apart from spreading enlightenment, has been to raise

²⁰Akin L. Mabogunje, *op cit*, pg. 315.

expectations, to increase the dissatisfaction with limited opportunity of the rural areas, and to stimulate further migration.

Social identification thus operates as a contradictory process of diverting scarce capital to areas where it is least effective and, in consequence, making such areas lose more population.

The second reason why "parasitic urbanism" has serious implications for the economy of Nigeria is the existence of numerous urban communities which cannot support themselves or maintain their facilities and institutions in a tolerable state of efficiency. This situation is thus related to the second condition which earlier in the chapter was defined as indicating a state of "over-urbanization" by Hoselitz. Since many of the villages and smaller cities are poorly located in terms of the present economy of the country, adjustment has been going on largely by means of losing the active, income-earning members of their community to those centers which are growing. The result is that economic leadership and entrepreneurship which could help to reduce the rate of decline of these centers are lost, administrative efficiency suffers and even social associations and institutions lack the vigor and dynamism which the presence of youthful, enlightened and energetic individuals could have ensured. There is no surprise in this situation, since there is left a preponderance of children, women and the aged, all of whom earn very little income but incur high costs for the maintenance of proper facilities in the towns. This is why the infrastructural investment diverted into these centers is so inefficiently utilized and becomes a significant drain on the economy.

Nonetheless, for a developing country like Nigeria it is on the generative cities that attention must be focused. According to Mabogunje's analysis, not more than about fifty cities can be said to be truly generative of growth, while another hundred or so are somewhat marginal.²¹ Most of the cities have been found to be mainly trade centers deriving their importance largely from location on the major transport routeways and/or location within relatively rich agricultural regions. Since the 1950's, however, industrial development as mentioned earlier has added a new dimension to the growth pattern of a number of these cities. All these cities, as are only to be expected, have become the major magnets and destinations of short-distance migration from other parts of the country. So great has been this influx that one is faced today with the paradoxical situation that is in the growing centers that unemployment is most pronounced. This failure to create new employment opportunities fast enough to keep pace with the rush of migrants into the existing cities has had a deleterious effect on the environmental and physical conditions of these cities. With only a fraction of the city population yielding the revenue from which services for so many others have to be provided, it is easy to appreciate why urban equipment and facilities in many of these places are overused and why the standards and efficiency of urban services are low. Therefore, as will be described elsewhere in this work, effective urban planning techniques and processes have to be evolved to guide future urban growth.

²¹Akin L. Mabogunje, *op cit*, pg. 156.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT--ARISING
FROM RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Although most Nigerians are employed, especially in the agricultural sector, yet a significant proportion in the urban areas is unemployed. In addition, underemployment appears to be widespread. Both unemployment and underemployment are difficult to measure in Nigeria.

In most cities of Nigeria migrants remain basically unemployed for the most part of their sojourn in the cities. However, residents in urban areas have to support friends and relatives who come to the cities looking for jobs but who are unable to find same, and this practice often conceals unemployment or underemployment. Perhaps the primary difficulty in measurement stems from the close link between rural and urban areas. Often, the un- or underemployed person returns to the village farm where he subsists and therefore is not counted as such by labor statisticians.

The unemployed are those, mostly in the modern sector of the economy, who are not earning wages though willing, able and eligible to do so. Three types of underemployment can be conceptualized:

(a) partial, meaning that the actual amount of labor time worked is less than the amount of time worker (or labor force) is able to supply;

(b) disguised, which refers to low-intensity work which can be intensified without major capital investment or reinstitutionalization; and

(c) potential, when there is a substitutability of capital and labor. It should be noted that partial underemployment is a

quantitative concept whereas disguised underemployment is qualitative. Since the quantity and quality of un- and underemployment can be viewed in terms of the worker's aspiration, the worker's ability, and the employer's need, a complex typology emerges. But there is no doubt that these three types described above are found in Nigerian urban centers and result basically from the migration of youths into the cities.

The rate of unemployment in the active labor force was roughly 1.7 percent in 1970. This consisted of 7.6 percent for all urban areas combined and 0.5 percent for all rural areas combined. The major cause of unemployment in the cities is that the industrial and commercial sectors are growing at a slower rate than employable population rate. Many youths who have been to school dislike agricultural pursuits and head towards the cities to seek jobs in industries, government and other urban-based non-agricultural establishments. They are usually disappointed as the jobs are woefully limited and highly competitive. The problem of unemployment particularly among primary school leavers and dropouts has assumed greater significance with the reduction of the eight-year primary education course to six years in parts of the Nigerian Federation.

The most obvious means of bringing the number of employment opportunities into equilibrium with the number and quality of job seekers is to increase the rate of economic development so that opportunities increase more rapidly than seekers. This requires rapid industrial and/or agricultural development aided by outside skills and resources.

SUMMARY

Urbanization in Nigeria can be seen as the growth of urban centers and urban population, but it can also be considered as a process of modernization, a change in the way of life from rural to urban attitudes. In this perspective, social unrest can be viewed as a necessary precondition for change in the social structure, so essential if the innovative forces in a society and its cities are to break through. The traditional landlord-peasant relationship makes place for the new and as yet uncharted social structure of the squatter town and slum. The urban dweller now joins with others to protect family interests and to ensure collective progress.

Social change and economic growth in urban areas creates a perspective in which development is not just an increase of capacities and production but the creation of new qualities of life. Improvement of the human condition and environment is believed to be necessary for both a balanced and a sufficiently rapid economic growth. Growing recognition is now being given to the crucial role of the city as the essential environment in which economic capacities are created (or impeded) and human qualities of life are encouraged (or frustrated) in Nigeria. In this perspective, urban growth is no longer regarded as a harmful process to be halted and possibly reversed, but a major medium of development in our industrializing society. This attitude and outlook vis-a-vis the consequences of urbanization in developing countries links up with the conclusions that "urban centers perform indispensable functions in national growth." Many critical goods and services can only be produced in

urban settings. Cities, and especially large cities, bring about the external economies which increase productivity. The problems of urban growth are not only to a considerable extent inevitable, but further, they should be regarded as incidents of a larger development.

However, if cities are to play such a role in the development process, development planning at the urban and regional levels should not be sector-bound, nor preoccupied only with the increase of production. Most of the developing countries, including Nigeria, have planned economies and are therefore in a position to re-route urbanization from cancerous growth to beneficial and balanced development. Unfortunately, the cities in Nigeria have outpaced history. They have appeared in the setting of a traditional economy in advance of the "industrial revolution" that is supposed to produce the metropolis. The experience of recent decades provides ample examples of a greater tendency towards concentration in a few areas during the early stages of economic development. This tendency is likely to continue and to accelerate for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the commercial and trading classes doing business in the large cities frequently own the earliest industrial enterprises, being that sector of society most likely to have accumulated entrepreneurial capital. Secondly, the newly formed financial and commercial institutions also tend to be located in the largest urban centers. Not only does business success frequently depend upon facilities necessary to obtain currency quotas and other permits, but coordination with nationalized industries and contacts with

government purchasing departments become increasingly necessary as state intervention in the economy grows.

Thirdly, as transportation still tends to be largely undeveloped throughout the country, location in the principal seaport or capital (Lagos) facilitates the acquisition of machinery and imported raw materials. Moreover, the large urban centers provide accessible markets, perhaps the only markets for budding industries in Nigeria where the general purchasing power is still extremely low. Finally, larger cities often have the monopoly of the infrastructure essential for industry: water and power, sewage, repair shops, and a labor force that is more likely to be trained in the required skills than will be the case elsewhere. But what have the governments in Nigeria done to accommodate and direct these trends and growth patterns in the past? Have there been any adequate federal guidelines for urban development and planning? These questions will be surveyed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS OF URBAN AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

FEDERAL RESPONSE

Despite the urban revolution in Nigeria and the uneven rates of development from area to area, the Federal Government has yet to establish administrative machinery for the formulation and implementation of national policy on urban and regional development and planning. The only semblance of national legislation on this subject is the obsolete Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance established by the British in 1946. It has never been concerned with more than local planning authorities and schemes. The ordinance attempts to deal briefly and superficially with such issues as scope of planning schemes, appointment and membership of planning authorities and their powers, and the preparation, approval and contents of planning schemes. The specifications have not been effective and are basically reflections of the colonial domination of Nigeria.

With respect to planning schemes and planning authorities, it had this to say:

"A planning scheme may be made under this ordinance with respect to any land, whether there are or are not buildings thereon, with the general object of controlling the

development and use of land comprised in the area to which the scheme applies, of securing proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience, and of preserving buildings or other objects of architectural, historic or artistic interest and places of natural interest or beauty and generally of protecting existing amenities whether in urban or rural portions of the area.

Where [the Governor] is of the opinion that a scheme should be made for any part of Nigeria, he may appoint a planning authority for such area, which planning authorities shall contain adequate local representation. Such planning authority shall be the executive authority for the planning and carrying through of any scheme under this Ordinance relating to the area for which the planning authority was appointed."²²

The above portion of the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance (1946) illustrates that there were good intentions. However, how exactly such schemes (plans) were to be drawn, what studies were to be done or how to achieve comprehensive development projects were not outlined. The main interest was the allocation of parcels of land for development, and there is no doubt that Town Planning in Nigeria has very much been influenced by this erroneous idea in succeeding decades. However, the derelict Ordinance declared that:

"Upon the declaration of a planning area, the authority shall either frame a planning scheme for such area or any part thereof or adopt with or without modification any scheme proposed by any or all of the owners of the land within such area.

(1) A scheme may be made under this Ordinance with respect to any land, in any township, native town, village, settlement or rural area, whether there are or are not buildings thereon, with the general object of controlling the development and use of the land comprised in the area to which the scheme applies, of securing proper sanitary conditions and conveniences, and the coordination of roads and public services, of

²²*Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos, Vol. IV, 1958, pg. 63.*

protecting and extending the amenities and of conserving and developing the resources of such area.

(2) Every scheme shall specify and define clearly the area to which it relates and shall include a plan in which shall be shown the extent of the scheme and such other matters as can conveniently be included therein....

(4) A scheme may provide for the redistribution of lands or for the readjustment of the boundaries and areas of any such lands.²³

There is no doubt that these provisions were really inadequate in either controlling comprehensive development or formulating and ensuring a national policy on urban and regional development and planning.

After the colonial era, matters were not even righted. In the absence of relevant and effective national policy, machinery and procedures, it is hardly surprising that, although the first National Development Plan (1962-1968) allocated a total capital expenditure of 42 million Nigerian pounds to town and country planning (including housing), it contained no national strategy or specific policies for urban and regional development. It omitted an analysis of the nature, extent and direction of the urbanization pattern and momentum under way since 1952. The development plan did not assess the potential consequences of its own sectoral investment decisions, and it made little if any provision for attacking the problems which were likely to arise in both rural and urban areas from the progressive migration it encouraged.

²³ Nigerian Federal Government, *op cit*, pg. 68.

There has been, in fact, no planning specifically for urban and regional development in Nigeria. At best, there has been a local *ad hoc* response to uncontrolled city growth and planning as in the commissioning of metropolitan plans for Kano and Kaduna; or as in Western and Eastern Nigeria, where a number of town planning authorities have been set up whose activities in all but a few cases, however, have in practice been confined to little more than the approval of building plans.

The Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) provides for a total capital expenditure of 38 million Nigerian pounds on town and country planning (including housing).²⁴ The plan, unlike its predecessor, looks beyond limited local horizons to the concept of regional or physical planning on a national scale. It defines physical planning as "a kind of visual aid to economic planning" and adds that

"the controlled dispersal of social overheads and infra-structural facilities to promote even development from area to area...must be physically planned in such a way as to coincide with the functional or sectoral planning objectives."

However, as Green and Vincent Milone have observed, the planning objectives of the industrial sector for 1970-1974 make no reference to either urbanization or migration, and the location of government sponsored industries is to be decided "purely on economic considerations." Sectoral policy in respect of electric power supplies includes their extension and improvement in:

²⁴Actual disbursement was, however, only 19.6 million pounds or about 47% of the allocation. All quotations in this work are in Nigerian pounds.

- (1) existing industrial areas of Lagos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt and Kano, and in new areas of industrial location, and
- (2) in major administrative and population centers where there is no electricity.

Dr. E. S. Simpson has noted also that the use of energy is a close measure of industrial activity and a significant index of standard of living.²⁵ In further developments of electricity in Nigeria, industry, commerce and administration must play the leading roles in creating a scale of activity which will allow further reductions in costs. The economies of scale will, however, find their most forceful expression in the concentrated demand of urbanized areas. In stimulating economic development, therefore, the electricity industry and consumption should be distributed in such a way as to promote and serve urbanization. The creation of a National Grid will tend to concentrate these developments in the areas it serves. Unfortunately, the distances separating urban centers in Northern Nigeria, for instance, put the economic feasibility of a considerable extension of the Grid in these areas into the distant future.

If the location of new industries is to be decided on economic consideration alone, the policy in respect to electric power supplies strongly implies a further stimulus to large-scale migration to the major growth poles in the next four years rather than encouraging "even development." In the transport sector, the announced planning

²⁵E. S. Simpson, "Electricity Production in Nigeria", *Economic Geo.*, Vol. 45, No. 2, July, 1969, pg. 239.

policy is silent on urbanization. It dwells on "the need for greater coordination among the various transport modes" and their better management. A major objective is providing "a well articulated set of highways geared to the needs of development", but it does not define these needs, except to add that emphasis will be placed on "what is optimal in national economic terms."

As regards water supplies, in the urban areas, the strategy will be to increase the capacity, to meet the expected growth in population and in industrial and commercial activities. This policy differs from the stated aims of physical planning (since it refers to *expected* and not *planned* growth), and it will be dependent upon decisions about the volume and location of investment in the industrial, power, and transportation sectors.

In the absence of an articulate national strategy on urbanization and regional development, which firmly influences all sectoral planning policies, it is to be expected that sectoral investment decisions will be guided, as in the plan, mainly by purely economic considerations. This means that the mounting developmental and environmental problems of the progressive "take-off" into urbanization and planned cities can receive only scant attention. The lack of such a strategy in successive development plans may be explained not only by the absence of relevant administrative machinery and procedures, but also by a lack of appropriate and systematic research to provide a factual basis for policy-formulation. Before July 1968, there was no such research at all. Since then, a small physical planning research division has been set up at the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, with the long-term aims of:

(1) methodically and continuously informing the federal and state governments on the spatial aspects of the country's development, area by area, and

(2) advising them on possible urban and regional planning policies.

It is too early for this division to make a real impact on present thinking about the orientation of national urban and regional planning. But it is understood that a regional planning unit may in the future be established in the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction (which is responsible for national "economic" planning). The Second National Development Plan earmarks 220,000 Nigerian pounds for this purpose. In such a case, if the work of the research division and physical planning unit can be reasonably coordinated, machinery may emerge capable of undertaking the research, analysis and policy-preparation needed for the formulation of a national strategy on urbanization, city and regional planning which can progressively influence functional and sectoral planning objectives. It should not be inferred, however, that implementation of these objectives by means of development projects will necessarily conform to the planning strategy they can embody. Undoubtedly, other machinery and procedures at all levels of government will have to be devised for this purpose.

THE STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSE

Sub-national planning at the level of the twelve constituent states or four former regions has been as devoid of policy on urbanization, urban and regional development as at the federal level.

For instance, the First National Development Plan provided for the establishment of housing corporations in each region, in imitation of the Western Nigerian prototype of 1958. Their activities were largely limited to the building of middle-class housing estates in the regional capitals, and to the development of industrial estates in Metropolitan Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Port Harcourt and a dozen other towns. Rapid urbanization needed no encouragement in the major centers, and the choice of location was not determined within the context of spatial or regional planning. The Second National Development Plan does provide for state expenditure on town planning, but it makes no provision for town *and country* planning except in the Western Region. Since the twelve state structure has not taken root, the urban and regional development policies and effects being witnessed could better be reviewed within the framework of former regions of Nigeria.

Western Nigeria

Only in Western Nigeria has consideration clearly been given to the need for a policy on urbanization and regional development. In 1967/68, Green and Milone submitted two reports to the Ministry of Lands and Housing, Western Nigeria, entitled *Physical Planning in Western Nigeria* and *Administration of Physical Planning in Western Nigeria*. The reports suggested that development projects be selected which are

"specifically designed:

(a) to stimulate growth at the [State's] key points and (b) through the favorable influences these points and projects exert on surrounding areas, to promote an orderly and cumulative advance of the State as a whole."

The reports added that this selection should be determined

"above all by a thorough and objective assessment of the efficiency of the existing pattern of urban growth, from a standpoint of the current transfer of the [State's] resources from production for subsistence to production for a modern market economy."

The up-grading of not more than three medium-sized cities chosen in terms of the empirical need for central places was advocated. The reasons for this were: (1) to undertake comprehensive services for surrounding hinterlands; (2) to act as hubs of communication networks; and (3) to house basic industries. It was concluded that policy in regard to transport planning, agricultural development schemes, the location of new industries and industrial estates, *town planning* and housing schemes, and investment in other infrastructures from area to area, should be predicted on this strategy. And the reports recommended appropriate changes in the State's town and country planning legislation, proposing also a major reorganization of the Ministry of Lands and Housing for the formulation and implementation of appropriate regional planning policy. The transformation of the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation into an executive authority to undertake urban development projects within the framework of such policy, and a drastic reduction in the number of town planning authorities was advocated. Here is not the place to evaluate, disagree or agree with these recommendations. But it is surprising that no mention is ever made of how to control density in existing and proposed cities either by zoning or other land use control measures. When you advocate a general policy of city and regional development, it takes care of where and how to locate or establish

future urban centers. What happens when these cities are built; how will they be built to make them better livable environments, free from congestion, slums, squatting and outright degeneration? These questions compose the whole crux of urban planning to which a few people have addressed themselves. This is true of all parts of Nigeria.

The Second National Development Plan provides for a capital expenditure by the Western State of 100,000 Nigerian pounds on "a general physical plan for the State." Fourteen thousand Nigerian pounds are for "plans for priority towns", 725,000 pounds on the layout of urban development areas, and 950,000 pounds on financial assistance to planning authorities. It is not known if this proposed expenditure of 1.8 million pounds is intended to support action in terms of the recommendations of the Green and Milone reports. So far, none of the main proposals for legislative changes and administrative reorganization have been implemented, and effective action will be difficult without such changes and reorganization. It is noteworthy that under the first National Development Plan, only 52,000 Nigerian pounds or three percent was actually spent by 1967, out of the total capital allocation of 1.6 million pounds for town and country planning (excluding housing), partly because of staff and other administrative problems and limitations.

Since the inception of town and country planning legislation in 1946, the Western Nigeria town planning authorities have concentrated on building control, sometimes referred to as development

control. The few planning schemes implemented have been confined to housing and road layouts in towns and villages. The most successful of these have been in Sapele (now in the Mid-Western State), and especially Ikeja (now in Lagos State), both of which cities were industrializing. No town plans have been produced, and the Ibadan authority is now specifically excluded from any jurisdiction over the old city of Ibadan, in which over half of the city's population lives.

The principal causes of this relative ineffectiveness have not been so much legislative as administrative. They appear to have included shortages of professional staff and of finances actually distributed; lack of definite ministerial policy about the use and development of land; and problems of traditional land tenure. The causes also include lack of communication and coordination between ministries and between the public and private sectors; the low priority given to urban and regional planning by successive governments; the adverse attitude of "economic planners" to physical planning, and the slow rate of industrialization and hence urbanization in a state where cities have fallen under the proximity of Metropolitan Lagos and Ibadan.

In this latter respect, Green and Milone note that

"it is a critical commentary upon the general failure to recognize and understand the facts of urbanization and regional development in Nigeria, that the country's main thrust in town and country planning should have taken place in a state relatively untroubled by the 'take-off' into urbanization."

That thrust has really been successful only in Ikeja, which forms part of Metropolitan Lagos and now falls within Lagos State.

Mid-Western State

As regards the Mid-Western State, which formed part of the former Western Region up to 1962, town planning authorities which were established in Benin (the capital), Sapele, Warri and one other urban area under the 1965 Western Nigeria Law have now been amalgamated into a State-wide Benin-Delta Development and Planning Authority (BENDEL) set up in January 1970. The Sapele authority first prepared schemes in the 1950's, consultants have recently been commissioned to prepare a town plan for Benin; Bendel is developing two housing estates in Warri and 200,000 pounds are now allocated for town planning under the Second National Development Plan. As, however, there is a professional staff of only two overseas-trained town planning officers in the Ministry of Lands and Housing, the State's potential ability to cope with the possible repercussions of oil (petroleum) development upon urbanization and planning in the Benin-Warri area must be conjectural. So far, the pace of change has been that of "third-order" cities except in Warri, but it could easily accelerate with little warning--as it has in fact done in Warri since 1968, with overwhelming consequences. A commissioned town plan for Benin will not by itself ensure control unless it is integrated with overall government policies with very strict control measures devoid of corrupt practices by highly placed government officials. This could be a combination of a comprehensive and a policy plan.

Lagos State

Although most town planning authorities are located in Western Nigeria, their legislative foundations spring from the Lagos Town

Planning Ordinance of 1928. This response to an outbreak of bubonic plague (referred to earlier in this work) established the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) with extensive powers to undertake comprehensive improvement schemes within the city limits. It must be noted here that even Lagos, as the capital of Nigeria, has no visible/effective comprehensive plan yet and there is therefore no document obvious to urban residents that would direct its growth in the future except in chaotic piecemeal scramble for developable land in such places as Maroko, Ikate, etc. The First National Development Plan allocated to the LEDB 23 million pounds for capital expenditure on town and country planning (including housing) in Lagos Federal Territory (i.e., the city), of which 65 percent was spent.

The effectiveness of this expenditure in an urban area experiencing a population growth of 8.8 percent per annum is summarized by the Second National Development Plan. It says:

"The problems of a small island capital were compounded by rapid urbanization. The result was serious overcrowding in slum areas and acute shortage of land which has seriously impeded the transformation of Lagos into a modern capital of a potentially rich and great nation."

During the 1962-68 plan period, the Lagos Executive Development Board, established originally as the physical planning authority for Lagos, demolished some of the worst slums, but within a limited area of Lagos island, replaced them ineffectively with shops and office buildings. Over the same period, the Board established industrial estates at Apapa, Igammu and Ijora as well as residential estates at South-West Ikoyi, Apapa and Surulere. The reclamation of Victoria

Island, which started in the mid-1950's, was also completed at a very high cost.

This piecemeal, inadequate attack on what were, in fact, massive environmental, social, technical and spatial problems was undertaken by a board which had no power to draw up a comprehensive statutory (master) town plan until a military decree of 1967. If this was meant to represent a demonstration on urban renewal or redevelopment efforts, it was a woeful failure due to lack of direction, no stated goals and objectives, and limited professional staff availability. Even today, the Board's town planning section comprises no more than five professional, overseas-trained officers, about the same number of technical assistants, and a very small supporting staff for social survey work. This is the case in the capital city of a country where locally trained "draftsmen" who design buildings as they think fit parade themselves as "planners."

Outside the city, the Ikeja Area Planning Authority has one professional, overseas-trained town planning officer, a civil engineer, three or four technical-level assistants and supporting staff. Controlling an area in which the former Western Nigeria poured most of its investment in housing and industrial estates, and established most of its government-supported industries, the Ikeja authority is the one successful planning unit, operating without subsidy and able to finance road construction out of its own revenues. This success is due perhaps to a healthy tax base, and the co-option of private business interests in development projects. By contrast, a small town planning authority at Epe (also transferred

from the former Western Nigeria) has never had more than a building inspector and secretarial staff, and is virtually moribund.

The new Lagos State itself has recently appointed one professional town planning officer within the Ministry of Works and Planning with the object of welding together these disparate institutions into a viable planning organization. The problem it faces is quite different in kind and magnitude from any previously experienced in Nigeria. Machinery has to be established for the planned control of the greatest regional metropolitan development in tropical Africa, and which is experiencing an astronomical population growth rate in its fringe areas. The enormity of this task appears to be wholly underestimated, even though it was first spelled out in 1962 by a United Nations team of experts, and further reevaluated in 1967 and 1968 with a view to providing a specialist team to prepare and execute a metropolitan development plan, and to build up permanent machinery for the control of future growth.

Such United Nations efforts have had no tangible results so far and the Second National Development Plan now allocates but 1 million pounds for capital expenditure on town and country planning (including housing), as against more than 1.2 million pounds for staff-quarters and transient flats for government servants in the city itself. It is not known if this quite insignificant allocation takes into account possible United Nations financing of metropolitan planning. Even if it does, the inference to be drawn is that both the federal and state governments have singularly failed to appreciate the full gravity of the urban situation arising in and around

Lagos, as the metropolitan population swiftly approaches two million.

Northern Nigeria

In the six Northern States the story is not different. Kwara state is being drained of population by the attraction of the major growth poles to its north and south. However, it is not known if the 400,000 pounds allocated in the Second National Development Plan for "township mapping and lay-out of urban development areas" is intended for the improvement of Ilorin as a local counter-magnet to the national growth poles. The state has not previously formulated an explicit urbanization or regional development policy in these terms.

Kano State has revived its Metropolitan Planning and Development Board. A consultant was commissioned in 1962 to produce a metropolitan development plan in conjunction with the Board, which was created for this purpose and disbanded upon the plan's completion.²⁶ Now that the plan is outdated, the Board has been reconstituted and allocated 2.7 million pounds for capital expenditure during the next four years. It is primarily attacking the formidable problem of redeveloping the city's ancient regional and severely congested central market, for which essential surveys are being organized by the Physical Planning Research Division of Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER). Meanwhile, as quickly as possible the Board must attempt to build up an organization capable of undertaking the research and analysis needed to support the planned

²⁶ B. A. W. Trevallion, *Metropolitan Kano: Report on the Twenty-Year Development Plan, 1963-1983*, London, 1963.

control of a city approaching 500,000 people, at a growth rate of nearly nine percent per annum.

In 1967, a metropolitan plan for Kaduna was produced by another overseas consultant.²⁷ Few people will disagree with the planner's creed or with the assertion that the plan must be "open-ended" and that "the more people are identified with the plan and enlisted to work towards its realization the better will it succeed." These and other planning theoretical philosophies and concepts are basically eloquent. The Kaduna proposals mark a step forward in planning in West Africa; a step perhaps on more traditional lines than some had hoped to see. The plan is well produced and well illustrated. One is left wondering, however, whether like several of Max Lock's earlier plans (notably that for Middlesborough) it will come to serve not as a tool for implementation but a textbook in planning practice for this part of the world.

Now as the capital of the North-Central State and with a population of about 250,000 people, the city has one town-planner and is allocated 3 million pounds for capital expenditure under the Second National Development Plan. This allocation apparently envisages the creation of a planning machinery similar to that set up in Kano. If so, it will also operate under the provisions of the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance, possibly amended according to recommendations proposed in the metropolitan plan. In that case, neither of the metropolitan authorities will exercise any jurisdiction over

²⁷ This was the plan of Max Lock: *Kaduna - 1917, 1967, 2017: A Survey and Plan of the Capital Territory for the Government of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1967.

the allocation of investment for development purposes beyond their own local administrative limits.

This is a matter for the State Governments, and neither of the state development plans embodies a policy on urbanization, urban or regional planning to guide such investment. Yet, the population growth rate of the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna complex has been averaging nine percent per annum, as some 70,000 persons are converging on it every year mainly from the rural areas of the two states concerned, and together the three urban centers already account for close to 900,000 people. The recent notorious severe drought and encroachment of the Sahara Desert have aggravated this extreme concentration of people into this complex as people try to escape this disaster of the early 1970's with which African has been afflicted.

None of the other Northern States has an explicit policy on urban growth planning, let alone regional development. For survey, town planning and urban development projects in the new state capitals and principal towns, 2.4 million pounds are allocated for capital expenditure between 1970 and 1974 and over and above the proposals for Kaduna and Kano. What is to happen in the planning or development sphere about the vast often uninhabited expanse of land in most parts of Northern Nigeria? In most cases, however, settlements are but hamlets of few huts and the population growth rates of the main cities fall within four to six percent range, with unmanageable problems of social, physical and economic changes. For the most part, the Fulanis of the plans just wander with their cattle, feeding and rearing them, just like the Bedouin of Sinai. Could the miracle

wrought at Ophira by which the Bedouins have been induced to become a "settled race" by the Israeli Government be experimented in this part of Africa? Will consolidation as some people have claimed escalate the adverse effects of the drought as Fulanis will converge with their cattle in smaller areas and be faced with high density problems and fast depletion of available resources especially fodder and water? This situation poses a challenge for any regional planning efforts in this part of Nigeria and should not be shuffled under the carpet as if it did not exist. One of the difficulties is to establish the requisite machinery, policies (integrated with national agricultural plans) and staff efforts.

Eastern Nigeria

As in the Northern States, town planning and urban development have been covered since 1946 in the former Eastern Region (and newly created States) by the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance. Although the growth of the Port Harcourt-Aba-Onitsha complex was very great between 1952 and 1963, a Regional Ministry of Lands and Housing was not set up until 1962. Its title was changed in 1965 to that of Town and Country Planning, but this activity was in practice relegated to a small office which supervised the work of two or three local planning authorities in Okigwi, Owerri, etc. Before the outbreak of the civil war in Nigeria, the office was staffed by three expatriates, three Nigerian professionals and four technical-level assistants. Emphasis was naturally placed on controlling the vigorous urbanization of Port Harcourt (for which the USAID was preparing to produce a master plan) and there was no

regional planning, except the experimental farm settlement schemes that have basically failed.

A strategy of the development of "lay-outs" was used, as land allocation was the main concern of the Ministry charged with urban development and lands. This was so because the ownership of a developed (or undeveloped) plot or lot in Nigerian cities is regarded as a great economic asset to be handed down to progeny. Hence the mushrooming of the Ogui, New Haven, Abakpa-Nike layouts in Enugu; Diobu, Trans-Amadi and Rainbow Town layouts in Port Harcourt; even in Owerri (a celebrated rural-township with just a main street) there is the Ikenegbu layout. There is no doubt that even though these represent veritable efforts in town planning, the social and economic principles that led to their founding were the fundamental causes of their physical deterioration and debasement as livable environments for human settlements. The problem is that once the high government officials succeeded, the colonial masters in occupying their quarters in the so-called Government Residential Areas (GRA), with nice layouts, adequate space, and even outdoor gardens, did not care how the millions of Nigerian urban settlers squeezed themselves in tiny rooms of dormitory trade-houses where densities exceed four or five persons per room with many unidentifiable squatters²⁸ who come in to sleep by night and disappear by day, grateful that such facilities are even available to them.

²⁸These are generically different from the obvious meaning of the word, where the squatter appropriates land illegally and builds his own structure on it. They are seen in thousands in all cities of Nigeria with Lagos as the worst example.

Under the Second National Development Plan, the three Eastern States are now being allocated 3.2 million pounds for capital expenditure on town planning, the rehabilitation of planning authorities and urban layouts. Of this sum, 1.2 million pounds are allocated to the East Central State in which Aba, Onitsha and Enugu are located; 1 million pounds to Rivers State where Port Harcourt is located; and 1 million pounds to the South-Eastern State, whose capital is Calabar. There is no reference to state-wide physical planning as in the Western State.

While these sums compare very favorably with the capital allocation to Lagos State, they do not reflect the pattern and pace of urbanization manifested before the war. These patterns are likely to reproduce themselves quite speedily under the principles controlling the location of investment in industries, power, transport and infrastructure defined in the current plan. If it is the interest of National development that the former growth pole of Eastern Nigeria should be reconstructed without delay, but with due planning control, a different allocation would seem to be needed, and an attempt should be made to draw up regional plans embodying integrated strategies on urbanization, planning and rural or regional development.

CONCLUSIONS

The pivotal importance of towns and cities in the process of development has still to be recognized in the planning schemes at any level of government in Nigeria. On the one hand, the "are the essential dynamoes for progress in all parts of an industrializing country." On the other hand, without the stimulus and support of an

effective regional network of settlements, agricultural development must be stunted for lack of central places around which it may be organized for growth and change. Obversely, a "take-off" into urbanization, unaccompanied by an attempt to channel and guide it according to a basic strategy appropriate to a developing country's agricultural, industrial, commercial and administrative needs can prove disastrous. Far from being prime movers and catalysts of change, towns and cities can only too easily degenerate into national liabilities.

In Nigeria, the unprecedented and rapid population increases taking place in and around metropolitan Lagos in the south-west, the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna complex in the north, and, before the devastation of war, in the Port Harcourt-Aba-Onitsha zone in the south-east, have been matched by a massive and accelerating migration from all parts of the country. Internally, for at least a decade these three growth poles have shown signs of failure to absorb the huge influx of people, economically, physically and socially. In particular, metropolitan Lagos increasingly threatens to hamper the country's economic expansion because of the rising congestion of its port facilities, the worsening conditions of its traffic, the inadequacy of its public utilities, the growing ineffectiveness of its administration, and the deterioration of its physical environment. Externally, extensive rural areas lying within the immediate shadow of these growth poles have already been denuded of hundreds of thousands of their young men and women.

CONSEQUENCES OF INADEQUATE AND INEFFICIENT
GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO URBANIZATION AND
PHYSICAL PLANNING PATTERNS

In the overall picture in Nigeria, therefore, the ineffective enabling laws and implementation policies have led naturally to uncontrolled urban settlements with their attendant problems. If we assume two distinct problems of planlessness and of "shantytown" slum conditions, we can realize that in Nigeria uncontrolled urban settlement is a manifestation of normal urban growth processes under the exceptional conditions of rapid urbanization. In other words, we do not consider the existence of urban settlements to be the problem, but the fact that they are uncontrolled and that their forms are so often distorted.

Unless the process of urbanization can be reversed, unless there are real and immediate alternatives for the thousands of migrants and newborn, it cannot be said that urban settlement, even if anarchic, should not exist in Nigeria. Obviously there must be settlements, people must live somewhere--except for those that are really prepared to live, literally, in the open and on the streets. As one distinguished scholar put it, "the only way to eradicating slums (without eradicating their causes) is to eradicate their inhabitants along with them." If the processes producing "autonomous urban settlements"²⁹ are essentially normal processes of urban growth, then it follows that autonomous urban settlements are both the product of and the vehicle for activities which are essential in the process of modernization.

²⁹ By autonomous urban settlement, it is meant an urban settlement, whatever its duration or expectations may be, that takes place independently of the authorities charged with the external or institutional control of local building and planning.

In most major cities of Nigeria these autonomous urban settlements are the products of the difference between the nature of the popular demand for dwellings and those supplied by institutional society. The greatest manifestations of these settlements are slum and squatting. A brief survey of these Nigerian urban phenomena is therefore pertinent at this point, as evidence of housing problems and shortages.

Slum Conditions

The word slum is "a catchall for poor housing of every kind as well as a label for the environment."³⁰ Because of its inclusiveness, the word too often obscures the vast differences between one type of slum and another. In cities, slums may be either rented or owner-occupied, either legal or illegal. They include cabins, shanties, dens, dugouts, sheds and other manifestations of poverty. Some slums are single-family shelters converted into several smaller compartments.

The following ideas are a key to the idea of slums:

(1) Structural deterioration whereby the houses fall into disrepair. This common first element is not associated with age because modifications and maintenance are sometimes used by people to keep up with present standards.

(2) Temporary structures: This concerns the quality of the materials which are poor from the beginning. These structures are raised by migrants and are poorly built from the start.

³⁰ Charles Abrams, *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, MIT Press, 1964, pg. 4.

(3) Poor designs: Slums may be structures that are new, of good materials, but poorly designed or lacking in essential services for good living example, and having poor lighting or ventilation. These are slums from the day they were occupied not because of the quality of the materials used but because of how they were designed. Usually a slum refers to an area of the city with structures having the above elements.

In Nigeria, slums are found in most of the large cities, especially in the core areas. Most of the descriptions above pertain to slum areas in Lagos and other large cities in Nigeria. Maybe a description of the Lagos slums will demonstrate the ideas being put forward here.

The standard of housing in Lagos is quite low. Most houses have neither piped-water nor a sewage system. In most houses of central Lagos the only bathroom or lavatory may be a rough shelter of corrugated iron with a bucket knocked together in a corner of the yard. Water has to be collected from a stand-pipe in the street; the latrine buckets are collected by a service of the City Council. There is no water-borne sewage system for the city, hence it has been described as a city that has skyscrapers but no sewer system. Most of the drains are open--often shallow channels running down the middle of the lane, in which refuse and ordure float. In the wet season the drains overflow. In the older parts of the city, the houses are mostly of brick and concrete and are plastered with cement, having no identifiable sanitation facilities and generally in conditions of physical deterioration. These houses have corrugated sheeting

for the roof and often with extensions of unlined weather-board or iron built onto them because houses are scarce. The conditions that obtain in other cities of Nigeria are no better--there are only differences in magnitude. There is no enforcement even of existing institutional ordinances guiding urban settlement and planning.

The comfort, esthetic pleasure and convenience of living in the city are thus affected. There is extreme congestion everywhere in the cities. The only exceptions are the suburbs where the high income echelons live. If we attempt, however, to locate areas of slums in most Nigerian cities with reference to our definition, we would classify entire cities as slums. But, for purposes of clarity within the context of local standards, it would be better to limit slums to areas that obviously denote housing of social inferior quality.

The afflictions of slum living in Lagos and other Nigerian cities are intensified by crowding and lack of privacy. If there were adequate supply of urban slums in Lagos and other big cities, for everyone who needed shelter, there would have been a different story. But the general shortage of slums means that those that exist are also packed with people--hence the problem of overcrowding. Crowding in these instances means that the houses are crowded onto almost all available space. It also refers to crowding within the house itself. In the four streets studied by Peter Marris there were 3 to 5 people to a room and most of these rooms were small, dark and poorly ventilated. But the inhabitants do not complain. They are just satisfied that they are in the big cities where job opportunities are supposed to

exist and from there they hope to visit their villages to display their social and economic improvements.

Squatting

Slum situations in Nigeria, more often than not, have their roots in squatting. Squatting therefore constitutes one of the evidences of the scarcity of housing in Lagos and other big cities of Nigeria. It has become a welcome haven for the thousands of migrants who swarm into cities like locusts and have to squat with relatives for a couple of months or even years while looking for the often elusive jobs. Squatting is triggered by many factors. One of these is enforced migration because of rural depression, the quest for subsistence in the burgeoning urban areas and simple opportunism. Usually it is the by-product of urban landlessness, housing famine, and lack of control of the growth of urban settlements.

When there is no housing for the migrants, they do the only thing they can--they appropriate land, more often publicly owned, from which there is less fear of being dislodged. Sympathy with the squatter cause, or lack of a consistent official policy encourage further squatting. Existing settlements spread, and new settlements mushroom. Squatting then becomes part of a desperate contest for shelter and land. Of all forms of illegal seizure, squatting is the most condonable. The squatting problem exists in most parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in fact, wherever there has been a mass movement of people to cities and insufficient shelter. In the cities of the underdeveloped world today, the practice is

usually open and defiant, tempting more squatting by its success. But in Nigeria, squatting has a slightly different character from what it is in Asian and Latin American cities. Squatter settlements as distinct from other parts of the city are rare in Nigeria. The more obvious evidence of squatting is the unusual increase in densities where one person pays the rent and about five or six others come in at night to sleep and take to the streets by day.

In Nigerian cities squatting has been noticed in several ways. One of these is street sleeping. Some people in Lagos sleep in the corridors of houses occupied by their relatives, wherever the mats can be laid under a roof or covering makes a bed. Around Tinubu Fountain Square many beggars sleep every night. A street sleeper is a mobile squatter without a house. In Lagos particularly, a street sleeper will watch a shop at night and keep away other street sleepers in return for the nightly use of the threshold. A few thousand homeless people will seek a spot on the piers in the rat-ridden lagoon areas or scout around for an unguarded space on which to lay a stray mat.

In recent years squatting has become evidenced in the forcible preemption of land by some religious sects, especially the Aladuras or "Cherubim and Seraphim" groups who believe solidly in visions. The Bar-Beach in Victoria Island of Lagos^{*} has become their rampart because it offered them serene circumstances to fall into their usual trance, and the Atlantic Ocean waves would pour forth the gods to

* See attached map of Lagos Metropolitan Area for location (Figure 7).

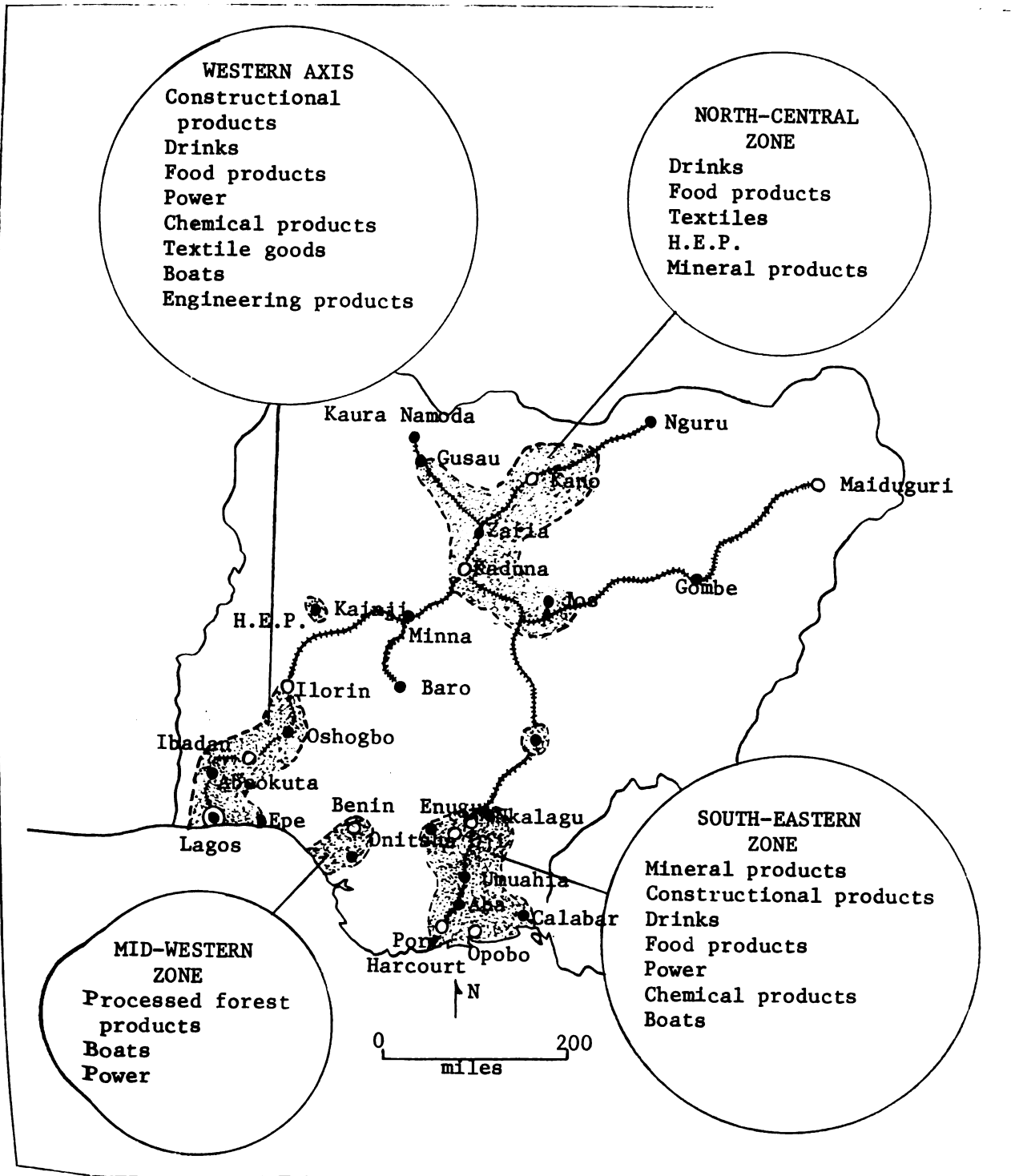


Figure 7. Growth-Poles: Areas of Industrial and Population Concentration.

answer their prayers. Other "fanatical" religious groups joined. These have erected "prayer houses" and huts within the famous Bar-Beach which for long has been a pleasurable resort for picnics, swimming, sun-bathing, an outlet for young lovers and recently the celebrated arena or circus for executing armed-robbers. The squatters have since been dislodged and ejected by government quit-orders. That the place was to be replanned after evacuation for a new state house, a state hospital, a luxurious hotel, government residential quarters and offices for ministries of the Lagos State Government is illustrative of the point being made here that squatting is a result of uncontrolled urban settlement in Nigeria.

In a very real sense, however, the single most important problem of the growing urban centers in Nigeria is that of urban management. A city, like any economic organization, requires qualified, enlightened and experienced management to function efficiently and profitably. Three reasons in particular appear to have militated against the emergence of efficient urban management in Nigeria. The first is the failure of governments, especially at the federal level, to recognize the modern role of cities in the economic development of the country. The city in most parts of Nigeria is still conceived as the traditional seat of a natural ruler, whether an Oba in Lagos or an Emir in Kano, whose responsibility is to see to the welfare and development of his subjects.

The continued importance of the traditional rulers in the management of cities has had another effect on the development of these centers. Most traditional rulers have jurisdiction not only

over the city but also over a more or less extensive rural district. As such, few cities and towns have an independent existence of their own but are treated as part of a district whose administration is not infrequently dominated by rural members. The city, moreover, has no defined limits and merges imperceptibly with the rural areas. This indeterminacy of the limits of the urban and rural areas and of their spheres of action has often worked against the best interests of the city and left much of its problems unresolved.

Closely related to this problem is that created by the existence of a group in most cities who regard themselves as "sons of the soil." Even in newly created urban centers in Eastern Nigeria like Calabar, Owerri and now Enugu, villagers on whose land the new cities developed see themselves in this light. But these "sons of the soil" tend to be poorer, less educated, and less enlightened than the migrants. Yet, they wield so great an influence by their ownership of land and, in the case of the older centers, by their numerical majority. The effect has been to discriminate in various ways against the migrants. Attempts are made as much as possible to exclude them from the mainstream of the city administration.

In the north the migrants are allowed to participate in the administration of only their half of the city, and even then, only under the surveillance of a representative of the traditional authority. In most places they are not allowed to have a freehold title to land and may not expect equal treatment before the customary law. Confronted by such apparent hostility, most migrants hardly ever see the new city of their adoption as a place in whose overall development

they have a stake as is the case in any city in the United States, for example. For many it is partly this failure to belong locally that reinforces their sense of social identification with their home villages and towns. Writing on urban land policy and population growth in Nigeria, Mabogunje concluded that the "traditional urbanities" pose the major problem for the urban contribution to rapid population growth (and orderly planning) in Nigeria. He suggested that one way of reducing their significance in this respect is to valorize urban land through property tax. This is because lineage land is believed to be the real nexus of their relationship to the city. Once this is pushed into the stream of economic exchange relations, the majority of such individuals would be forced to re-define their relation to the city.³¹

While against the migrants, the "sons of the soil" try to protect their own interests as they see them. Their poorer section of the city, which in general tends to deteriorate very quickly under the impact of population growth and sometimes outright neglect, is protected as much as possible from any attempt at slum clearance or even rehabilitation. Regulations and by-laws which tend towards urban renewal and land use are made inoperative in their area of the city. They are exempted from paying the various rates and are encouraged to continue to live their lives oblivious of the rapid changes that are taking place all around them in other sections of the city.

³¹A. L. Mabogunje, "Urban Land Policy and Population Growth in Nigeria", in *Population Growth and Economic Development in Africa*, S. N. Ominde and C. N. Ejiogu, ed., Heinemann, London, 1972, pg. 242.

A third problem of urban management is the lack of enterprise especially with regard to raising revenue for local development. Much of the revenue of the various municipal councils consists of grants-in-aid from the regional governments. Otherwise, all that the councils receive by way of revenue are minor fees and licenses. Property rating, for instance, is not used as a means of raising revenue in most cities in Nigeria. The exceptions are Lagos, some eight cities in the former Eastern Region of Nigeria, including Port Harcourt, Enugu, Aba and Umuahia, as well as the migrant section of the four Northern Nigerian cities of Kaduna, Kano, Zaria and Jos. No city in Western Nigeria undertakes property rating. Furthermore, apart from the xenophobic attitude to migrants, no city council in Nigeria has shown that it is unaware of need to create local conditions such as would attract investors from within or outside the country. This responsibility, however, at the moment is regarded as one to be borne only by the regional and federal governments.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POLICY ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Almost all international conferences on urban problems held in recent years have recommended that national policies, programs and budgets be established for urban and regional development as an integral part of a general strategy for development. Most developing countries, Nigeria not excepted, have adopted national economic development plans, but urban and regional problems have only too often been relegated to the level of less important issues. Local authorities are expected to solve the tremendous problems resulting from rapid urbanization, but are not given the necessary political powers and financial resources to do so. At the national and regional levels, urban development components often are artificially separated from each other through their attachment to different administrative units.

Although town and country planning in Nigeria was dealt with in the 1962-68 Development Plan, it did not figure prominently; neither did physical planning receive due attention, especially at the national level and in the context of Area (Regional) Development Schemes. However, town planning received some attention. At the Regional Government level, Housing Corporations were established.

But their activities were confined mainly to the former Regional capitals and, in scope, the establishment of middle-class housing estates.

The present rapid increase of population in the cities, outlined in earlier chapters, resulting from natural growth and accelerating migration from rural to urban areas, can be a constructive force in bringing about changes in the economic, cultural and social structures which are a prerequisite for a genuine process of development. The city can generate development as in the past and form an integrative factor in the national economy. The significance of urbanization for economic and social development, both in terms of modernization and of urban growth, should be demonstrated and taken into account in drawing up national policies and plans.

Such a development process necessitates concerted action at all levels of government operating within a framework of a national urban development policy and an implementation strategy which is directed towards the causes as well as the consequences of urban growth. An urban development policy of this type would establish guidelines for the planning of a coherent pattern of settlements in terms of distribution of population and location of economic activities, and also for the major physical and social infrastructure, including adoption of a national urban land policy.

At the same time, the allocation of financial and other resources would have to be directed towards the new goals for urban development, and appropriate legislative and administrative measures must be taken to ensure the implementation of such a policy. Some general possible

views on strategies for urban development and their implications will be discussed in this chapter. The preparation and execution of policies, plans and programs for urban development is a matter of joint responsibility of municipal, state or provincial and national governments, and therefore poses great problems of coordination and implementation. These are issues to be discussed subsequently.

STRATEGIES FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

A coherent policy for urban development to be executed and implemented at all levels of government needs a long-term phased strategy to ensure better distribution of population, resources and economic activities. Generally speaking, two conflicting objectives will have to be reconciled in the design of such a strategy: one is the rapid increase of per capita income, the other is a decrease in the imbalances between levels of development of various regions within the country. The decision as to which goal will be given priority depends on the historical and geographical development and on the economic and present political situation of Nigeria.

During the early stages of urbanization, as has happened in Nigeria, a few cities will usually undergo a tremendous population increase and attract a large share of new investments and activities. In fact, at this stage it may be most expedient to use the existing infrastructure in the main urbanized areas. The population increase will be accommodated in the "core regions" of which the centers are usually the nation's existing great cities. These cities offer opportunities for economies of scale, a market for labor supply, resources, goods and produce from the surrounding countryside,

technological progress, accumulation of capital, and the few enterpreneural talents which may be available. By strengthening the economic base of these cities and improving their physical and social environment, the stream of migrants may be attracted to a few mature regions which are adequately prepared to receive them.

However, a time may come when concentration of population and economic activity in one or a few centers may actually hamper economic growth. Instead of acting as prime movers in national development, these cities then threaten to become national liabilities. Social costs of over-concentration will become too high and investment on the expansion of the urban infrastructure will reach a point of diminishing return. A strategy may have to be conceived which emphasizes redistribution of population and the location of economic activities in new areas yet to be developed. New "poles of development" will probably have to be created and promoted by deliberate public action, especially through the provision of infrastructure for industries and services. The regions for such development are usually selected on the basis of availability of natural resources or the potential to develop cheap energy particularly electricity.

A transportation network is the most basic but also the most costly infrastructural facility. It can be a major factor in bringing about national integration and is decisive in determining a future pattern of settlements. In cities of Nigeria the shortage of adequate water supply has been a prime obstacle to both agricultural and industrial development. A point may be reached when it might be more economic to take industry to the water rather than bring water to

the industry. Furthermore, the need for the timely provision of what might be called the social infrastructure is often neglected. If housing, schools and hospitals are not planned to accommodate urban growth, problems arising from uncontrolled settlement and lack of schooling may retard the development of a whole region.

In addition to these measures, a medium-range strategy may be devised which will reduce the immediate economic and social causes of urban-oriented migration by increasing the holding power of the rural areas. Urbanization and improvement of rural conditions should be considered together. Excessive stress is often laid on the urban-rural dichotomy, and agricultural development in a modernizing country like Nigeria tends to be neglected in favor of rapid industrialization. Agriculture has come to be a symbol of backwardness, the hallmark of a colonial type of economy. Industrialization is seen not only as a means towards prosperity, but as the expression of modernity and power--an end in itself.

A strategy for rural (regional) development in Nigeria must be first and foremost towards raising agricultural output, both by increasing yield and by expanding available arable land. The improvement of seed, introduction of fertilizers, mechanization of farmwork, irrigation, drainage, recuperation of exhausted agricultural areas, and prevention of soil erosion are all measures which a country with a hitherto agricultural economy cannot afford to neglect. Many of these projects are labor-intensive and can use existing skills and, on the whole, are less dependent on imported plant than industrial schemes. These strategies are by no means mutually exclusive; on the

contrary, they are complementary in many ways and a comprehensive policy for urban development will make a judicious choice out of the various elements discussed here. Such a policy should be based on careful analysis of the development of the country as a whole and of its major regions, and will need continuous and critical evaluation and adjustment. Which medium or long-term strategy is adopted, the immediate problems arising from migration to urban areas, must be coped with by the provision of minimum standards of social and physical infrastructure; these must be capable of later improvement as and when the state of the national economy permits.

The Tinbergen Model

Any structure that is to be applied will face at a certain time the problem of what the most strategic location would be for investment in the infrastructure for economic development. This means, in fact, that the element of space will have to be included into national (and other levels of) planning. Here it is expedient to review what may be called the "Tinbergen Model" and to see how it could apply to Nigeria. Professor Jan Tinbergen has formulated a theoretical model that distinguishes between different size categories of space (nation-region-district-village). It tries to analyze which products, including economic goods as well as social services, can be produced most competitively at which level within a given framework of targets. These targets, although expressed in terms of income, may include various social elements by choosing among the sectors activities of a social character such as education, health services and slum

clearance.³² In order to succeed with the type of strategy being proposed here, proper links between national planning and town and country planning should be established.

But so far in Nigeria national planning and town and country planning have been separate activities without an intimate link. One of the reasons for this lack of connection is that town and country planning has been undertaken for some portions of the nation only, namely for some big cities and for some special areas. Moreover, national planning was mainly concentrated on the choice of sectors to develop and on individual large projects. Finally, the approach chosen for the two types of planning was and is somewhat different, mostly because the problems are different, but to some extent also because national planning is done predominantly by economists and engineers, and town and country planning mainly by architects. Because of their subject-matter, the former two categories are working more systematically, and the latter must rely to a larger extent on intuition. Both elements are valuable, of course, and some interpretation was already going on.

Increasingly there is a need for an integrated system of planning at different levels* --the local, regional and national levels. It means then that the element of space has to be introduced into national (and other levels of) planning. In order to be systematic, different size categories of space must be distinguished; and a nation

³²International Union of Local Authorities, "Urbanization in Developing Countries", Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1968, pg. 22.

*See Figure 8, illustrating the system of plans and their integration.

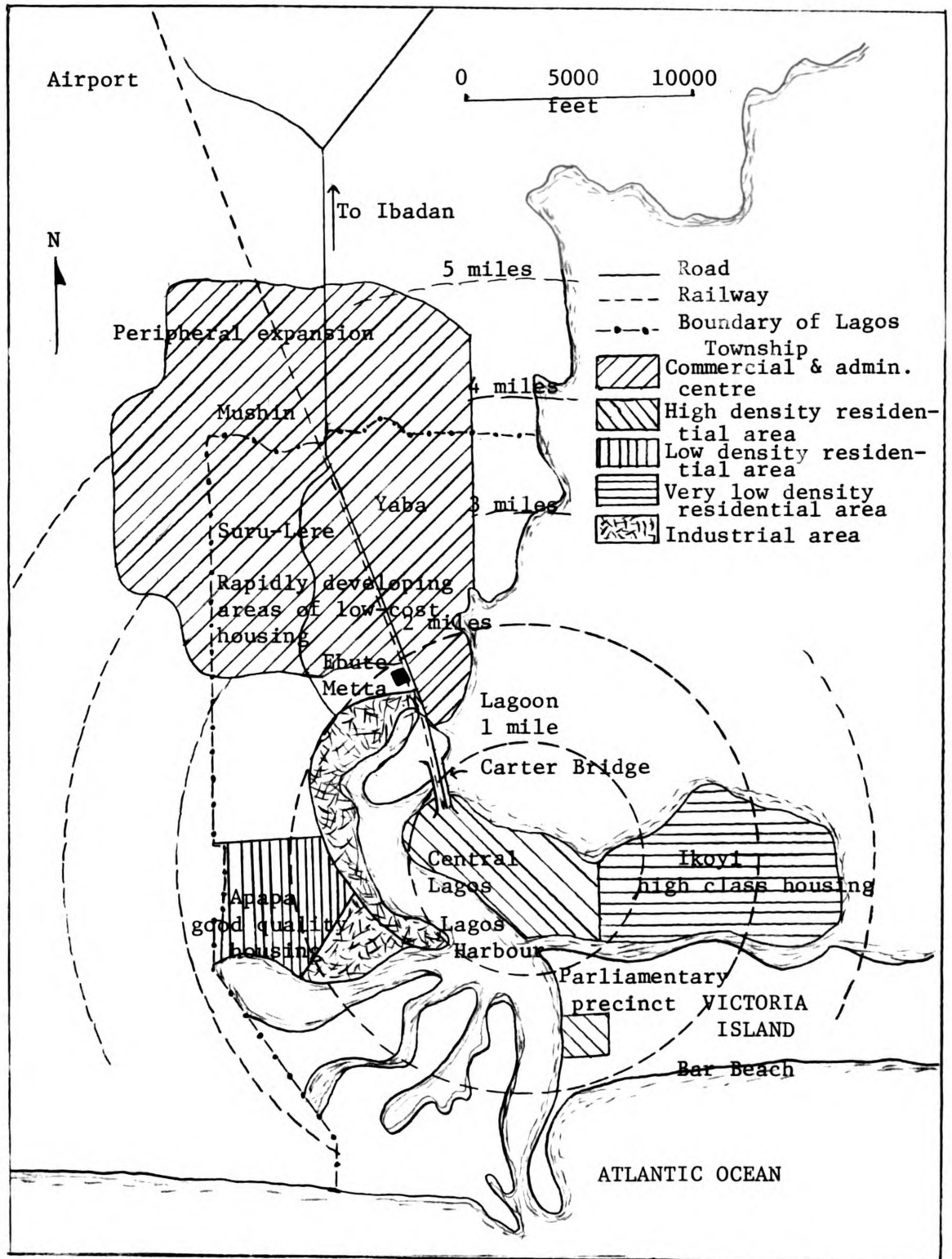


Figure 8. General Map of Metropolitan Lagos: Main Sectors and Commuting Range.

Source: Pullen Greenville, "Some Problems of Rapid Urbanization in Lagos, Nigeria," *Ekistics*, Vol. 24, No. 141, August, 1967, pg. 199.

(like Nigeria) should be subdivided into a number of regions together covering the whole nation. Each region should be subdivided into smaller units, let us say districts, and so on until we arrive at the area served by one village or serving one village. The introduction of space implies that more attention will have to be given to the impediments to overcome distances. These impediments are not only transportation costs of goods and of people, but also impediments to communication both of a technical character and of a cultural character.

If we want to arrive at a systematic integration of planning, we must first choose the space units at different levels. If the first subdivision is called a region, the choice of regions should as much as possible fulfill the following conditions:

(a) The size of the regions should be more or less equal. By size we do not necessarily mean surface in square miles only. Sometimes the transportation costs of a standard commodity from one end to the other may be a measure. Thus a region with a good transportation system could be larger than another with a less effective system; and rightly so. Standard commodities may vary from one region to another, if only two neighboring regions are compared with the aid of the same commodity. As a check, another criterion of size may be used, namely the population size.

(b) Each region should be more homogeneous than a set of regions, economically as well as socially or culturally.

(c) Natural impediments to transportation or communication, such as rivers, should help to define the frontiers of regions.

(d) Regions should consist of a group of administrative units as much as possible; this facilitates both the collection of data and the implementation of policies.

(e) The number of regions should not be too large: for the consultation of regional authorities or for the coordination of regional policies, the national authorities should have to deal with a manageable meeting or group. If there were a tendency to have too large a number of regions, it might be better to have an additional level in the system, for instance districts as an intermediate level between regions and local units.

If the policy of the various governments in Nigeria remains that of stimulating economic development through increasing industrialization, then we must expect a marked rise in the proportion of the country's inhabitants who live in urban areas.

In terms of the expected spatial pattern of distribution of this urban population, certain universal trends need to be borne in mind. The most important is that urbanization based on modern industrial technology tends to be a selective, highly concentrated type. In other words, the prospect of further urbanization in Nigeria is likely to be the emergence of a few centers of spectacular agglomeration of population comprising the merging together of a number of relatively contiguous cities, towns and villages. These centers are to be found in the axial belts between Lagos and Ibadan in the west, between Aba and Port Harcourt in the east, and between Kano and Kaduna in the north. They correspond to the growth poles referred to earlier and may emerge as examples of megalopolises in this part of Africa.

Such concentration of population could aggravate rather than resolve problems of equitable distribution of development throughout the country, and this is why, more than at any other time in the history of Nigeria, there is a great need for a clearly formulated urbanization policy. Such a policy must be based on the realization of the crucial role of urban centers for generating economic development within a given region. In other words, to integrate economic and physical planning into efficient workable system,* to prevent the further uncontrolled growth of existing urban centers, and to evolve an urban and regional planning process that can ensure livable environments, serious consideration has to be given to the creation of regional centers or secondary urban centers at strategic points in Nigeria. Thus a positive urbanization policy must be part of a bigger conception of regional economic planning--call it comprehensive planning or development.

There is bound to be disagreement on how such a region should be defined. One idea would be to use the major agricultural regions as currently acknowledged and to encourage industries in such regions to be predominantly those that would have a significant multiplier effect on the regional agricultural economy. In other words, industrial development in cities within each region should be largely oriented to the processing of raw materials from the regions. However, because such economic regions may have boundaries which have never been of any administrative significance, another idea is to equate the planning regions with boundaries of a group of former provincial boundaries.

* See Figure 8.

In further support of this view is the belief that provinces, as units of organization, could provide a better basis for stimulating major developmental efforts among local population based on their common historical and cultural association and their strong sense of belonging together.

Alternatively, more secondary urban centers could be created in different parts of the country. The location for these could be based on the establishment of industries at the headquarters of former provincial groupings. Such locations could emerge as the secondary urban centers and their industries will have the effect of offering employment opportunities to thousands of school leavers who rush to the few existing big cities every year, thus creating problems of unemployment, squatting, slums and even crime. Such a policy could lead to the dispersal of industries, especially from Lagos and Port Harcourt, and make for a greater effort at an even development throughout the country. In fact, the government of East Central State has muted the idea that it will create all its divisional headquarters into urban centers. There is no doubt that most other state governments are thinking alike.

The above is a very bold plan and may be encouraged only as the ideal. But there are bound to be too many such centers unless the effort is controlled and determined at the federal level. Moreover, these centers may just turn out to be a converging place for government, administrative offices, and these at such a level will be too few to generate a viable urban center. To provide an economic base, therefore, there must be establishments that offer massive employment,

hence the recommendation for building of industries. Industrial location is decided much from the federal level.

Over the last decade, industrial growth has become a crucial factor in the pace and pattern of Nigeria's general economic development. Increased agricultural production and the new burst of activity in petroleum production and manufacturing industries have come to constitute the major driving force in the development process. Industry has moved from the periphery of the country's growth mechanism to a potentially dominant position as an important engine of economic transformation. This increasing importance, combined with the growing product diversity and technological complexity of modern manufacturing, demands closer attention for planning and policy formation at the federal level. The tools of public policy must be designed for adequate response to these diversities and complexities.

According to the 1970-74 Development Plan, the objectives of the new industrial policy are:

- (1) promote even development and fair distribution of industries in all parts of the country;
- (2) ensure a rapid expansion and diversification of the industrial sector of the economy;
- (3) increase the incomes realized from manufacturing activity;
- (4) create more employment opportunities;
- (5) promote the establishment of industries which cater for overseas markets in order to earn foreign exchange; and

(6) continue a program of import substitution, as well as raise the level of intermediate and capital goods production,³³ etc.

In pursuance of these objectives, the Federal Government of Nigeria has laid down an order of priorities to be adopted as a guide for further industrial expansion. The agro-allied industries are of first priority. This is in keeping with the national philosophy that in pursuing rapid industrial development the planning of industrial projects will be closely integrated with the development of projects for modernizing agricultural production. But one has, however, to quarrel with the idea that industries sponsored by the federal and state governments will, as a matter of location policy, be sited *purely on economic considerations.*

If a measure of administrative discrimination will succeed in favor of less industrially developed areas, urban centers and districts when considering the marginal levels of selective incentives, there is the need to pay greater attention to urban and regional framework as an integral part of economic development plans. Experience has shown that to ignore the spatial dimensions in any program of industrial investment is to court disaster in a number of ways. A program of urban and regional planning in Nigeria requires carefully formulated and stated policy on types, scale and sequencing of industrial development. In short, it requires an industrial master plan projecting the needs of industrial goods and services over a period of years. The pattern of distribution of raw materials and

³³Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division Lagos, *Second National Development Plan 1970-1974*, pg. 143.

other resources has to be regularly evaluated; the linkage characteristics of various industrial processes have to be estimated; cost efficiency of various locations assessed, and the time sequence of introducing various industries or industrial processes indicated. But this will not be for the "existing system of cities" (whatever that means) but based on the creation and development of secondary urban centers and economic dispersal strategies.

There will be need to stimulate capital formation over a wide front. Industries need to be grouped into meaningful categories for purposes of establishing governmental priorities in planning. Given the mixed nature of our economy, another strategy would perhaps be for the governments to concentrate their investment efforts in the capital goods industries whilst creating conditions which would facilitate domestic private capital participation in the consumer good sector. One of the ways the governments can help the rise of domestic private capital participation in industrialization is to directly promote the creation of privately managed large-scale concerns, for instance the Odutola Tire manufacturing factory, the construction industry, road building, residential construction, and numerous engineering works which will dominate development programs of post-war Nigeria.

AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN NIGERIA AS ECONOMIC BASES
FOR SECONDARY URBAN CENTERS

Agro-industries are important in:

(1) converting agricultural raw materials to semi-finished or finished products for consumers, and

(2) producing inputs that are used in the agricultural sector. These industries directly provide many employment opportunities and contribute to additional opportunities in such related services as transport, storage, etc. Nigeria has seen a steady growth in agro-industries. The number of textile establishments and bakeries tripled in the period between 1963 and 1967, and the number of saw-mills almost doubled (refer to Table 10).³⁴ During this four-year period, a number of new agro-industries were established, including a sugar factory and cane plantation, a pulp and paper mill, a palm-kernel crushing mill, and a factory to process cocoa. In addition, there have been large-scale expansions in textile mills and oil palm and groundnut processing.

Geographically, a large number of textile mills are in the Northern Region; the Mid-Western Region has most of the rubber industry (mainly sheet and crepe factories), while the Eastern Region has a heavy concentration of mills for processing palm oil. Some of the establishments located in different regions have the same ownership. For example, three tobacco factories under the Nigerian Tobacco Company are located in three different regions. All the above industries need to be better organized, integrated and used as the basis for further urbanization in Nigeria which will take into account rural (regional) transformation and development.

In carrying out the above suggestion, we have to bear in mind the political implications of an uneven development policy.

³⁴Current data were not available at the time of writing.

TABLE 9

Nigeria: Location of Agro-Businesses with Ten or More Employees, 1967

Products	Location of Establishments				Total
	Federal Territory	Northern Region	Eastern Region	Western Region	
Meat	4	10	3	1	18
Dairy	3	1	1	3	8
Fruits and vegetables	1	1	2	6	10
Grain mills	1	3	5	2	11
Bakeries	23	15	61	20	138
Sugar	-	2	-	-	2
Cocoa and confec- tionery	2	4	-	4	10
Misc. food	5	3	1	5	15
Wine	-	-	1	-	1
Tobacco	1	2	1	3	7
Textiles	1	24	8	9	51
Cordage	2	-	-	-	2
Sawmills	36	4	17	38	116
Pulp and paper	-	1	-	-	1
Tanneries	-	12	-	-	12
Leather products	1	2	1	2	6
Rubber and rubber products	4	3	10	7	60
Veg. and animal oils and fats	-	13	119	6	144
TOTAL	84	100	230	106	615

Source: Federal Ministry of Industries, *Industrial Directory*, 4th ed., Lagos, Nigeria, 1967. (Note: The 1967 Director inadvertently omitted meat and dairy firms in the Federal Territory, and those listed in the 1965 Director have been used.)

TABLE 10

Nigeria: Number of Agro-Business Facilities with
Ten or More Employees, 1963-1967

Products	Number of Establishments			
	1963	1964	1965	1967
Meat and meat products	9	11	11	18
Dairy products	5	6	9	8
Fruits and vegetables--canned and processed	8	8	10	10
Grain mill products	9	7	8	11
Bakery products	41	51	54	138
Sugar factories and refineries	-	-	2	2
Cocoa, chocolate and sugar confectioneries	3	5	10	10
Misc. food preparations	14	12	12	15
Wine industries	-	-	1	1
Tobacco products	3	3	6	7
Spinning, weaving and finishing of textiles	31*	33*	35*	51*
Cordage, rope and twine	1	1	2	2
Sawmills, planing and other mills	64	68	85	116
Pulp and paper	-	-	-	1**
Tanneries and leather finishing plants	9	7	8	12
Leather products, except footwear	2	3	3	6
Rubber and rubber products, except footwear	41	53	55	60
Vegetable and animal oils and fats	62***	132***	134***	147***

Source: Federal Ministry of Industries, *Industrial Directory*, 1st-4th ed., Lagos, Nigeria.

* Including 14 ginneries in 1963 and 1964; 13 in 1965 and 1967.

** Not yet in operation.

*** Includes 25 ENDC oil mills in 1963, 93 in 1964 and 1965, and 106 in 1967 (some of which no longer belong to ENDC).

Governments always show a pronounced tendency to disperse investment very widely. This is mainly because all governments, regardless of their democratic character, desire and need support from all sections of the country; the temptation therefore is strong to scatter the investment far and wide. But economic growth in Nigeria is spatially unbalanced and will continue to be so unless the governments decide to subordinate national growth to the evening out of spatial variations, although this is, in any case, likely to be a self-defeating exercise.

As it is, therefore, unrealistic to expect all areas to grow at the same rate, there must be a considerable degree of spatial selectivity in investment, even in the agro-industries. Such a policy would be based on sound research and not on political pressures, although the latter is probably a pipe-dream. There is need, however, to identify the most suitable function for each region or subregion within the national economic system. Insofar as regional growth is essentially induced by the national pattern of demand, the planned role of regions should be adapted to such exogenous demands. It is pointless to try to attract manufacturing industry to every part of the nation regardless of their mutual suitability, yet this type of measure has formed the cornerstone of most area development programs. It is far more rational to attempt to develop activities that "match" the resources and capabilities of the region and that exploit its particular "initial advantage."

A hypothetical model can elucidate the point more clearly and could be applied to the Nigerian case. Figure 9 (a) depicts a

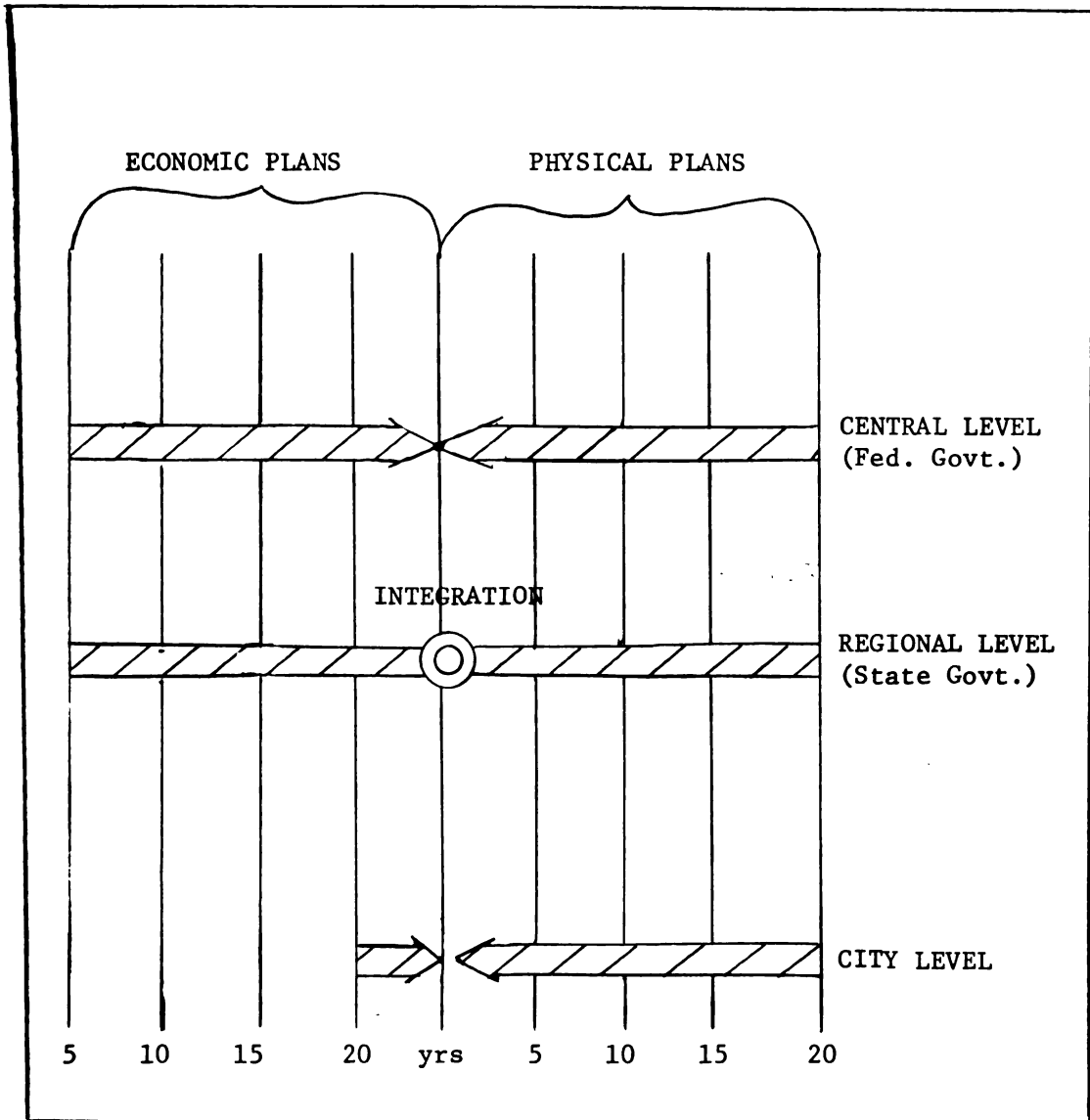


Figure 9. System of Plans.

Source: J. Kruczala, "The Essential Means for the Implementation of Plans in Urbanization in Developing Countries," International Union of Local Authorities, pg. 139.
(could be adapted to the Nigerian situation)

situation in which there is a major developed region A and two under-developed regions B and C. Investigations reveal that, within the existing national framework, the potential for the development of manufacturing activities is greater in region C than in B. Consequently C is chosen for such development, capital movement from A to C and labor migration from B to C being encouraged and assisted. Labor may, of course, migrate from B to A of its own volition, but this type of movement would not be assisted in any way. However, not only is there a need for selectivity between regions, but also it is more realistic to concentrate investment at the most favorable locations within regions (Figure 9 [b]): in other words, to adopt a "growth center" or "growth zone" strategy. Hence, regional development based on the creation of secondary and viable urban centers forms the cornerstone of urbanization and planning in Nigeria.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It will suffice here to re-echo the future guidelines as outlined for the subsequent National Development Plan in Nigeria (1975-80). The adequacy of such guidelines is not, however, the subject of this work. Presently, there are attempts in moving towards the right directions, but much needs to be done. Within the context of national development planning, regional planning is concerned mainly with evolving a program of action aimed at creating a "proper" balance in the spatial distribution of economic activities to promote the objectives of rapid increase in national output and income and their equitable distribution especially as between residents of broad geographical areas possessing distinctive (economic and other)

characteristics. The need for a clear and comprehensive regional development policy in Nigeria has arisen not so much because there has been an excessive concentration of economic activities in an absolute sense in any part of the federation, but mainly to ensure improved use of the Nigerian space so as to enhance the quality of life of citizens as development progresses.

Although a scientific division of the country into economic regions for planning purposes is not yet feasible, regional planning can be regarded as a built-in feature of Nigeria's planning *ab initio*. The basic fact that Nigeria began life as an independent country under a federal constitution is itself an indication of the existence of a high degree of decentralization in government decision-making whose effect stretches beyond the political and administrative planes. With the subdivision of the country into 12 states in 1967 each state as a political unit can be regarded as constituting a regional planning authority. The overall impact of this organization must be to spread out development much more than would have been possible under a less decentralized system. This would not, however, be a very sound method, unless for purely political reasons, as most regional problems cut across political boundary lines.

The most glaring disparity in the level of development in Nigeria exists in the main between the urban and rural areas. The former are few in number, but as the main centers of population and industrial concentration they have developed into industrial and commercial centers with relatively buoyant economies and steadily rising incomes and employment opportunities which constitute powerful attractions to

rural dwellers who, by contrast, depend on a relatively stagnant agricultural economy for their livelihood.

Nigeria's urban and rural economies are in fact highly interdependent and the rapid development of the entire economic system depends on continuous interaction between the two sectors, each making an optimum contribution. Consequently, the Federal Government is urged to pursue a policy of integrated urban-rural development designed to optimize the role of both the rural and urban areas in the national economic system. The main thrust of this policy must therefore operate in two directions simultaneously.

On the rural front emphasis of policy will be on increasing rural productivity and income. Since agriculture constitutes the predominant form of activity in rural areas, programs and projects must be evolved, designed primarily to raise agricultural productivity. Thus there will be enough food for the non-agricultural population and the farmers themselves and the agro-industries will be supplied with raw materials. There would also be the provision of feeder roads to link isolated farming communities with their main markets in the towns. The execution of regional agricultural projects will constitute part of the strategy of agricultural development and will include such projects as the South Chad project and the Sokoto-Rima Valley Scheme. The task of raising agricultural productivity in response to growing demand probably constitutes the most powerful current challenge of Nigerian planning in general and regional planning in particular.

The rural areas in general would also require a new deal in the provision of social services. In almost every state, sizable communities still exist without basic amenities like a clean water supply, hospital and health center, school and electricity. The absence of such services obviously has contributed to the low level of rural productivity and strengthens the pull exerted on rural dwellers by higher urban incomes as described in earlier chapters. It will therefore be the policy of state governments to ensure that no community of 10,000 people or more shall be without these essential services and the Federal Government will provide special grants to facilitate their supply. The proposed school leavers' Youth Corps and the proposal that all newly qualified doctors should be required to serve for a year or two in the rural areas before being registered will be deliberately used as instruments for the provision or improvement of social services in the rural areas.

As regards urban development, Nigeria's major urban centers must now be recognized explicitly as "growth centers." They constitute the hubs of the nation's industrial and commercial activities in addition to being important administrative centers. Consequently, the efficiency with which they perform these functions has an important bearing on the overall performance of the economy. The significance of Nigeria's urban growth centers is such that they warrant special attention both as regards their internal functioning and their external relations with other parts of the socio-economic system. As a result of their buoyant economic activities, these urban centers have in general been experiencing sharp population increases in

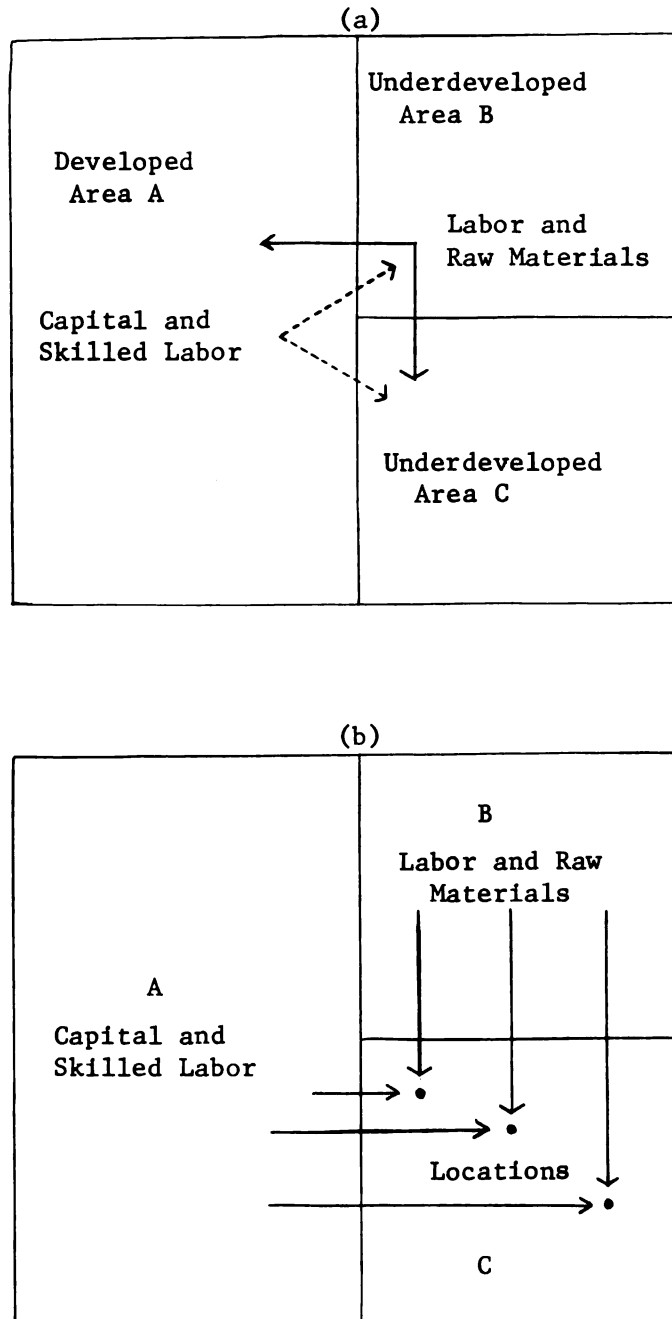


Figure 10. Strategy of Area (Regional) Development.

Source: After Peter Lloyd *et al.*, *Location in Space - A Theoretical Approach to Economic Geography*. Harper and Row Publishers, New York, pg. 264.

recent years. This has put existing social and economic services like housing, water and sewage, transportation, etc., under severe pressure.

On the other hand, their rising demand for food and agricultural raw materials has been stimulating agriculture in their rural hinterland. Therefore, the aim of the policy is to equip the urban areas effectively for their role. Before the creation of the twelve states there were no more than four or five major industrial cities which could be regarded as urban growth centers in the whole country. But with the administrative decentralization resulting from the creation of twelve states out of the four regions existing up to 1967, a second tier of cities (that is, the capitals of the new states) have emerged which must now be consciously developed and equipped for their role as industrial, commercial and administrative centers within their respective states. These state capitals and other large provincial or divisional headquarters will thus satisfy the need for more urban centers which are needed seriously to alleviate congestion in the growth centers. More secondary urban centers are definitely needed in Nigeria.

LAND DEVELOPMENT--TENURE AND ACQUISITION

If we want to modernize agriculture, establish industries in the new urban centers, the problems of land tenure and acquisition will arise. Land tenure here means

"the body of rights and relationships between men that have been developed to govern their behaviour in the use and control of land and its resources."

In Nigeria, land tenure structures are closely tied up with agriculture and agricultural development.

The prevailing land tenure system in the country sometimes hinders agricultural development. In many parts, land tenure is still largely under the control of families, clans and villages. Ownership and control of food-crop land by individuals tend to be transitory, although they are often able to establish control over land in the case of tree crops. As a result of the system of inheritance, land owned by individuals or extended families also tends to become fragmented and scattered, leading to the loss of much valuable time in cultivation. If Nigeria's agriculture is to develop very rapidly and have the desired impact on general development, urbanization, and standard of living, there must be reform in the system of land tenure.

In most southern states, the solution of these problems would be for the local communities to consolidate the fragmented holdings and redistribute them into economic units suitable for tree crops and mixed food crops. In most northern states, the solution would be for the local authorities to exercise effective control over vacant lands and redistribute them in more economical units. Due to the political nature of land tenure system and the varying social and cultural conditions in different parts of the country, land reform must be the basic responsibility of the state governments. But the Federal Government will encourage the reform movement by providing funds and the technical assistance required.

In the past, a lot of wrong ideas have been held about land tenure and its impact on development. Though the system of land tenure in Nigeria affects agriculture directly, it becomes a critical question also when agricultural land, fragmented into myriad ownership, is to be acquired for development of urban-based activities. Changes in the tenure structure will affect land use in as great a manner as change in land use will affect land tenure. There is a reciprocal relationship between land tenure and land use. In any policy for land reform in Nigeria as it affects land use for agriculture and urban development, the following ideas should be considered:

(a) Land for agricultural use (and that could be disposed for urban development) is acquired by the individual mainly through inheritance within the family;

(b) Sale of land is rarely done and must be with the consent of every member of the land-owning family unless the piece of land in question is individually owned;

(c) Cultivators occupy their plots continuously, partly because they are unable to acquire land outside their family and partly because they are unwilling to part with the existing environment;

(d) Equal division of farm land among heirs is not encouraged in the same degree in all parts of Nigeria; and

(e) Equal division of farms into the number of wives that bore sons is more widely practiced than either primogeniture or equal division among all male heirs.³⁵

³⁵R. O. Adegboye, "An Analysis of Land Tenure Structure in Some Selected Areas in Nigeria", *In The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, Ibadan*, Vol. 8, No. 2, July, 1966, pg. 267.



In Nigeria there is adequate availability of good fertile land. But despite quantitative and qualitative sufficiency on a national scale, problems of functional allocation and of local population pressure are likely to arise in the process of development. This has in fact happened in certain parts of the East Central State. Thus, a situation of "land dearth amid land plenty" is bound to arise especially in the areas surrounding urban centers.

The main problem that arises in the process of plan implementation centers around public land acquisition for purposes of executing development projects. Although there is an enabling legislation for purposes of compulsory acquisition of land for public use, the compensations claimed and paid by the government hitherto have generally been much higher than the true opportunity cost of land. Some people hold the view that to the society as a whole land should be a free good. The historical upward trend in land prices has been introduced mainly through the activities of land speculators in the urban areas especially for government-sponsored projects. Even in the rural areas where the opportunity cost is much lower, the absence of a firm land utilization policy has given rise to exorbitant and sometimes fraudulent inflation of land prices. Consequently, some of the projects established on such land were over-capitalized right from the start, thus prejudicing their economic viability. The various farm settlements of the 1960's are a case in point.

Therefore, there is a need for the government to reinforce existing legislation on public land acquisition and streamline the compensation procedure with a view to minimizing land speculation and

eliminating "unearned" incomes. The intensification of local development consciousness will also help reduce the level of land compensation for development projects. By integrating local government with the development process and by a careful program of city and regional planning, the market values of rural lands will approximate, with time, their true social costs. It is important for public policy that government-sponsored projects should have full and free access at reasonable cost to the abundant and undeveloped land with which nature has endowed the country. There should, therefore, be governmental ways to attain planned land use, either by regulation or purchase or by compulsory acquisition.

Before examining the rationale, procedure and compensation measures that relate to compulsory acquisition in Nigeria, it will be a useful exercise to refer briefly to how this is done elsewhere in the world. This will provide opportunity for cross-cultural comparisons. In the United States, for instance, the two essential methods used to attain planned land use are police power and eminent domain. To fully understand what is involved, the traditional nature of eminent domain should be compared with the accepted meaning of the police power.

In the U.S., the exercise of eminent domain has involved the taking of property for a public use authorized by proper legislation and the owner is paid full value as established by the courts. The police power, as ordinarily understood in relation to private property, has involved a regulation or limitation applied to the property in the owner's hands, in order to protect the public health, safety,

morals, or general welfare against dangers arising, or likely to arise from the misemployment of the property: compensation is not paid to the owner for any loss in use of the property.

Thus, with respect to ownership, the police power leaves the title to the property unchanged, but eminent domain changes it. The police power does not re-employ the property in the hands of another owner, but restricts it in the hands of its present owner. With respect to a goal, eminent domain has been aimed at converting property to use by the public for public purposes. Thus the goal of eminent domain has ordinarily been closely centered upon the particular property itself. The goal of the police power, on the other hand, usually involves persons or things external to the property; often there is an intention to protect outsiders from the property itself or from a particular use of the property.

Police power controls the use of the property by the owner, for public good, its use otherwise being harmful, while eminent domain takes property for public use. One rule of thumb has been that property is taken by eminent domain because of the usefulness of the property in the hands of the public, but property is regulated by the police power because of its harmfulness in the hands of the owner.³⁶ The equivalent of eminent domain in Nigeria is the compulsory acquisition. Following in the next pages will be a review of compulsory acquisition of land for development of public projects--urban and regional development.

³⁶David W. Craig, "Regulation and Purchase: Two Governmental Ways to Attain Planned Land Use", in *Law and Land Anglo-American Planning Practice*, Charles M. Haar, ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, pg. 181.

COMPULSORY ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR URBAN
AND REGIONAL LAND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

The indigenous system does not admit that land can ever be without an owner. It is the cardinal principle of Nigerian customary land law that there is no land without an owner. It is not surprising, therefore, that many ancient and modern inter-communal wars and legal battles stemmed from ownership and boundary disputes over land. Thus the various estates and interests in land which may form the subject of local ownership vest in someone. Who might the someone be? Land owners found in Nigeria can be grouped into four broad categories, namely: (1) natural persons, (2) supernatural persons, (3) corporate bodies, and (4) the State.

In Nigeria, as mentioned elsewhere, all free adult males of a community have full legal capacity to own and enjoy the appropriate units of land permitted by their respective customs and traditions to be held in individual ownership. Women are also capable of such individual ownership in many communities, but in some areas they have only limited capacities with reference to acquisition and enjoyment of certain categories of property rights. Throughout the country, a "stranger"³⁷ was, and to a significant extent still is, rightless, unless he is permitted by the appropriate political authority. Women have certain proprietary and allied interests as of right. Infancy is no barrier in property matters. Even children in the uterus can own property--their rights and interests are inchoate until they are born and born alive.

³⁷Traditionally, anyone who is not a member of a rural town or extended village, by birth or by adoption, is regarded as a stranger.

The proprietary rights of an individual over personal land include the right to build on or farm it, the right to sell or pledge, lease or mortgage, abandon or exchange, "show" (even to a stranger) or bequeath it to children. The only exception to this virtually absolute freedom is that, urban land apart, there can be no alienation of a permanent character to a stranger who intends to remain so after the transaction. Besides this virtually absolute ownership of land, an individual can also own inferior interests and rights in land such as those conferred by pledges, mortgages, "showing", borrowing and "Kola" tenancies. Not to mention his rights to hunt, agist his animals, collect firewood, wild fruit and traditional building materials from the communal land. He is also bound to be consulted before partition or alienation of the communal land.

The supernatural persons are the numerous deities, ancestral spirits, masquerades, certain types of secret societies and sacred cults, certain oracles which own some land in various parts of Nigeria. Apart from God, who most Nigerian traditional communities regard as being too big, too remote and too all-pervading to be exclusively claimed by any given community, all other deities and spirits (actual or imitation) were regarded as special agents of God charged with specific functions in the communities in which they exist and were accorded full membership of the society--in other words, the spiritual members of Nigerian traditional societies. Thus, whatever their physical forms or origins, they are all accorded legal Personality and vested with powers to acquire, enjoy and transfer Property rights and interests as freely and fully as natural persons.

The fact that they have to act through human agencies is no limitation on their legal personality. In many Nigerian communities the various local names for forests, bush or grove prefixed or affixed to any deity's name shows that the deity so named is the owner of the forest land, bush, market square, playing ground or grove. Sometimes supernatural lands ostensibly owned by supernatural persons are actually owned by the relevant community. But in some cases, they are lands strictly owned by the deity or other supernaturals individually and exploited on its behalf by the appropriate functionary.

Corporate bodies are entities which include the town, the village, the patrilineal group, or the extended family in their capacity as property-owning groups. The traditional corporate bodies which own lands under a corporate or communal ownership system as corporations aggregate are the various socio-political groups found in Nigeria, namely the rural town, the extended village, the patrilineal or matrilineal groups, the extended family and the nuclear family. For practical purposes, the land occupied and used by the members of a nuclear family comprising a man, his wife (or wives) and the children is the private land of the head of the family. He can alienate it temporarily or permanently without consulting them. At his death the land becomes the family land of his joint heirs if they choose not to partition it, or the personal lands of the respective heirs if partitioned.

Again, even though a traditional rural town may be said to "own" the whole lands within its area of jurisdiction, this is nothing more than an expression or assertion of its territorial sovereignty

vis-a-vis other towns or external trespassers. This was broadly so, even in the very beginning of town settlements, when many Nigerian traditional towns were small and owned substantial communal lands which later on quickly passed to the ownership of individuals and other socio-political groups making up the rural towns.

The bulk of ownership by traditional corporate bodies in Nigeria is found in the rural sector of the economy. In the urban sector, however, the twentieth century has witnessed the emergence of modern institutional land owners such as real estate companies, building societies and strictly English types of corporations. Since colonialization, state lands have emerged in some places through gifts, grants, operation of a general enactment and compulsory acquisition. On the whole private property remains dominant in the Southern States of Nigeria, in keeping with the basic tenets of a property holding democracy. The position in the Northern States today is more complicated and confused.

The exposition about land ownership is undertaken here to lay the foundation for an appreciation of the rationale for compulsory acquisition and for obtaining a clearer insight into the complications, problems and issues involved in compulsory acquisition and compensation. The issues involve the redistribution of land ownership in the country between private and public through the use of powers of compulsory acquisition under the law, to acquire for public purposes, in effect increasing in most cases the quantum of state lands at the expense of private lands. As Nigeria launches into the era of agricultural and industrial break-through with attendant increased

urbanization, the issue of how to allocate land becomes more critical than ever. If the land for urban establishment cannot be voluntarily relinquished by their owners, it has to be compulsorily acquired.

Rationale for Compulsory Acquisition

According to J. A. Umeh,

"apart from lands which can strictly be defined as state lands in Nigeria, all the rest are held under private ownership irrespective of whether they are owned by communally by an extended family, village, deities or individually by private individuals or deity."³⁸

The various land owners found in Nigeria can participate in whatever land markets exist in the country for the acquisition or disposition of the various estates and interests in land. The question naturally arises, therefore, as to the rationale for compulsory acquisition (or compulsory purchase) of land and compensation in Nigeria especially for urban development. If property were something belonging to no one, it would be valueless in the economic sense. Moreover, there would be no question of compulsory acquisition and compensation. Again, if all lands belong to the state there would be no need for compulsory acquisition or compensation. The state would simply divert land from one use to another without compulsory acquisition and its attendant compensation. Only the opportunity cost to the state of the switch-over in use would be considered, if it were acting rationally and prudently.

³⁸ John A. Umeh, "Compulsory Acquisition of Land and Compensation in Nigeria, *in Law in Africa*, No. 34, Sweet and Maxwell, London, 1973, pg. 13.

As has been stated earlier, the state can obtain private lands and interests in them needed for public purposes through gifts, operation of a general enactment, or purchases in the open market. In short, the state can acquire lands in Nigeria both through participation in open market transactions as well as through processes outside property markets. The issue arises as to the justification, if any, for the use of the power of compulsory acquisition when the state can participate in whatever property market that exists within the country to acquire what it wants.

The power of compulsory acquisition is a deeply rooted consequence of the inalienable right of every state or corresponding socio-political authority to possess the power of eminent domain; that is, the power of the state to extinguish private ownership or rights over any piece of land required for public purposes. We have seen the variety and sometimes the complex nature of land ownership in Nigeria. Some of the owners by their very nature can scarcely participate in open market transactions in land (for example, the supernatural owners). Again, private lands held on communal principles can be sold or alienated either by common consent of the owners or through their accredited agents or by one or more members of the group forcing the hands of the others to partition. These varieties and complexities are in themselves a cause for the state to use compulsory powers of acquisition especially where such a situation will hamper or delay the execution of development projects for urbanization purposes. Where, for example, a communal decision has to be taken on whether or not to dispose of a piece of communal land,

there are too many complex social matters to content with and the state cannot wait.

In the case of family land, for example, the likely occasions of complete agreement to alienate land are limited, and land may be used to meet such joint responsibilities as defraying the funeral expenses of a dead father, facing a common lawsuit or sending a bright member of the family to study in a university. In many cases the communal ownership of land introduces intractable problems posed by the interests of many dead ancestors or those of countless generations still unborn who are deemed joint owners of such a land with members of such a motley of generation strictly speaking do not enjoy any greater rights in the land than any other member past or future and hence the necessity to obtain consent of all members of that complex community of owners. While it is not impossible to obtain the clear consent of living members, that of the dead ancestors or posterity can at the best be inferred. This is the cause of difficulties attending the decision to alienate and poses numerous social and legal problems. This indeterminacy of the consent of all owners in such a maze of multiplex ownership and the sheer impossibility of estimating their actual social needs puts the question beyond an easy and quick alienation of any piece of land in which they have proprietary interests. Even with private owners holding by individual principle, because of the existence of several motives for land ownership, many of which are non-economic and consequently incapable of being assuaged by monetary compensation, the owners do not sell or alienate land as freely or easily as other commodities.

Compulsory acquisition has therefore strong social and economic justification. For example, since the purpose for which this power can legitimately be exercised in Nigeria as a public one, it is presumed that the social cost of not taking the land may quite outweigh the private benefit of keeping ownership. And since the individual will not normally take into account the social cost of not taking his land vis-a-vis the private benefit of keeping ownership, the power of compulsory acquisition (eminent domain) is used to divest him of ownership for public benefit. Thus "compulsory sale" is enforced upon him.

The physical immobility, the heterogeneous character of land as regards situation, qualities, suitability and so on, together with other peculiar characteristics, make the development of a single national, state or regional market land impossible to attain anywhere.³⁹ This is even more so in the circumstances of Nigeria where these factors have been accentuated by social, political, economic, legal, psychological and other factors which had in the past and, to a great extent in the present, tended to confine whatever transactions existed to local markets and personal deals. The fact that land is the social security of the last resort in Nigeria makes the operation of a national market very difficult.

The essence of the facts stated above can be expressed by saying that the rationale for compulsory acquisition of land in Nigeria is the inherent incompetence or inadequacy of the land market to make

³⁹ John A. Umeh, *op cit.*

available the land needed for public purposes in adequate quantities, at the required location and at the appropriate time. This is not a phenomenon of modern creation even though the position has been intensified and complicated by modern conditions. The need for compulsory acquisition in Nigeria will increase rather than diminish with social and economic development and growth, especially in the sphere of urbanization trends being proposed here. This is all the more reason why the present state of affairs should be reviewed in connection with the procedures and compensation attending the compulsory taking of private land for public purposes like expanding existing urban centers or establishing new ones.

Purposes

In Nigeria compulsory land acquisitions are made for public purposes. Enabling Acts define what these public purposes are. For example, section 2 of the Public Lands Acquisition Act (Cap.167) has defined "public purposes" as:

- (a) exclusive government use or general public use;
- (b) use for or in connection with the sanitary improvements of any kind, including reclamations;
- (c) use for or in connection with the laying out of any township (city or urban center) or government station or the extension or improvement of any existing township (city or urban center) or government station;
- (d) obtaining control over land contiguous to any port;
- (e) obtaining control over land the value of which will be enhanced by the construction of any railway, road or other public work (right-of-way);

(f) obtaining control over land required for or in connection with mining purposes; and

(g) obtaining control over land required for or in connection with planned rural (regional) development or settlement.

Within this definition, thousands of acres of land are being acquired for such purposes as slum clearance, execution of town (city) planning schemes, establishment of government offices and stations, establishment of educational institutions, farm settlements, experimental farms and plantations, and in connection with the laying of railway tracks, operation of railways, wayleaves for electricity cables and oil pipelines, and so on, which affect urban and rural parts of Nigeria. In 1969, for example, Lagos State alone acquired about 10,000 acres of land by means of compulsory purchase. In 1972, the Lagos State Property Development Corporation (formerly Lagos Executive Development Board) announced that 2000 acres of land had been acquired for one slum clearance scheme alone for development into a self-contained modern town. The town or city which will be linked with Lagos will house about 48,000 people and include industries.

Compulsory acquisition of land may be said to be a country-wide experience in a very loose and extremely broad sense only. For example, some relevant traditional socio-political authorities can still take land they want for public purposes of traditional nature within their area of competence even though such ancient rights have not come up for decision or controversy in court. Similarly, government, exercising powers of eminent domain, can take lands in private ownership whether occupied or unoccupied throughout the country, where

such lands are needed for public purposes as defined. In parts of the country where the state owns land, the state can resume the ownership of land currently held on a lease by a citizen or an alien. The Federal Government has powers to resume ownership of its land all over the country.

Compulsory acquisition and compensation have generated a great deal of heat, controversy and dissatisfaction in Nigeria. Much of this emanates from the unsatisfactory procedure, inadequate compensation, lateness of payments of compensation, non-existence of proper appeal machinery for an aggrieved party, and general poor administration of the system.

The legal powers for compulsory acquisition of land in Nigeria are derived from four sources, namely customary law, statute law, constitutional law, and military decrees. Today, many of the traditional socio-political authorities which exercised powers of compulsory acquisition in the past have lost much of their grip and authority which they once had over their members and consequently have lost much of their power of eminent domain. Correspondingly, the customary law has lost much of its potency and currency as an authority for compulsory acquisition of land.

Town and Country planning authorities derive their powers from public general acts--state Town and Country Planning Acts authorizing an authority to acquire land by compulsory purchase (or by agreement) for the purpose of carrying out schemes in an area declared under it to be a planning area. Here the authority for compulsory acquisition must jointly flow from the Ministerial Order declaring an area a

planning area and the relevant section of the law authorizing the authority to acquire lands compulsorily in such areas. The Northern Nigerian Law requires the planning authority to make a representation to the Ministry after which the Governor may by order declare an area a planning area. Section 43 (1) of the Lagos Town Planning Act similarly authorizes the Lagos Executive Development Board (now Lagos State Property Development Corporation) to acquire lands compulsorily (or by agreement) for the purpose of the provisions of this act, or for improving and preserving the amenities of Lagos. Such land should be in an area declared (under section 17) to be a town planning area.⁴⁰

Section 31 (1) of the Nigerian Constitution clearly provides that no property movable or immovable shall be taken compulsorily and no right over or interest in any such property shall be acquired compulsorily in any part of Nigeria except by or under the provisions of a law that (a) requires the payment of adequate compensation and (b) gives to any person claiming such compensation a right of access, for the determination of his interest in the property and the amount of compensation, to the High Court having jurisdiction in that part of Nigeria.

Three military decrees, namely (a) Decree No. 39 - The Requisition and Other Powers Decree 1967, (b) Decree No. 38 - The State Lands Compensation Decree 1968, and (c) Decree No. 4 - The Public Lands Acquisition (Amendment) Decree 1970, have been promulgated in

⁴⁰Cap. 95, *Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos*, Vol. IV, 1958.

Nigeria with country-wide application. The requisition and Other Powers Decree of 1967 has effect during any period of emergency. It empowers a requisition authority to requisition land and other things for a definite or an indefinite period of time. If the authority making the requisition serves a notice of the acquisition of property on a person from whom the land was requisitioned, the Federal Military Government thereupon acquires the ownership of the land *free* from any mortgage, pledge, lien or other obligation whatsoever which might otherwise attach thereof. When this happens, the period of requisition ends. Decree No. 39 indeed authorizes a temporary, an indefinite or permanent compulsory acquisition of land required for a purpose deemed to be a public purpose within the meaning of the Public Lands Acquisition Act Cap. 167.

Compensation

The Nigerian Constitution provides for adequate compensation. Prior to the drawing up of the Constitution, the principles upon which the court has to act in determining the amount of compensation has been judicially declared to be based upon the fair market value of the land. The Public Lands Acquisition Act 167 provides that

"the value of the land, estate, interest or profits shall be taken to be the amount which such lands, estate interest or profits if sold in the open market by a willing seller might be expected to realize."

In other words, the principal act and its state counterparts provide for open market value realizable by a willing seller, subject, of course, to the provisos which have the effect of adjusting the amount of compensation actually payable to a fair market value that

is fair according to the circumstance of the particular acquisition.

The subject of adequate compensation and valuation is not, however, discussed here as this is outside the scope of this thesis. But as Nigeria begins to develop rapidly in industries, social amenities and urbanization, the problem of how to acquire the land for these development projects, and the amount of compensation to pay for such land becomes a critical issue. The important thing to note, however, is that in both the principal act and the others, the principles laid down for and assessment for compensation have tended to be weighted heavily in favor of pursuance or achievement of a "fair market value" rather than the "full market value." It should also be remarked that, even in cases where no market value exists, the law assumes it does, which makes it all the more difficult in real practice to distinguish between a fair market value and full market value.

This chapter may be concluded by noting that land-use controls in Nigeria have never been presented in a neat or compact package, with the various tools laid up alongside one another. Instead we find the several tools of land-use control employed by different hands in varying manners and in scattered places. A continued overview of their relationships to each other and a continued examination of the strength and sharpness of the various tools, in comparison with each other, are essential to their proper and safe use. If we need lands for urban development, and if the land cannot be easily acquired because Nigerians are hysterically attached to their land, there is no way out than to do that compulsorily. Then the measure

of "just compensation" in a bewildering new variety of situations becomes the crucial problem. Also there must be an analysis of the line drawn between regulation of land that requires no compensation and that which constitutes "taking" for which compensation is required. Any urbanization strategy that ignores the issue of land and governmental ways to attain planned land use misses important aspects of the whole problem. These strategies will be based on specific goals, objectives, administrative and implementation policies suitable for a country like Nigeria.

CHAPTER 5

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS: GOALS, OBJECTIVES AND IMPLEMENTATION POLICIES

The framework for policy recommendations has been set up in the previous chapter by outlining the background of population and past urbanization trends, the present urban setting and patterns and the problems created by these, and the various ways the governments have responded to these problems. These touch on the planning dimensions as the dynamic forces that constantly mold the changing conditions in Nigeria. How these problems and future trends may be solved and directed requires the thoughtful formulation of guidelines or policies. In the preceding chapter a general framework of how such policies or strategies will be formulated was discussed. In this chapter or phase, which will represent the culmination of the synthesis of the recommended framework for planning, the solutions to the problems, trends and potential will be discussed--measures which will constitute one of the final stages in the policy planning process. The policy statements or plans will, in turn, form the specific national background for a comprehensive plan, the preparation of which, together with administrative and implementation setup, will constitute the final stages of the general planning process in Nigeria. The policies are to be generated and formulated mainly at

the federal or central government level, supervised by it, and implemented at the state and local levels.

The following policies, presented in a hierarchy of goals, objectives and implementation policies, are intended to effect an orderly and desirable growth and change in the sphere of urban and regional planning in Nigeria.

GOALS

Goals are universal values and, in effect, constitute the highest aspirations of a society. They are the ideals which man has been aspiring for, albeit through different means. In pursuing an orderly and desirable growth for Nigeria, the Nigerians should, in the author's opinion, recognize, uphold, and aspire to adopt and implement the following goals which have all through this decade provided a national sense of purpose for the National Development Plans.

GOAL ONE: A UNITED, STRONG AND SELF-RELIANT NATION

GOAL TWO: A GREAT AND DYNAMIC ECONOMY

GOAL THREE: A JUST AND EGALITARIAN SOCIETY

GOAL FOUR: A LAND OF BRIGHT AND FULL OPPORTUNITIES FOR
ALL CITIZENS

GOAL FIVE: A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

It is appropriate for the National Government and people of the country to seek to give concrete and practical meaning to these goals and ensure their full realization at all times. These goals are difficult to measure; most of them are non-quantifiable, and all are certainly difficult to attain. In fact, being abstract and somewhat ideal human values, they are not completely attainable in a short time.

Nevertheless, they need to be increasingly pursued. After all, as some people have said, "it is the pursuit of the goal that ennobles us, not its attainment."

OBJECTIVES

The pursuit of any goal requires measurable and attainable targets to be formulated. These are usually stated as objectives. They provide the guidelines and the destinations through which these goals are pursued. In order to guide the development of Nigeria toward a desirable pattern of economic and urban development, the following objectives must be realized.

OBJECTIVE ONE: IN CONSIDERATION OF THE DISECONOMIES OF URBAN CONGESTION, THE RAPID INCREASE OF SLUMS, AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS, AND THE INEFFICIENCIES IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IN THE FEW EXISTING URBAN CENTERS, A NATIONAL URBAN GROWTH POLICY SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WHICH WOULD GUIDE THE LOCATION AND CHARACTER OF FUTURE GROWTH CENTERS IN THE MOST EFFICIENT MANNER.

The absence of a national policy to guide urbanization has resulted in the present congestion and chaos in the urban centers, and decline in the rural areas. While the Nigerians have developed, adopted and tried to implement national economic development plans, the solution to urban problems has been relegated to the states and cities and other local units of government. These lower levels of government have not been given any adequate and elaborate guidelines, the necessary political powers and often the financial resources to do so. The rural areas, on the other hand, have been ignored to a very significant extent. Tabulating capital expenditure figures in pounds or nairas for Town and Country Planning is no substitute for this need.

There are a number of reasons to support the creation of national growth policies which have been touched on before in this writing, but a few more need emphasizing here.

(1) At present, by its economic policies, the national government of Nigeria already practically exerts the sole influence in the location of population and economic growth and the character of urban development. The establishment of explicit national policies would serve to give over-all direction to future growth programs of state and local units of government and make them more consistent and integrated, instead of overlapping and duplicating functions and responsibilities with attendant incidence of corruption and other malpractices.

(2) The national government has influenced urbanization and economic growth, but each of these is directed at only a segment of the overall problem. The location, character and planning of urbanization are frequently ignored. There is also no comprehensive linkage of the kind that a national urbanization policy would supply. A publication from a seminar on new towns sponsored by the United Nations in 1964 stated that

"national development policies in the developing countries do not fully recognize the spatial and locational aspects of economic growth, and as a consequence, these aspects are generally neglected in development programs."⁴¹

(3) The serious consequences of allowing urbanization and economic growth trends to continue their present haphazard development is

⁴¹United Nations, *Planning of Metropolitan Areas and New Towns*, pg. 31.

itself strong argument for a concerted national policy to provide more conscious overall direction.

(4) The meager economic resources of the country, in spite of the oil (petroleum) revenue, dictate that national long-range policies are essential to insure the wisest possible use of national resources for the economic and social health of the entire nation, rather than sparsely dispersing these resources through "pork-barrel" or project funding and other piece-meal approaches, which are both wasteful and inefficient.

OBJECTIVE TWO: IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH, THE NATIONAL POLICIES AND PLANS SHOULD BE FORMULATED TO BRING TOGETHER ALL PROFESSIONS INVOLVED IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, AND TO INTEGRATE THE PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS IN PLANNING.

The conceptual approach outlined and discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation was done with this objective in mind. The target for comprehensiveness is twofold:

(1) That a multi-disciplinary team-approach be undertaken.

This would mean that the physical planners--the architects, engineers, geographers and designers--should realize that they are involved in the routine activities of government. They have tended to dominate the limited sphere of urban development and have too often "failed to conceive of the significance of the city as a socio-economic tool or as a stimulus for growth and change."⁴² Their emphasis lies in the techniques of design, on the static form of an environment, on location and construction of facilities without sufficient reference to

⁴²United Nations, *Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning*, pg. 79.

potential and dynamic activities which the facilities must house. The economic planners, conversely, have tended to dominate the sphere of national development, concerning themselves with such broad aggregates as national income, per capita expenditures, the gross national products and others. They have paid surprisingly little attention to urbanization and the importance of organizing in harmony the functions and activities which are juxtaposed in the urban context. Moreover, the fallacy that economic planning is merely economics has resulted in the underestimation of the critical roles to be played by administration and political leaders in both the formulation and implementation of economic goals, which have social and physical implications.

Many countries have moved to supplement the traditional design-oriented planning process by adding skilled economists and sociologists into the process of planning and related organizational structures. As yet, neither the designers, especially the architects, nor the economists know precisely how their various skills will relate effectively in physical planning for complex environmental conditions, hence the need for coordinators, namely professional urban and regional planners. However, efforts are being made in an increasing number of countries to recognize that the physical planning process can be a significant tool for a nation's economic development.

(2) That the physical, social, economic and political planning dimensions be integrated and synthesized into one coherent and comprehensive plan. This is corollary to number one above. In this instance, it would mean the integration of physical planning with the

socio-economic plans that have so far dominated planning efforts in Nigeria. National planning as mentioned earlier has been concerned more with the allocation of funds to various sectors than with the location of projects and their impact on regional and national development.

It was stated previously that, while the physical, social, economic and political dimensions are separate and distinct, they are actually interrelated with each other. Nowhere is this interdependence more needed than in Nigeria now. Comprehensive policies and plans, therefore, would mean that in all levels of government, in a hierarchy of authority and responsibility, development policies and plans must be expressed graphically in terms of land use and physical infrastructure, economically in terms of financial investment and activities, and socially in terms of people and social infrastructure to minimize ethnic differences.

OBJECTIVE THREE: IN AN ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE RAPID RATE OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION, WHICH HAS CAUSED DISECONOMIES OF URBAN CONGESTION IN THE FEW GROWTH POLES AND RURAL DECLINE, THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD ACTIVELY INFLUENCE THE LOCATION OF NEW INDUSTRIES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO CONTROL THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE UPLIFTMENT OF THE DISADVANTAGED RURAL AREAS, THROUGH THE CREATION OF MORE URBAN GROWTH CENTERS ON A REGIONAL FRAMEWORK, WITH A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY OF "PLANNED DISPERSION."

This development policy is twofold: one is directed toward urban development, in order to minimize the "pull" factors of Metropolitan Lagos and more importantly perhaps, to create alternative points of attraction to stimulate and set in motion a series of social and economic changes; the other is directed toward rural or regional development, in order to minimize the "push" factors of the

countryside and encourage the rural population to remain in the agricultural sectors of the nations.

The national urban growth strategy to be implemented is "planned dispersion." This would mean the selection of "growth centers" or loci of concentration which have great potential for physical, social and economic development. The criteria for selecting these growth centers would be varied as mentioned earlier. We could also base this on the rural-urban migration patterns within the various regions of Nigeria, or the migration patterns of slum dwellers and squatters. Metropolitan Lagos needs urgent decentralization either by creating functional arms of all federal ministries in each capital of the twelve states, "forcing" Lagos State to relocate its capital outside of Lagos Island, diverting further industrial locations to other areas at least three hundred miles from Lagos, or choosing an entirely new capital for the nation. Other proposals may be to build a ring of "counter magnets" around the Metropolitan Lagos region. These proposals, however, need a firm stand on the part of the National Government no matter whose ox is gored--palliatives will create recurring problems.

An overview of the migration patterns of the entire country, and the places of origins of the migrants, squatters and slum dwellers, will show that they come from places far from Metropolitan Lagos. This would suggest that more growth centers at these regions or places of origin are needed. Additional criteria may be used, such as industrial feasibility, in which case the Kainji Dam and Gongola River Schemes would be desirable sites due to availability of adequate

electrical power. Agricultural feasibility could also be a criterion, in which case South Chad, Sokoto-Rima, Shendam, etc., schemes with their fertile valleys would offer suitable potential sites for a growth center. There may be other criteria to be applied in the selection of these growth centers; however, the overriding yardstick should be

"the progress of the human condition with regard to income, social and individual welfare, and the ease, comfort, and convenience of the physical environment."

A number of government incentives may also be used to encourage the location of industrial firms in these growth centers. An array of fiscal measures is available as inducement to entrepreneurs, such as abatements or exceptions for various excises or import taxes. The government might also undertake massive building of physical and social infrastructure and other positive measures to stimulate the advantages of industrial or agricultural operation.

The creation of growth centers, together with the upgrading of the rural or agricultural areas, could appreciably influence the relocation of people. Measures must be applied to deal with the problem of excess migration to large cities. Lessons from other countries which have attempted such programs may be learned. Mainland China, for example, used the following measures during the decade of 1950 to 1960:

"Mainland China...has carried out over the period of the decade a systematic and intensive campaign designed to 'round' and return rural migrants to their villages and reverse or halt the blind movement of peasants to towns. A great variety of measures, some of them drastic, have been employed, including, for example, the transfer of 'surplus population of cities' to the countryside and to

'hilly areas' to engage in agriculture, forestry and other projects requiring the mass application of labor, requirements of prompt registration by peasants and rural migrants upon entering cities; instructions to agricultural producers, cooperatives to welcome migrants back to villages and to facilitate their readjustment to rural life through the provision of food and housing and other assistance; the application of peasants in order to avoid costs of transportation; instructions to urban workers not to flaunt the attractions of urban life during their periodic visits to villages; 'ideological education' in villages to help the rural population to understand the importance and significance of agricultural production; revision of various subsidies and social service provisions in cities which had tended to encourage rural-urban migration (for example, subsidized housing for workers, payment of one-half of the medical expenses of workers' dependents, the issuance of food and clothing ration coupons, etc.); the granting by civil affairs departments in cities of travel and subsistence allowances to enable peasants to return to their villages."⁴³

Some of these extreme measures could not apply in Nigeria.

Instead, more positive and modified incentives may be attempted within the political, social, and land tenure system in the country. Such measures as increasing income from agriculture, land reform or redistribution of land to farmers, consolidation of farms, expanding employment opportunities in rural areas by establishing the agro-industries, and providing facilities for health, education, welfare and recreation should be implemented without fear or favor or "long leg" tactics.

OBJECTIVE FOUR: IN THE FACE OF ADMINISTRATIVE INEFFICIENCIES AND DEFICIENCIES, SUBSTANTIAL REORGANIZATION SHOULD BE MADE TO CREATE A VIABLE AND DYNAMIC ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK THAT WILL IMPROVE THE MACHINERY FOR THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

⁴³United Nations, *Report on the World's Social Situation*, United Nations Publications (Sales no. 1. 63.IV. 4), 1963, pg. 98.

AND PLANS, AND TO ACHIEVE MAXIMUM COORDINATION AMONG VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OR MINISTRIES, AS WELL AS INSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES AND PLANS.

Although proposals may be formulated where only minor changes in the administrative setup may be made, no less than a total and overall change of the whole administrative planning structure is essential to promote effective and efficient comprehensive planning in Nigeria. The author proposes that a new and separate ministry to be in charge of urban and regional planning issues be created at the national level. This could be called the *Ministry of Urban and Regional Development*, which would coordinate urban and regional policies at the national level and enable the Federal Government to intervene effectively in critical areas of urban development as the need arises. This ministry will have the power to review plans and requests for new towns, new towns-in-towns, urban renewal programs, and housing programs for the states. The usual bureaucratic red tape and delay would be eliminated by stipulating time limits for the referral. The ministry will be powered to give technical advice, make changes that have to be concurred with by the states concerned. If there will be a sincere commitment to the essential goal of making Nigeria a united, strong and self-reliant nation, there must be a powerful and competent referee at the national level on these issues. The Federal Government allocates the bulk of capital expenditure for urban and regional development and must not play shy in controlling this essential arm of national development.

There will be various departments under the proposed Ministry: the Department of Urban Development, the Department of Regional (rural)

Development, and the Department of Housing. On the lower level, Regional Authorities, Provincial or Divisional Authorities, City Planning Authorities have to be formed to complete the link. Specifically the Ministry would:

(1) Assist and strengthen the public and private planning institutions by providing adequate financial and technical assistance to regional authorities and local planning agencies on their planning activities in the rural and urban sectors;

(2) Undertake in partnership with state governments the planning, financing, construction, rehabilitation, maintenance and management of government housing for the entire nation and oversee the housing activities of the private sector; and

(3) Assist in the development of a balanced, efficient and integrated transportation and circulation system which would include the highways, seaports and airports.

OBJECTIVE FIVE: IN ORDER TO GUIDE THE FORMULATION OF SOUND POLICIES AND THE PREPARATION OF EFFECTIVE PLANS, AS WELL AS TO FACILITATE THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD EMBARK ON MASSIVE EDUCATIONAL AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE CONTINUING RESEARCH, INFORMATION SYSTEMS, DATA GATHERING ON RURAL AND URBAN ISSUES, SUSTAINED AND INTENSIFIED PUBLIC EDUCATION TO ELICIT INFORMED AND ACTIVE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, AND A GENEROUS PROGRAM TO TRAIN COMPETENT TECHNICIANS AND PROFESSIONAL PLANNERS.

The value of research and information systems in planning cannot be overstated. Efficient planning for urban and regional development depends largely on the availability and analysis of information. Adequate basic information is essential for the formulation and implementation of plans and policies for urban development. Improving the

information system will in many cases mean improving the process of decision-making. This would also mean improving the methods used in the information and data gathering. The need for an improved information system is critical in Nigeria.

In some cases, data are available, but often they are collected and analyzed for specific projects, after the decision to engage in such a project has been made. Such an approach towards gathering information implies that many data are not comparable and cannot be used again for feasibility studies or preparatory research for other projects. In this respect, one way in which more comparable and multi-purpose oriented information may be obtained is to improve censuses. Censuses, which have become very volatile in Nigeria because of outright and obvious extreme inflations or depressions, can often be better designed so as to provide essential data for urban planning purposes at various levels of government. Furthermore, more sample surveys are needed between the decennial censuses to update essential planning information and evaluate the census data.

It has become apparent that in many cases a special body of information is needed which is geared specifically to research and decision-making in urban areas. Clearing houses may be installed for one or a group of urban centers or for each regional grouping to gather, store and disseminate such information as necessary. In view of the economies of scale involved, such central clearing houses will be able to use modern techniques of electronic data processing. The introduction of modern technology in this field naturally implies a paralleled development of human ability to use these new tools

effectively. One way by which such a new system may be popularized in Nigeria, where the need for availability of comprehensive urban information is not yet recognized, would be to focus its use on specific projects in which the needs are most apparent, such as land use and transportation or the setting up of an urban cadastral to improve tax assessment and collection. From these topics, gradual extension into other fields would be possible.

Correct information is needed to generate informed and active citizen participation. The current awareness in the field of planning today is that plans are made not *for people* but *with people*. This means that the public, who are supposed to be the benefactor of the plans, must have its interests articulated in the decision-making process. Unfortunately, in Nigeria the majority of the people who are affected by national policy decisions have largely been apathetic and unresponsive. They have also been largely neglected.

As urbanization progresses, life becomes increasingly complex for urban residents. This causes bewilderment and leads to low participation and lack of involvement by citizens in urban affairs. As the scope of urban government expands functionally and territorially, power gravitates to professional administrators, and this increases the tendency for the citizen to feel alienated from the process of policy making. This emphasizes the need for increased attention to popular participation and representation in urban government and issues. An increase in participation makes government more responsive to popular demands and could be of significant help in carrying out programs. Examples of structures initiated by citizens could include:

neighborhood improvement and mutual aid groups; functional civic associations and groups; labor and trade union organizations; universities, research institutes and urban study centers.

The greatest potential of active citizen participation lies in its ability to considerably contribute to the successful execution or implementation of plans. Moreover, in the process, the citizens become better informed about the services that are available to them and at the same time in identifying the community needs and demands; the decision-makers become aware of the needs of the people. All possible means of communication should be used, including the press, radio, television and lectures, not only to inform the citizens, but to elicit interest in planning and awareness of what the citizens can do to improve their environment. Direct participation should be encouraged in the local levels where citizens are easily accommodated and heard.

OBJECTIVE SIX: EVERY STATE GOVERNMENT WILL PRODUCE MASTER PLANS FOR ITS MAIN URBAN CENTERS DETAILING THEIR PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT FOR SEVERAL YEARS AHEAD WITH DEFINITE TARGETS FOR THE PROVISION AND EXPANSION OF ESSENTIAL FACILITIES LIKE WATER, HOUSING, SEWAGE, ETC.

There have been attempts in this direction as master plans have been prepared for Kaduna and Kano and one is underway for Enugu. However, like master plans in general, they will become obsolete rapidly and in a country like Nigeria may not be implemented even partially. Moreover, the plans or reports themselves are quite expensive and are not readily available to the public. To guard against these pitfalls, these plans should be drawn in the form of policy plans embellished or integrated with aspects of master plans,

through budget control measures and overall economic development objectives. A specific allocation should be made for printing these plans and making them available cheaply to the public.

However, there are still fuzzy notions and disagreements about the nature of policy plans. F. Stuart Chapin in his book, *Urban Land Use Planning*, summarizes these:

"Some view these policies as something akin to a statement of general principles for planning, and they are thus formulated before other plans are developed. Others consider them to be embodied in the plans themselves, and when a plan is officially adopted, the proposals contained in the plan become official urban land use policies. Still a third usage considers them to be statements of the directions of, and implementation of the proposals contained in the plan. For example, in this sense, policies might take the form of general specifications for zoning, urban renewal and such.⁴⁴

The training of planners to formulate plans and draft policies becomes equally as important as the education of the citizens and the building of accurate information. This would mean training more planners. Systematic, university training devoted to analysis of problems of urban and regional development (or planning) has yet to be firmly established in Nigeria. Although this is lacking, urbanization as a topic of study and research has been under examination for some years in the social science departments of Ibadan and other Nigerian universities. Postgraduate students in the Geography Department of Ibadan University, for example, have carried out studies of the central business district of Ibadan, markets in Central Lagos, etc. Even though these studies provide very useful information to be

⁴⁴F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., *Urban Land Use Planning*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1965, pg. 349.

utilized by technically trained professional planners, they do not constitute planning. What is really needed is the encouragement of efforts being made at the Universities of Lagos and Ahmadu Bello Zaria to produce professional planners. The twenty to twenty-five Nigerian professional planners working in government offices have all been trained overseas, mainly in British and American planning schools with largely design-oriented curricula. To widen their horizons, there is an urgent need to reorient them in the administrative and implementation policies and techniques within the context of the overall development plans of Nigeria. In fact, the lack of real impact of physical planning in Nigeria is not so much the absence of plans as it is the absence of implementation devices and techniques, as well as the lack of support from the politicians and government functionaries.

In Nigeria service way-side stations and villages are being turned into small cities, new towns and town-in-towns are being built--colossal developments are taking place. The fear is that in a generation's time, when the planners in this part of the world will have been trained in sufficient numbers perhaps, most of the major events will have happened. The pattern will be set, the sites selected, and new cities built. It will be too late for the planners. The mess will have been made. Therefore, the fast training of professional comprehensive planners cannot be overlooked. Of course, it should be emphasized that their training should be highly suited and responsive to the unique and peculiar needs and demands of the Nigerian environment, even though they attend professional schools in other

nations and cultures. But in order that physical planning may be most effective in improving the lot in Nigeria as a developing country, the powers-that-be and other influential groups who direct or influence development of the country should participate or at least become interested in physical planning, so that plans prepared by planners can be "active plans." Without the proper relationship between those who prepare the physical plans and those who turn them into reality, the resulting planning will be of the "ivory tower" type. Certainly there will be plans, but they will be of the type which gather dust on the shelves. Planning, as we know it, is political in the highest sense, because it should be very closely related to the science and practice of government. And if planning is to succeed in any country it is necessary for the National Government to participate in it actively and to encourage it not as a partisan or obscure issue but as a national need, to prevent planning from becoming a whim, which fluctuates according to which group or party controls or runs the government.

THE PLANNING PROCESS

Stages in the Planning Process

Planning for urban development is a continuous process which extends from the survey and analysis of data, through the drafting of plans for action, to the programming and implementation of resulting schemes and projects. The process of planning can be broken down into a number of stages, thus providing better insight into the

relevance of planning for solving problems posed by rapid urbanization as in Nigeria.

The first stage is usually referred to as the formulation of plans. This includes defining the objectives of a plan and its precise targets, determining the available resources (financial, technical, and administrative), undertaking surveys and research on the basis of data collection and analysis, and finally preparing the draft plans. At the second stage, which might be identified as the programming stage, the adopted plans are translated and broken down into identifiable programs and projects for execution. The third stage of planning is the implementation of these programs and projects for which specific provisions have to be made with respect to allocation of resources and coordination of the activities of numerous agencies.

The various units of general government should subject the entire process to continuous review and evaluation leading to adjustment of plans, programs and projects whenever necessary. Review and evaluation then form the transition to a new cycle of planning and decision-making, moving ahead in time on the basis of continuous stream of feedback information. This concept of planning breaks away from the notion that planners are merely a group of consultants and technicians located quite apart from the rest of the administration, but stresses that planning is an ongoing action-oriented process, directly involved in the day-to-day activities of the administration.

At the same time, the fact is stressed that planning is actually a combination of plan formulation and implementation. The current

separation of planning from implementation is symbolic of the attitude widely prevalent among planners, administrators and politicians which often prevents an effective solution to the problems caused by rapid urban growth. At each level of government, responsibility for all stages of the planning process should be vested in the appropriate unit of general government as a whole, and not in any subordinate part such as a ministry, department or even a semi-autonomous body. This responsibility can naturally be delegated by the unit of general (national) government to one or more agencies under its charge; such delegation would usually recognize a working distinction between the formulation and implementation of plans.

The various aspects of implementation of plans and programs will be discussed later. With regard to the formulation of plans, agencies with delegated responsibility in this field should be strategically located in the structure of the national government unit and preferably be attached to or situated at the highest point in the hierarchy. Such an agency must be highly responsive to community needs and communication channels should be devised to promote involvement of citizens in the planning process. On the other side of the political spectrum, provisions might be made to brief the policy-makers during the plan formulation stage before plans and programs are finally adopted. (In East Central State of Nigeria, the Master Plan for Enugu is soon to go before the government for approval.)

Two shortcomings encountered in the planning process which often prevent adequate integration of urban planning into the existing machinery for development planning emerge. The first is the lack of

coordination of planning for urban development at various levels. The fact that urban problems transcend the city limits proper and take on regional if not national dimensions is rarely given sufficient recognition. The second problem is the need for a comprehensive type of planning which coordinates planning undertaken in various sectors, more specifically economic, social and physical planning for urban development. The two types of coordination are closely connected in practical planning work. Planning by sector is to be complemented by planning by geographical area and vice versa. They are treated separately since each presents particular problems of its own.

Many of the activities which contribute to the development of any country are situated in the cities and towns, which thus have an indispensable function in the national economy. Urban development should therefore play an important if not determining role in the national development strategy. Unfortunately, many developing countries determine plans and policies for urban development largely on the basis of physical planning considerations, such as land use control and the provision of physical infrastructure, while national development policies are largely based on considerations of an economic nature. The situation is even worse in Nigeria. There is widespread agreement nowadays that urban development planning should be comprehensive in the sense that it should include economic, social and physical aspects in multi-purpose programs and projects.

The suggestions made by Mr. George Nez, onetime United Nations technical assistance advisor on regional planning in Ghana, about the

integration of these different kinds of planning could be applied to Nigeria. He distinguished four streams of planning which should be interrelated:⁴⁵

(1) Economic planning in the vertical dimension, defining basic national goals and sectoral priorities and constructing aggregate programs for the entire economic area, to be executed by several departments;

(2) Social planning in the depth dimension, emerging from several areas, health, education, resettlement, labor organization, local government and community development, usually beginning with problems of equalization, but affecting living standards and opportunities;

(3) Physical planning in the horizontal dimension, determining the optimum locations of development, balancing economic requirements with social requirements; and

(4) Central administration planning, integrating the elements of economic, physical and social planning into a realistic development plan and finding the means each year to carry it further.

The coordination of these different types of planning poses two problems: first of all, the use of economic and physical resources can be expressed in quantitative terms, which can be rendered compatible provided the essential data are available. But it is much more difficult to quantify social planning considerations; new techniques and methods are still sadly lacking in this respect. Moreover, there is

⁴⁵G. Nez, "Methodology for Integration of Economic and Physical Development", *Ekistics*, May, 1964, pgs. 297-315.

doubt as to whether social planning criteria devised to merely improve the social situation would be sufficient. Radical changes in the societal structure might be needed in many cases as in Nigeria before real headway can be made in economic and social development from which the entire population could benefit.

Secondly, the different types of planning require varying time spans before significant results can be expected. Economic improvements require at least half-decades; improvements to the physical infrastructure often take decades, while social changes require generations. There is a need, therefore, for comprehensive long-term development plans setting the final targets, for medium-term plans ensuring proper phasing of the long-term objectives, and for shorter programs and projects (one or two years) breaking down medium-term programs into even more concrete projects.

The nature of urban planning needed in the cities of developing countries differs significantly from the traditional kind of planning that has been developed in the industrialized countries of the world. Conventional techniques such as building codes and zoning enforcements are necessary, but they can rarely be strictly applied as in Nigeria and deal usually with the symptoms rather than the causes of rapid urban growth. Only too often, urban planning is limited to mere land use planning which produces at best a visually appealing master plan of a city that would be able to accommodate a level of population and industrial growth projected forward from past trends.

Planning authorities should not prepare a "Plan", but instead should have the power to draw up policies, plans and programs for

urban development. The emphasis should be less on a hard-and-fast once-and-for-all master plan covering a series of governmental decisions for the next two decades than on creating the developmental machinery and planning institutions whereby a full control and positive encouragement of the development process can be exercised. In this new philosophy, a plan is not considered as an end in itself, comprising ideal patterns of land use and design, population distribution and industrialization, but rather as a means of action, indicating the costs of providing necessary facilities and services, the stages of the plan and its translation into programs and projects and the devices for its implementation. Any plan should include at least a budgetary document, and documents on land use, economic activities and infrastructure. It should also spell out any legal, administrative and fiscal changes and innovations needed for its execution. In the following pages the implementation, administrative and fiscal guidelines for urbanization and physical planning in Nigeria are discussed.

IMPLEMENTATION

The Relationship Between Planning Agencies and Implementation Agencies

Planners and administrators in many developing countries have come to the conclusion that one of the main obstacles to successful development planning is the wide gap that exists between the formulation of plans and their implementation. Drawing on the experience of development in some hundred countries, Albert Waterston concluded:

"The conceptual separation of 'planning' from 'implementation' is more than a matter of semantics; it is symbolic of an attitude which prevails widely among planners. Planning cannot leave off where plan formulation ends and action to execute a plan begins. Planning may begin with the formulation of a plan as a guide to implementation, but implementation becomes, at a later stage, a guide to revision of the original plan. The whole process is organic and continuous, with plan preparation blending into plan implementation, then into revision of the plan, and again to implementation and the formulation of the next plan."⁴⁶

It needs to be stressed here that in linking the formulation and implementation phase of the planning process, a programming stage should be recognized and provided for, which translates approved drafts of plans into projects and schemes for execution. In order to define this programming stage, the first question to be answered is that of the relationship between planning agencies and implementation agencies, more particularly, whether powers of implementation should be vested in the planning authority or in separate agencies. There could be three approaches to this issue and the most feasible will be adopted in Nigeria.

(1) It would be possible and indeed desirable to increasingly link the powers of planning and development into one organization, as one came down in scale. Thus at both the regional and metropolitan level, the ideal condition in the long run will be a combination of plan formulating and implementing powers in some form of metropolitan or regional government.

⁴⁶Albert Waterston, *et al.*, *Development Planning, Lessons of Experience*, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1965, pgs. 332-368.

(2) Some alternative solution might have to be adopted, until such a situation could be reached, such as the establishment of single-purpose development authorities or an arrangement whereby the planning authority might be responsible for plan formulation, review and capital budgeting, the work of implementation being left to separate agencies. But capital budgeting alone might be insufficient to activate recalcitrant development agencies.

(3) While plan formulation would usually be the responsibility of one agency, the implementation of plans would frequently be in the hands of a number of agencies. In such a case, all such agencies should be made answerable to the same decision-making authority, that is, the territorial unit of government. If this is infeasible because an implementation agency is answerable to a higher-level government, procedures should be established to ensure that the latter acts on behalf of the lower-level government. Implementation of plans undertaken by various agencies should be subjected to unified administrative and technical control. The plan formulation agency at each level of government should ensure the maintenance of such control and coordination.

The formula eventually adopted in Nigeria for the relationship between plan formulation and plan implementation agencies will depend on the available administrative framework and the level of government at which this relationship will have to be instituted. Whatever the pattern may be, coordination must be ensured. Amongst the techniques to be used in this respect are capital budget programming, the phasing of programs, plans and project review and evaluation.

Long-term plans and policies for urban development have certain goals which have to be fulfilled, and which are based on more or less precise values and norms. These goals must be translated into specific targets which can hopefully be reached by drawing up programs and projects on a medium and short-term basis. The translation of plans into programs necessitates programs to be phased in time and assured of adequate finance. At the urban level, the necessary coordination of activities of many agencies undertaking capital projects calls for urban planning to be set up in such a way that it will have some measure of control, not only over municipal budgets but also over urban investment by national agencies. This implies that the preparation of medium-term and short-term capital project programs will become part of the planning process. Such programs will be broken down into specific projects and related to budgets. These budgets should be more than simple lists of expenditure on a short-term basis, and should preferably be comprehensive plans of operation with monetary figures attached.

Implementing Policies

Two essential aspects of the physical environment that could effectuate desirable "planned dispersion" growth in Nigeria and would need implementing policies at the national level are (1) land use and (2) housing. The massive rural-urban migration and the resulting urban crisis have influenced land use patterns in the country and have sharply brought into focus the need for national guidelines on land use developments. Housing also influences land use patterns. The shortage of the housing supply has caused "major changes in urban

land tenure, urban land patterns and urban land policy." The following are the implementing policies proposed to carry out the "planned dispersion" strategy.

National Land Use Policies. Land is a basic resource; it is perhaps also the most valuable resource. However, an increasing population with its related rapid urban development and expansion have put unexpected pressures on the use of land. The nature of the development of land has previously been left to the arbitrary nature of the free market or the narrow and shortsighted decisions of local units of government. The current development crisis is partly due to this practice. The local units are limited by the confines of their jurisdiction. Critical development areas and ecological systems are rarely viewed by the locality in terms of their regional importance. Cooperation with adjoining governmental units is often stunted by economic competition, which is fostered by the dependence of local governments upon development related to tax revenues. A national land use policy is needed that will seek to control major developments and facilities, accommodate vital development needs, and protect important conservation areas on a national and regional basis.

The following are the inherent components of a national land use policy:

- (1) "Policies for land use should be formulated on a regional scale." Soundness of local urban land policies can in the final analysis be measured largely in the context of regional conditions. A region may be designated as an area which is connected or related by large-scale or major facilities, large-scale developments and

comprehensive systems that are of more than local significance in their impact upon the environment. Major facilities to be dealt with include, but are not limited to, airports, regional and national recreational land facilities, game and forest reserves, and some strategic prime agricultural lands.

(2) "In consonance with the growth strategy of 'planned dispersion', land use policies should be formulated to effectively influence the location of industries and the movement of people or the shift of population centers." This aspect has been adequately dealt with in the previous chapters on growth centers and bears no repetition here.

(3) "Strategic use of tax levies, public loan and subsidization should be made in order to discourage improper developments or misuse of land and to encourage proper and more desirable development." Public loans and subsidization may be contingent upon compliance by the developers with the requirements of sound planning policies, thus directly influencing development patterns to conform to the defined and adopted policies.

(4) "Land use control measures such as zoning ordinances, effective building regulations, subdivision controls and housing codes, etc., should be encouraged for adoption and use at the local units of government, with guidance from the proposed Federal Ministry of Urban and Regional Development." Most cities and local units of government, as yet, do not have land use control devices. A set of uniform ordinances should be prepared for these local units, and should be coordinated with and complemented by national land use policies.

It should include a policy to reserve tracts of land for urban growth in order that urban development may be guided toward more desirable patterns. The policy should provide for easy acquisition of public land, for taxation of land owners in furtherance of a definite land policy and for the control of land use, according to adopted plans. The various issues on acquisition of land especially compulsory acquisition have been discussed already.

Public lands are needed for a number of public uses and institutions and for government projects, such as low-income housing, where families have no legal ways of acquiring land under the present conditions. At the same time, public ownership of land will reduce land speculation.

(5) "Programs must be devised and utilized to control private land cost speculation." Among the various methods which may be utilized to control land use costs are: (a) confiscation during periods of upheaval, (b) prior regulation on sale of land and resale, (c) effective rent controls, (d) building regulations, (e) zoning, (f) control of subdivisions, (g) requisition or control of development rights and acquisition and sale of reserve lands, and (h) tax incentive policies and regulation by government agencies and the implementation of mandatory referrals of plans to these agencies.

(6) "In the process of land development, natural areas should be conserved and the diminishing natural and scenic areas should be protected permanently." Nigeria is still relatively sufficient in natural and scenic regions. However, land is a very limited resource. There will never be any appreciable addition to the existing inventory. The natural and scenic regions must therefore be identified,

inventoried, and delineated in the national land use plans. All necessary actions must be taken immediately to preserve them, in anticipation of the diverse effects of rapid urbanization. Open spaces should be provided for parks in cities and reserved in the countryside.

(7) "A land reform effort has to be initiated and a code formulated for implementation." This is a crucial element of the national land use policy. The implementation of land reforms will not only influence land development patterns, especially in the rural areas, but will also alter land tenure systems. Land reform could thus have special ramifications on the economy of the nation, and to a large extent on the socio-economic life of the tenants.

National Housing Policies. Metropolitan housing requirements in Nigeria are already at an acute stage. The growing shortage of the supply of housing units, the rapid increase of squatter settlements and the proliferation of slum dwellers make the provision of adequate shelter one of the most crucial problems. The housing need is three-fold: new houses are needed, first to remove the existing housing shortage and deficit, second to control the staggering high rents in the major cities, third to replace the large quantity of slums and sub-standard housing now being occupied, and fourth, to meet the demands of the additional population increase, including both the natural increase and, in the urban areas, that created by the rural migrants.

The provision of sufficient housing units to satisfy the tremendous demand, given limited administrative, technical and economic

resources, is a challenge that requires no less than a combined national effort that will involve all sectors of the society and the economy--the government officials, the citizens, the rich and the poor, the laborers, the entrepreneurs, the private developers, the builders and the owners. It should be indicated that there are four main groups in Nigeria that require housing. These are:

(1) the upper socio-economic group that includes Permanent Secretaries that need no assistance, (2) the new and growing middle-income group that has sufficient income to arrange better housing if the necessary financing and credit mechanisms are established, (3) the relatively large lower-income group that could obtain better housing if its earnings through regular wages and possible small family savings could be augmented through more financial and other assistance, and (4) the large sector of extremely low and irregular income. The latter group, by virtue of its size and meager financial resources, constitutes the most serious problem. Unfortunately, the situation is the other way around in Nigeria--the higher you are on the socio-economic scale, the more help you get from the government in the provision of housing, rent payment breaks, etc.

The four housing groups must be recognized, and appropriate policies must be formulated to meet their unique and different needs. The following are therefore recommended to become integral policies of the proposed Department of Housing.

(1) An efficient system of Institutional Financing for Home Building (like the Nigerian Building Society) with programs to obtain sufficient money to loan for mortgages should be established.

This policy is primarily addressed to the steadily increasing middle-income families. These mortgages should have low equity (down payments), long amortization periods, and moderate interest rates. Financial institutions, Housing Development Authorities, have already been established and are modestly operating, for example, in the East Central State. But as usual their housing starts are woefully inadequate; they are fraught with fraudulent practices, nepotism and outright mal-administration that make them too inefficient to continue to exist. These institutions should help home builders secure various forms of financial assistance. However, their programs and interest rates need reexamination. Their functions and responsibilities need to be clarified, coordinated and integrated. A Home Financing Commission or Authority, modeled after the FHA in the United States, should be set up and experimented with; it will undertake to insure loans of up to 90 percent appraisal value. Other loan associations of lesser importance to offer financial assistance such as Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration, which will make loans available to small farmers and tenants specifically for housing, should be set up. The Central Bank of Nigeria should monitor all these efforts, control interest rates and offer technical assistance where needed.

It has been realized that subletting is prohibited in public housing in the developed nations. But in Nigeria, subletting, like the sharing of apartments, may be the logical, if not the only way of helping to pay housing costs and providing a roof for many whom the meagre public programs cannot accommodate. As income and housing

supply increase, crowding will diminish. In most cities of Nigeria, where interest rates on mortgages by the Nigerian Building Society are at least eight percent, a poorer family that builds a house actually depends on subletting a room to be able to buy the house and maintain it. If a room is sublet at \$6 a month, the purchase price would come within reach of a family earning as little as \$30 a month. The majority of houses, according to a United Nations mission, could be built for about \$2500 apiece, and each would shelter one and a half families. With a secondary loan made by the government and a first mortgage loan by the building society, 5000 homes could be financed and housing provided for about 7500 low-income families yearly.⁴⁷

(2) Constructive and innovative programs to stimulate savings should be initiated, established and implemented effectively to provide seed money for housing.

This policy is primarily designed for the middle and low-income families needing housing. Various programs to encourage savings should be promoted, and the savings should all be channeled for housing developments. This may be done through existing Savings and Loans Associations. Governmental encouragement of savings should be done through favorable legislation, the control of inflation, and, under some circumstances, through the provision of initial capital. This should not be organized like the moribund and objectionable National Provident Fund (a counterpart of the Social Security Service in the United States).

⁴⁷ Charles Abrams, *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, pg. 129.

(3) The Federal Government and the state governments should undertake massive public housing, which would entail public subsidies and more importantly be aided by self-help.

This program would be concentrated on the large-income group and the even larger group with extremely low and irregular incomes. Subsidies, because they are necessarily limited, considering the financial state of a developing country, must be guided by clear and objective principles. These subsidies might include capital financing, deficit subsidies, cash subsidies, interest rebates and write-downs of land and building costs.⁴⁸

The limited economic resources and government subsidies would have to be supplemented by the next best alternatives, aided self-help or even roof-loans. This would require the labor of the individual family, as well as assistance of various kinds from the government. This assistance may simply be financial, or it may take the form of assisting with the provision of building materials, especially cement. It may provide aid in the development of building sites, with roads, water and sanitation facilities. Further, the assistance might be loans of building equipment and machinery, or it might provide either technical or physical assistance for the construction of all or part of the house. It might also include the pre-construction of units, such as sanitary facilities; or it might provide for any combination of these above-listed forms of assistance.

⁴⁸Charles Abrams, *op cit*, pg. 223.

(4) There should be a sound program of urban renewal and rural settlement.

An important element of housing programs should be sensible relocation of squatters and slum dwellers and other victims of slum clearance. A slum clearance scheme prepared in 1951 which became operative in 1955 turned out to be the most thankless and controversial job undertaken by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB). Another example of resettlement scheme is that of New Bussa, which was undertaken to relocate those displaced by the construction of the Kainji Dam. These and others needed better programs of relocation and resettlement to succeed; at the core of this should be an understanding and concern of the welfare of the displaced dwellers.

(5) Proposals to help prevent squatting and slums in future should be formulated, in conjunction with the urban renewal and rural resettlement programs.

Programs such as effective rent controls, new land and housing tenures, cooperatives and condominiums and other forms of home ownership should be forwarded as viable alternatives and critical necessary measures. An integral part of any relocation project should be an opportunity for active citizen participation. No housing agency or authority can ever begin to make an impression on the housing problem without the active participation of the people themselves. The crucial difference between "working for" and "working with" the people should be understood by anyone who wishes to relocate or resettle families.

The above policies are meant to ameliorate or solve the housing crisis and extreme shortage in Nigeria. It must be remembered that housing involves the physical, social, economic and political aspects of the planning environment. Therefore, a more viable long-range policy might be programs which are directed toward raising the economic levels of the population to an adequate level, to organize a responsive and stable administration, and to educate the people, so that they effectively participate in the government programs and become involved in the continuing process of improving their environments.

Financial Aspects of Implementation

One of the main aspects of the implementation of plans is, of course, the financing of such programs and projects as have been approved by the various units of government. In view of the crucial importance of this stage of the development process, it has been argued that urban planning agencies (at the local or metropolitan/regional level) should have clearly assigned powers in the field of capital project programming. By phasing such programs over time and calculating the costs over periods in time and in various sectors, realistic proposals for the allocation of investments can be prepared. In addition to the normal budgetary outlays, a special fund might be created to finance those activities that would otherwise cause serious delays. Under these conditions, the budget for urban planning would change in character and become medium-term programs for action rather than short-term lists of expenditure items. In trying to put

these ideas into practice in Nigeria, new budgetary techniques which have recently come into use can be tried.

(a) Program and Performance Budgeting. This is in fact a new approach to budget formulation and execution which, in the views of its advocates, meets the needs of government under rapidly changing conditions. It emphasizes a concern with programs, rather than objects of expenditure, and with accomplishments rather than means. It is therefore alternatively referred to as program or performance budgeting. Primary importance is attached to the specification of data under specific programs in terms of workloads, units of work and unit costs. In addition to this new system of specifying budget items, the other outstanding feature of this type of budgeting is that it measures the results (performance) not only in financial terms, but also wherever possible in physical and real terms, such as the number of houses constructed.

Those in favor of program budgeting rightfully point out an additional advantage, namely, the bringing together of budgeting and development planning. Some advocates even go so far as to say that a program budget is in fact a short-term plan. This type of budgeting, needless to say, also provides a very good basis for a reporting and evaluation system. Some difference of opinion may arise about whether the budgeting or the planning office should be responsible for collecting and evaluating the necessary data. This type of technique could be used by urban planners in preparation of their budgets and implementation of plans.

(b) Regional Capital Budgeting. Another less sophisticated technique is the use of regional capital budgets, often in conjunction with the use of a regional development map. This map consists of a series of overlays indicating the main elements of a region's landscape and the location of proposed public and private investments. The information on the map is projected for the same time period as the budget for the region, which is based on comparison of a program's objectives with the roughly calculated costs of its consistent projects. It provides a useful means by which to check public investments on infrastructure and their meaningful distribution over all regions.

In the legalistic traditions of fiscal management, common in so many developing countries, the control functions of accounting, investigation and audit are used primarily to deter and to disclose abnormalities and misuse of funds. This frequently results in a multitude of rules and regulations, which multiply procedures, delay and waste. Ironically, these complicated rules and regulations themselves sometimes provide the basis for misuse of funds. The complex nature of urban finance frequently makes it difficult for policy makers to analyze resources available for urban management and programs because of the diversity of budgets, grants and projects, and because of earmarking of funds for special purposes. Uniformity in systems will make for constant improvement in control and reporting. It also facilitates the transmission of information to all sectors of management, especially to planning and programming groups, which require accurate data.

SUMMARY

Until recently, implementation has been interpreted in many developing countries in two narrow terms, such as zoning and subdivision regulations and the exercise of control over specific urban development projects. If these narrow interpretations had been applied in Nigeria, most of the urban problems would have been avoided. In the developing countries, the techniques used have often been conceived on the basis of experience with tools and techniques developed in highly advanced countries and have therefore often proved to be unsuitable for tackling problems of urban growth and change. Much more stress will have to be laid on the positive aspects of implementation, such as the development and improvement of the environment, financial programming and capital budgeting, and the promotion of citizen participation, reflecting the specific conditions of planning in the context of underdevelopment. The same conditions will also determine the usefulness and applicability of the new tools and techniques discussed above.

Such techniques are unlikely to improve the implementation of urban development plans and programs if they are not introduced together with improvements in the legislation and the administrative and institutional structure. Tools and techniques for implementation cannot be separated from the institutional framework which must enable their introduction, or from the changes in legislation needed to modify the administrative structure. Implementation tools and policies can be used only after the establishment of the necessary preconditions, that is after a judicious selection, test and adaptation of these tools.

Whether planned or not, whether for better or for worse, urbanization of a country and development of metropolitan regions and urban centers are ongoing processes determined by decisions and activities of public agencies, private institutions, entrepreneurs and individual households. These ongoing development processes produce continuously dynamic changes in the economic, social, institutional, physical and spatial structure and behavior of urban areas. In Nigeria this rate of change is explosive and assumes special characteristics. The planning and implementation process may be defined as a series of public institutional activities and interventions, specifically intended to influence the ongoing urban development process through plans, policies, incentives, public investments, laws, regulatory controls, public education programs and other types of implementation devices, so that it is directed toward predetermined desirable goals for the community.

If plans and their implementation are to have any impact they must be clearly oriented toward solving the problems inherent in the process of urban development as it takes place under the special conditions of development in Nigeria. They must be capable of influencing those decisions which are of strategic importance in their effect upon changes in the urban areas. Implementation should be viewed as a bridge between plans and planning on the one hand and development processes on the other. Thus, in order to develop effective implementation procedures, it is first necessary to fully understand the dynamic forces and the key elements of the urban development process.

The argument has been made in earlier chapters that there is inadequate legislation at the national level to permit effective urban planning, and that if only more and better legislation were prepared the problems of urban areas would be resolved. The fact of the matter is that in Nigeria, as in many other developing countries, there are more than enough laws on the books, but in most cases the laws are inadequately or unrealistically drawn and are not implementable or even where they could be implemented, they are simply ignored. The belief that by merely passing legislation the problem will resolve itself automatically is strongly ingrained in the Nigerian cultural tradition. It is true that in a number of instances adequate urban legislation does not exist, but in many cases it may be imprudent to insist on additional and more comprehensive legislation, for it may only act as an excuse to delay implementation actions which could be taken under already existing executive and administrative authority and within the framework of existing legislation.

When new or revised legislation is considered necessary, it would be well to direct it to specific problem solving and the possibility of realistic accomplishments within the existing constraints. Particular emphasis would have to be placed on the institutional framework, adequate and feasible powers and sanctions, and the necessary financial resources to implement the legislation. Some examples of successful legislation, successful in the sense that it tends to produce the desired results in terms of follow-up and implementation, could be found. However, in many instances, lack of inspection

personnel, inefficient administrative procedures, lack of sanction, political inability to apply them contribute to non-enforcement even where workable zoning regulations could have existed. Undoubtedly, the above is a broad generalization, and exceptions can be found, but it is obvious that one of the most urgent steps in implementation of urban planning is the realistic adaptation of regulatory land use and development controls to local conditions and the revamping of administrative and enforcement procedures.

There is increasing recognition that regulatory controls and other similar negative measures will not insure that development plans will be translated into reality. More emphasis must be placed on positive tools of implementation with emphasis on programming, execution and coordination of public works and investments. The reasons for this are multiple:

(1) As previously pointed out, much of settlement process by low-income families takes place outside the institutional framework, and negative controls without accompanying positive action have proven to be ineffective.

(2) Controls over private enterprise are necessary, but they will merely prevent the worse and will not insure that locational and developmental decisions follow a planned sequence and one that will lead to the most efficient and beneficial results for the community as a whole.

(3) The provision of urban infrastructure facilities, undertaken by various agencies of the public sector, assumes a much more significant role in rapidly growing urban areas with limited resources.

The coordinated planning and programming of the various infrastructure projects becomes of paramount importance as a tool for conservation and efficient utilization of scarce resources, as an instrument of social policy for redistribution of wealth and income, and as a means of mobilizing and guiding subsequent private investment and action to obtain a more productive urban economy.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Throughout the history of urbanization in Nigeria, the cities have been centers of government, trade, industry, communications and finance; leaders in the arts, technology, education and cultural life; the standard bearers of progress in local, provincial and national development. Cities have existed in Nigeria long before the advent of Europeans. They have provided markets for the farm produce of the rural areas, employment for the surplus population of their hinterlands, refuge in times of war and famine, and freedom from the restrictive customs of the countryside. Even when failing to fulfill some of these central dynamic roles, they have still been the catalysts of change from era to era. However, cities have held potentialities for good as well as evil. Today, in Nigeria, they have only too frequently been unable to provide reasonable shelter, food and livelihood for the teeming populations thronging their streets. The congested conditions of city life, the degrading existence of hosts of slum dwellers and squatters, the *epidemics which decimate rich and poor alike, the malnutrition which weakens even the able-bodied*, result in the suffering of hundreds of thousands of people. In some cities of Nigeria, large segments of the inhabitants might well be like victims of a natural disaster, so distressing

is their plight; but no national or international campaigns are launched to rescue them.

In such cases, instead of acting as prime movers in national, social, economic and physical development, the cities threaten to become national liabilities, hampering the country's growth, and breeding unrest, disorder, political strife and chaos. The cause lies in the cities' inability to cope with explosive pace of their growth in which a high rate of natural increase is accompanied by an abnormally high rate of in-migration of rural people into the few growth centers. It is all the more significant for Nigeria, therefore, that in the remaining twenty-six years of this century, an urban environment will have to be provided for nearly ten times as many people as during the last one hundred and sixty years. In the next decade or so, on an average, cities in Nigeria will have to provide every year buildings and facilities for new urban populations equal to five times that of Lagos today, or seven million citizens.

This gigantic task mainly faces Nigeria, as one of the newer nations of the world, already beset by mounting urban problems which threaten to bring its national development plans to the edge of failure. It is not merely a matter of furnishing minimal shelter, food, jobs and amenities for hundreds of thousands of people. That minimum cannot satisfy the people's aspirations for betterment, which everywhere drive the Nigerians to the cities from all corners of the country. Somehow, that drive must be harnessed for city improvement as well as city dwelling. And ultimately, therefore, the task of coping with the great problem of urbanization must be recognized as

involving mass psychology. A fundamental change is needed in people's attitude towards the city and its growth. In most cases, people regard the city as a necessary evil. While the migrants seek its material benefits, they tend to remain rurally-oriented in outlook and rural in their values and norms.

Urbanization must be accepted as inevitable, and radical adjustments made in the social ethic wherever it measures virtue too exclusively in terms of the village, clan or ethnic groupings. The city must be seen for what, in reality, it has always been, namely, the essential dynamo of development, both spiritually and materially, without which sustained economic, social and political progress is not possible. If this psychological change does come about, the urban problems facing Nigeria in the next two or three decades, and bearing most heavily upon the growth centers, may yet be resolved. To do so, however, will demand continuous, massive and concerted action on a national scale, using in the best possible way every resource of capital and skill that can be made available throughout the country. The principal means to this end is urban and regional planning which is local, state/regional and national with international help. There is therefore a need for a national policy for urban development.

The resolution of the problems created by large and rapid population increases caused more by migration than by natural increase calls for concerted public action at all levels of government, operating within the framework of a national urban development policy and strategy for its implementation. Such action will be directed towards

the causes as well as the consequences of urban growth. The policy should find expression in a process of social, economic and physical planning which seeks to influence the course of urbanization according to an overall strategy of national development that, in turn, fully recognizes the pivotal importance of towns and cities in the development process.

As far as urbanization is concerned, development strategy should be oriented in one or more of a number of directions, the choice being determined nationally as a result of intensive and continuous research and analysis. For example, stress may be laid on reducing the economic and social causes of townward migration by creating industrial and commercial centers in the rural areas. This procedure is sometimes referred to as "urbanizing" such areas, in order to satisfy locally the people's aspiration for betterment. Alternatively, emphasis may be on diverting the stream of rural migrants away from the nation's already congested urban centers towards new areas which are ripe for development, and which by government action can be induced rapidly to step up their capacity to absorb the influx. That is, the strategy may be to encourage the phased growth of what are often termed new "poles of development." Another allied alternative may be for the government of Nigeria to stimulate the growth of "core regions", which in many cases have as their centers the nation's existing great cities. By strengthening the economic bases of these cities, improving their physical and social environment, and similarly developing a network of towns surrounding each city, the stream of migrants may be attracted to a few mature regions which are adequately

prepared to absorb them. In other words, the choice becomes a question of whether we want "bigger cities or more cities."

The major elements which are to be covered by urban development plans at each level of government include:

(a) The distribution of, and trends in, the populations of the cities, towns and villages; and their social structure and organization.

(b) The physical environment, including the land and natural resources.

(c) The distribution of, and trends in, economic activities, including the linkages between them.

(d) The distribution of, and changes in infrastructure, both physical and social, including urban forms and networks and systems of communication.

(e) The acquisition and allocation of investments and land for development purposes according to national priorities and standards.

(f) The legislative, administrative and fiscal changes needed to ensure that the plans can be implemented.

At the national level of government a Federal Ministry of Urban and Regional Development with appropriate departments is to be created as a matter of urgency. Successive urban development plans should embody a measure of continuity sufficient to enable sub-national (state) governments, including city or local governments as well as regional or provincial authorities, to produce plans which are compatible with overall national objectives. At the same time, urban development plans at all levels should constantly be reviewed and amended in the light of current research into demographic, social,

economic and technological changes in city life and growth. And while towns and cities should be willing to perform the economic and social roles which are considered necessary from the national and state standpoints, they should be permitted to take part in the formulation of national and regional plans of direct concern to them, and be assisted administratively and financially to perform their allotted roles.

Whatever strategy may be chosen in connection with urbanization, and physical planning, it should be integrated with the wider national development strategy--goals and objectives. And, since towns and cities are the dynamos of development in all countries, if urbanization strategy does not in fact determine the orientation of national strategy in general, it should at least play a leading role in the latter's determination. It follows that policies and plans for urban development should be fully coordinated with policies and plans for national development; that physical planning (which in the past has tended to dominate the sphere of urban development) should be integrated with economic planning (which has tended to dominate the sphere of national development). At all levels of government, development plans should be expressed geographically in terms of land use and physical infrastructure; sectionally in terms of economic activities; and socially in terms of people and social infrastructure.

The responsibility for coordination between different sectors and between different agencies of development might be vested in the units of general government at each level. The coordinating authority would operate through the establishment of planning and administrative

guidelines, financial programming, legal measures, interagency consultations and a review and evaluation process.

The formulation of urban development plans can hardly be separated from their implementation, insofar as planning is a continuous process extending from the survey and analysis of data, through the drafting of plans of action, to the programming and execution of resulting schemes and projects. At each level of government, the responsibility for undertaking all stages of this process should be clearly vested in the appropriate territorial government as a whole and not in any subordinate part, such as a department or semi-autonomous body. This responsibility should, however, be delegated by each territorial government to an agency or agencies in its charge, and such delegation would normally recognize a working distinction between the formulation of plans and their implementation.

The agency or authority holding a delegated responsibility for formulating plans should be located at a strategic point in the structure of the territorial (state) government and, where practicable, should be attached to or at the highest point in the hierarchy. Normally, a single agency should be attached to or at the highest point in the hierarchy. Normally, a single agency should be responsible for formulating plans, but in most cases their implementation will necessarily be the function of a number of agencies. It is essential that all such agencies should be made answerable to the decision-making authority, that is, to the territorial government at the level of government concerned and that there be effective

procedures for coordinating decisions on related projects and programs. Since the implementation of plans will often involve many more than one agency, it is especially important that implementation be subjected to unified administrative and technical control. The planning agency at each level should ensure the maintenance of such control through reports to the authority having powers of decision over implementation.

This function will be assisted if the draft plans are properly phased over time: for example, if there are long-term perspective plans, medium-term general plans and short-term annual plans which are all interrelated. It will be assisted, too, by the proper programming of projects and schemes, and the controlled allocation of investment, manpower and materials to them. To ensure the time implementation of multi-purpose programs, provision should be made to finance activities that would otherwise cause serious delays in the total program.

Coordination and control of implementation will be assisted if the following systems are established, namely:

(a) A system of information which provides for continuous checks on the progress and results of implementation and compiling data relevant to plan implementation.

(b) A system of financial control, which provides for performance budgeting and audit procedures, unit of standard costing, and control over credit and investment.

(c) A system of standards, covering technical matters--social, economic and physical--including definitions and procedural matters, including administrative manuals.

(d) A system of evaluation to monitor the performance of the above systems, using such indicators as area-wide trends in demographic and vital statistics, employment, labor turnover, the distribution of income per head, and the distribution of infrastructure per head.

(e) Well articulated national housing and land policies should be formulated for urgent implementation to achieve the objective of "planned dispersion."

To assist the research and analytical stages of the planning process, data should be gathered systematically on the basis of close cooperation between statistical and other information units at all levels of government, regardless of their hierarchical status and including academic and other non-governmental institutions. For each urban area or group of areas, a central clearing house should be created to gather, store and disseminate relevant information needed by the professional decision-makers. Such clearing houses should (either directly or indirectly via the national system) be connected to any international information center that may be established in the field of urbanization and urban planning.

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