

THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF NEW TOWNS
PLANNING IN UNCERTAINTY
THE CASE STUDY OF ABUJA

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ABSTRACTThe Institutional Context of New Towns - Planning
In Uncertainty. The Case Study of Abuja

The implementation of new Capital City projects faces various uncertainties. Some of these uncertainties are understood and acted upon, but some are not. Existing social relationships in which Capital City projects are planned and implemented are less regarded as a factor underlying uncertainties of achieving plans' objectives and assumptions. These turned out to be a principal factor constituting the uncertainty of realising Abuja and the FCT plans.

We believe, however, that institutional context both as a damaging and enabling factor is too important to be discounted in capital city plans. It is traced from the Nigerian urbanisation experience to traditional societies, previous policies and the administrative structure of the Federal Capital Development Authority. The review of other capital city programmes has only confirmed the need to understand the institutional framework in capital city plans.

The research identified that uncertainties tend to increase with monopoly of decision-making by individuals in authority, lack of knowledge, failure to involve groups or bodies who should be involved, poor management, scale of projects, the time dimension and political instability. The research has itemised uncertainties which could be deduced from major planning projects, and an analysis of which helps in policy formulation.

Principal conclusions included that pluralism compounded the problems of the implementation of Capital Plans and the capital cities have to adapt and modify the institutional

framework. A diversified resource base is essential in capital city development. Institutions and organisations could be employed positively to reduce uncertainties of funding and housing. Common to capital city programmes is that uncertainties have not been faced seriously by planners and decision makers as they have been in the study of psychology or in business deals. A simultaneous consideration of methods of assessing uncertainties in planning is essential in a new urban development.

Keywords: Institutional, Capital Cities, Pluralism, Assessment, Uncertainties and Risk.

Emman I.C. Agwu.

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PART ONE: URBANIZATION: THE BACKGROUND
AND PROBLEMS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 In the past forty years many new national or federal states' capital cities have been built in the world, of which most are still at preliminary stages of development or of planning. Throughout history, two features contributing to decisions on location or relocation of national capital cities have been the fringe locations of most old capital cities and the political instability of many countries. Bound up with these stimuli to create new capitals are modern attempts to eliminate or avoid blight, traffic problems, housing shortages, inadequate infrastructure and need for jobs by provision of bases for new economic activities.

1.2 New towns or new cities are not entirely modern phenomena. The first signs of interest according to Doxiadis (1973, page 4) came from Lao-Tzu in China in the 16th century B.C. The Romans built new towns throughout their Empire and the history of literature on new towns continued through Strabo, Plutarch and Sir Thomas More in 1516. Etienne Cabet wrote the 'Voyage en Icarie' in 1840; B.F. Skinner wrote 'Walden Two' in 1948; Huxley's 'Island' in 1962 was in a long-established line of hypothetical concepts. Ebenezer Howard had produced an idea for Victorians that was both inspiring and apparently within reach. F.J. Osborn devoted nearly all his very long life to keep Howard's idea of garden cities or new towns on the political agenda in Britain. Although experience of capital city development has accumulated in many countries, however, there is little evidence that lessons of problems of administration and of political and economic uncertainty have been learned and used to advantage in subsequent projects.

1.3 In the Nigerian context, the concept of new towns predated the colonial era in the case of cities like Ibadan and Abeokuta, founded after the Yoruba wars; New Calabar was flourishing before the advent of Europeans to Nigeria. Since the 1970s, with the increase in the general welfare of the citizens of Nigeria, pressure on existing urban facilities has increased and the inadequacy of existing urban centres to cope with pressure has introduced new dimensions to the interest in new towns. Planned new towns had started to emerge in Nigeria during the Colonial Administration. Some of these new towns (Type 1 New Towns) have developed into capital cities of their respective states. After the Colonial era, new town development continued to be seen by the national government as a mechanism for solving urban and cultural problems and, since 1960, several new towns and new capital cities have been designated and are being developed. The history of the economically developed nations shows that structural change in the economy is an integral part of the development process, and that urbanization has been a necessary condition of economic development. In these countries, the proportion of people living in rural areas and engaging in agriculture has tended to decline, while the proportion living in cities and employed in manufacturing industries has risen. Professor G. Ward argued "that migration and rapid expansions of towns are essential for economic and social progress and that urbanization should be facilitated and encouraged, rather than frowned on and discouraged" (Ward, 1971, page 8).

1.4 Despite Ward's economic argument, interest in new towns has commonly been marked by increasing concern over the high cost of developing them. In Nigeria, Professor Awajobi has talked of the high cost of Abuja, (The Sunday

Tribune of November 29, 1981). Most of the Nigerian new towns have not been able to achieve solutions to unemployment, housing and traffic problems. Racial and social segregation has been enforced either by law, as during the Colonial era, or through urban policies and land rent after the exit of the Colonial Authority. Lack of adequate funding has been to a large extent responsible either for the abandonment of plans for some new towns or for growth too slow to allow improvements expected from them to be noticed.

1.5 Added to the kinds of urban problem common in similar developing economies, Nigeria notably shares in the special consequences of societies which are pluralistic. These tribal characteristics of Nigerian society, their consequences and their complex interaction with the development of the Federal Capital, are described in this thesis as the institutional context of Abuja. The institutional framework of plural societies¹ like that of Nigeria is marked by cultural differences as against subcultural variations; by structural segregation in some voluntary activities; by a tendency to disproportionate distribution of resources to different social groups; by integration through common values, cross-cutting affiliations and balance of power as opposed to asymmetric economic interdependence and political domination; and by a fundamental vulnerability to instability and violence in lieu of institutional capacity for peaceful change (Smooha, 1978, page 8).

1. A plural society is composed of distinct and relatively autonomous groups, each with its own life style. Yet the bureaucracy, a centrally controlled army and police force, generally accept economic and symbolic rewards which, together with improved communications and educational facilities, form the mechanism for integration (A.T. Embree, 1973, 'Pluralism and National Integration-the Indian Experience', Journal of Internal Affairs 27, (1973) page 47.

Segal (Smoocha, 1978, page 1) used the phrase 'race war' to express the widespread anxieties of rampant hostility with and among nations - for instance, Moslems versus Christians, Igbo versus Hausas and Yorubas. The English school (including T.H. Green, F.H. Bradley and B. Bosanquet in Nicholls, 1974, page 5) of pluralist analysts recognised the importance of groups and said that cultural, religious, economic, civic and other groups not only exist, but ought to exist in a healthy state (Nicholls, 1974, page 2). An American school led by David Truman (Nicholls, 1974, page 18) holds the view that political decisions are reached as a result of numerous groups exerting pressures at different levels of the system. It is the object of a group to attempt to influence the policy of the government in such a way as to benefit the members of that group (Nicholls, 1974, page 2).

1.6 Nigeria is constituted of over 36 different ethnic groupings with varying cultures and institutions. The divisions affect the political thinking of people anywhere the various groups came together, consensus being reached only by fusion and fission. In cities, people might be denied equal opportunity to housing, employment, assignment to duties or allocation of market stalls because they belong to one tribal or religious group rather than another. The existence of these problems was the root cause of the military coups in Nigeria in 1966 and the 1967-1970 Civil War. Even after the War was over, the consequences of pluralism persisted in the Nigerian social fabric and no less in Federal Government Corporations and Agencies. This theme of institutional tension underlies the thesis's discussion of Abuja and of uncertainty about the future environment, as issues in management and policy review for major urban projects.

1.7 The pressure of the minority tribes in Nigeria for separate states and the Federal Government's desire to incapacitate the seceding Eastern Nigeria, led to the creation of the 12 States in 1967. As a consequence, Lagos became a state of its own and acted both as its own capital as well as the Federal Capital of Nigeria. This dual role increased the demand for space for accommodation by the two governments, and for housing and services. Traffic problems complicated the problem of accessibility. Efforts of both the Federal Military Government and the Lagos State Government failed to result in a substantial reduction in the problems. The Federal Government reacted by setting up a Panel - the Aguda Panel - to investigate, first, the dual role of Lagos as a Federal and State Capital and to advise on the desirability or otherwise of Lagos retaining that role and, second, in the event of the Committee finding that the Federal Capital should move out of Lagos, to recommend a suitable alternative location, having regard to the need for easy accessibility to and from every part of the Federation.

1.8 After four months of work, the Panel produced a report which concluded that Lagos was incapable of playing the dual role of being the Federal capital as well as the capital of Lagos State; Lagos was identified predominantly with one ethnic group, so that a new capital in a more central location would provide more equal access to Nigeria's great diversity of cultural groups. A new capital was desirable that would be secure, ethnically neutral, centrally accessible, comfortable and healthful and possess adequate land and natural resources to provide a promising base for urban development. The Panel recommended a new capital location in an area south of Suleja but north of the confluence of the Rivers Niger and Benue.

1.9 Nigeria's case repeats the migratory tendency of the colonial built capital cities all over the world. In the Americas, the U.S.A. moved its capital to Washington, D.C. and Brazil moved its capital to Brasilia. In the South Pacific, Australia moved its capital to Canberra. New Delhi was not the original capital city of India, and Pakistan has recently moved its capital to Islamabad. In Africa, the capital of Portuguese Guinea (Guinea Bissau) after several moves has now settled on Bissau. Tanzania is building Dodoma after having decided to move its former location from Dar-es-Salaam. Kigali in Raunda was created out of political fissioning. The two factors identified for these moves have been, first, the fringe locations of most of the colonial built capital cities and, second, the contemporary political instability of many of these countries.

1.10 The Nigerian case of Abuja is therefore not unique. For periods between 1859 and 1976, Nigeria had more than one capital; for instance, between 1890 and 1900 Old Calabar, Lagos and Lokoja served as capitals of their respective areas, and between 1900 and 1914 Lagos and Kaduna served as capitals. Lagos only became the capital of the entire country after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914. The Nigerian Federal Capital has now migrated to Abuja. These relocations of the capital suggest two general points. First, some of the older capital cities such as Old Calabar and Lagos were peripheral and could not serve the interests of all Nigerians. Secondly, some locations suggest that they were hasty improvised geographical adventures. For instance, Lokoja, though located along the River Niger and central, was characterised by malaria and tse-tse fly infestations.

1.11 The location of Abuja was seen to be central and accessible from all parts of the country, healthful and comfortable. Therefore, the recommendation of the Aguda Panel was accepted by the Federal Military Government and the Decree (Act) No. 6 of 1976 was promulgated, thereby establishing both the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA). The FCDA consists of a Chairman and eight other members. The Chairman is usually a Minister of cabinet rank and the members are appointed by the President, or Head of State, not on the basis of their expertise in respect of the issues at stake but on the State representation and of political alignment.

1.12 Under the Act, the Authority was delegated to choose a site for the Capital City, prepare the Master Plan, provide municipal services, establish infrastructural services and coordinate the activities of the Federal Ministries, departments and agencies within the Capital Territory. Implicit in the location of the Capital City within the Middle Belt of Nigeria is the fact that Abuja is seen as a mechanism to rectify regional imbalances, in an area seen by many Nigerians as a deprived region and as a trade-off of group pressures which the Federal Government could not continue to ignore. The Authority is semi-autonomous, that means it was meant to be free from the encumbrances that affect Government Ministries. To do this, the Authority was allowed to recruit its staff from within and without Nigeria.

1.13 The first planning team of the F.C.D.A. was made up of Polish recruits of various professional descriptions ranging from Architects to Traffic Engineers, who later turned into Town Planning Officers. Among the

Nigerian Assistants were a planning officer who had just graduated as a town planner, and three others who trained either in urban administration or health planning. The Engineering Team could not produce a better calibre of planner. The core administrative staff was made up of officials transferred from the State Ministries of Niger, Kaduna and Plateau and a few were transferred from the Federal Government Ministries. In other words, the F.C.D.A. is typical of the Nigerian Civil Service and is not exempt from the Civil Service's strengths and weaknesses. The planning team has subsequently been enlarged to include more Nigerians and foreigners from the Phillipines.

1.14 The FCDA staff moved from Lagos to Abuja in 1978. Their first tasks were to build the FCDA Staff Base at Suleja from where they drove to plan and implement Abuja and to assist the foreign planning consultants to select a site for the new city. In 1979, International Planning Associates from America produced the Master Plan and, between 1981 and 1982, Doxiadis Associates of Greece produced the Draft Regional Plan for the Federal Capital Territory.

1.15 At the designation of Abuja in 1976, the Military Government assured Nigerians that Abuja would enhance national unity. It was not surprising that a government that had just emerged from a Civil War and embarked upon the reconciliation of all the warring factions would strive for national unification. This would imply that all Nigerians would have equal rights to settle and own property and that the different ethnic groups would be adequately represented. Furthermore, the planners of the capital city appeared assured that through the consultants' urban and regional plans, problems of

inefficiency in administration, traffic congestion, housing and unemployment associated with Lagos could be resolved. Through a housing mix, Nigerians could live together in peace, they assumed or, at least, gave little hint of doubting.

1.16 Abuja has had five years (1979-1983) of development. Experience so far has shown that all the stereotypes of Nigerian society have been transferred to Abuja. Furthermore, Abuja is facing problems of funding because the Federal Government's main financial source of revenue is oil which is facing poor prices in the world market. Because the revenue for Abuja projects depends on Federal Government grants and allocations, contractors for Abuja projects have abandoned their assignments either because they could not be paid, or because they lacked adequate knowledge and supervision to perform their tasks, giving low output for the money spent on the projects. Staff performance has been low because appointments have not been made of the right calibre of staff, while the existing staff has been poorly managed, because assignment to duties has followed the existing tribal arrangement of dominance by the major local group.

1.17 The degree to which these neglected and underestimated difficulties have already interfered with progress at Abuja can be reflected by many examples. For instance, the Master Plan by International Planning Associates incorporated a programme based on the assumption that by the end of 1982, over 6,050 dwelling units would be completed in the New Federal Capital City, whereas by the end of that year only 1,500 dwelling units had been built. Again, the Municipal Administration Complex was expected to be built by 1980, whereas at the end of 1982 construction had not started. Also, the

Central Post Office was expected to be completed by the end of 1982, but at the beginning of 1983 the FCDA still depended on a small Post Office at Suleja for its postal services. Despite the Government's decision to accelerate the first movement to Abuja from 1986 to 1982, the progress of construction had fallen significantly behind what was originally thought to be required for a 1986 transfer of the capital from Lagos. It might be said that such a project cannot be judged by progress over such a brief period as five years. This would be the characteristic but dangerous response of many administrators and planners; it would ignore experience of capital projects in other countries and of the history of Nigerian urbanisation. The evidence of failures of previous attempts in Nigeria to achieve urban planning objectives appears to be reinforced by the initial problems of Abuja. Yet, the economic and political consequences of failure can hardly be contemplated. Nonetheless, even the most ardent advocates of Abuja's programmes have misgivings at the pace at which things have been moving at Abuja, when they have counted the cost and begun to think what to do in order to escape the consequences of failure.

1.18 This brings into focus the two central questions which will concern us in the thesis. First, how can Nigeria realise its main goal by building Abuja? Second, what is the probability of achieving Abuja's planning targets in the face of uncertainty? These two questions each rest on important assumptions by which the structure and scope of the thesis is determined. The first question as to the means by which Abuja can meet its goal of national unification rests on the assumptions:

- (i) that the institutional problems of Nigerian tribal society will continue to be reproduced in Abuja, requiring special measures to overcome severe hindrances to progress towards the Capital's objective of helping to unify the country;
- (ii) that only a weak understanding of the structure and working of Nigerian society is contained in the plans made for Abuja and the Capital Territory by IPA and Doxiadis Associates respectively. A much deeper understanding is required to not only anticipate problems but, also, to take advantage of traditional forms of tribal cooperation by which commitment to Abuja and sources of financing may be increased;
- (iii) that the history of urbanization in Nigeria is substantially concentrated in modern times, in which there are important lessons for Abuja's future to be learned by study of this experience.

The second question about the probability of achieving the planning targets for Abuja in the face of uncertainties assumes:

- (i) that the experience of difficulties in regard to resources and management experienced since 1979 will be repeated, in some already familiar, but also in new and often unpredictable ways;
- (ii) that competition between states and the political requirement of balance in urbanization and investment within Nigeria, puts at risk the economic priority to Abuja required to fulfil the plans and assumptions hitherto made for it;

- (iii) that because the Capital project is of exceptional magnitude by the standards of developed countries, it is, therefore, likely to be of unmatched complexity in relation to the experience of developing countries and of Nigeria especially;
- (iv) that migrants' mobility is generally dependent on perceived chances of securing jobs and housing, over which potential severe problems at Abuja underly the uncertainty of realizing the expected growth targets of Abuja and the other FCT new towns;
- (v) that the policy of allocating land only to those who can afford the development standards currently adopted in housing at Abuja, could not only undermine the co-habitation of various socio-economic classes, but could put in doubt the objective of equality of all Nigerians in respect of Abuja;
- (vi) that the policy of the Federal Capital Development Authority leading to limited participation in housing, puts at risk the objective of making Abuja a symbolic city for Nigerians;
- (vii) that the experience of previous capital projects in other developing countries can confirm some of the impediments and uncertainties which face such projects but, however, can offer little guidance as to how these difficulties can be overcome in Abuja's case;
- (viii) that although study of the issue of uncertainty in planning is poorly developed, systematic specification of uncertainties facing Abuja may

offer new policies by which the Capital's development may be accelerated in some respects, and more economically managed in others.

1.19 A review of the plans of such capital cities as Chandigarh, Brasilia and Islamabad has shown that the consequences of uncertainty were not considered at the planning stages of these cities, resulting in interruptions or problems of implementation. Abuja's planners could not offer a better understanding of uncertainties. The ubiquitous nature of uncertainty and risk exposes the naivety of planners who fail to take note of them. It is, therefore, believed that some of the problems facing Abuja's programmes today could have been avoided if there had been an increase in participation and awareness, more sensitive policy guidance, coordination, a reduction in group pressures and diversification of resources.

1.20 The purpose of the research, therefore, is to consider these two central questions by initially examining the urbanization experience of Nigeria, including the concept of new towns and the problems facing urban centres in Nigeria. Subsequently, the thesis examines the traditional institutional arrangements within which urbanization has occurred and which have enhanced or impeded developments. This examination includes a review of Nigerian legal and religious institutions and of organizations that provide social and economic services. The thesis then examines the measures adopted by various Nigerian governments to solve urban and regional problems, seeking understanding of the roles played by the Colonial Administration and National Governments in urban development. Specific

policy issues are then examined to see how far they have achieved their objectives, thus providing lessons for future policy. This also entails identifying those uncertainties that underlie the failure of plans. Finally, the thesis moves to suggest measures to reduce or manage uncertainties in Abuja's planning. Other created capital cities have been examined to see how they faced up to uncertainty, and techniques and other measures for reducing uncertainty in major projects are identified.

1.21 Institutional arrangements and uncertainties in planning and implementation of major urbanisation have received little attention from the planning profession. The continuing ability of town planners to see their function as one of identifying problems of the environment and formulating solutions by using techniques that do not involve value judgement, is explained by Ruth Glass (1973, p. 53) as stemming from the disciplines from which planning draws recruits¹. These, including surveying, engineering, architecture and geography, draw on essentially linear models of cause and effect, which lead to an over-simplified interpretation of social life, of the city as a system and of the uncertain consequences of such elements. The conceptual interpretations, interdisciplinary evidence and case studies offered in this thesis aim to provide a firm basis for understanding uncertainty and also for judging its impact on planning and implementation of new capital projects.

1. Since that paper by Ruth Glass was written, disciplines with more emphasis on the complexity of the social world and the pervasiveness of political choice (not necessarily in any party sense) have been more closely associated with the planning profession and its education programmes. It will also be in the profession's interest to investigate the contributions of such disciplines as psychology in respect of planning uncertainties.

1.22 Abuja's case has been viewed partly in an institutional context and partly deductively. The institutional theory belongs to the category of Normative Theories. It assumes (a) that the characteristics of any units of social life are determined by institutions, (b) that human society is an evolutionary or historical product, hence that explanation of social events consists in the discovery of origins (Weber, 1966, page 46). The explanation of the city was found in the particular order and historical primacy of its institutions. The approach of the thesis through institutional theory uses the method of limited investigation and observation, to establish the evidence of politico-economic factors relevant to the negotiation of policy decisions for Abuja's development. The author was a member of the staff of the Federal Capital Development Authority from 1981 to 1983 and, therefore, was a participant in the development of Abuja. In this position, he was himself subject to group influence and institutional pressures. There are perils in this position in regard to unbiased observation, yet the consideration of group influences on individual negotiation behaviour is a step toward greater 'realism' in research and a step toward a greater understanding of everyday negotiation behaviour, (Lamm, Kayser and Schwinger (in Irle (ed.) 1982, page 376).

1.23 Criticisms have suggested that major constraints to the application of institutional theory include professional technology, which might be thought to require knowledgeable people to handle certain public offices regardless of their values and ideology and, also, bureaucratic rigidity which acts to prevent institutions from adapting rapidly to changing social and economic conditions.

1.24 However, no one theory or model is capable of providing an explanation for all the multifaceted problems of a case like that of Abuja. Experience shows the insights that can be offered by sequential, concurrent, complementary or contextual treatments of the political, socio-economic and institutional aspects of public policies. Common to all of these approaches is the crucial need to develop institutional indicators that plug into actual relationships of power and influence to provide a reliable way of attaching different theoretical labels to the empirical structure. These indicators are presently lacking. Several other methods may be possible which are consistent with the view of Elinor Ostrom (1972) that, by systematically formulating three sets of competing hypotheses, they can be tested in concrete empirical areas. Conceptually, the research has to cope with existing situations, with an assessment of political and technical assumptions or objectives of the decision-makers, with the uncertainties and risk surrounding policy decisions and, also, with comparison with measures adopted by other capital cities in uncertain situations.

1.25 The thesis is divided into three parts. Part One lays the basis for the thesis by outlining the reasons for the topic selected for research in Chapter 1 and, in Chapter 2, by introducing the conceptual framework. Urban development in Nigeria is reviewed in Chapter 3. Part Two deals with the development of institutions and of urban development policy in Nigeria. The traditional institutions are expounded in Chapter 4, showing how Nigerians were handling their problems before the advent of western civilization; the chapter also shows how some traditional customs are maintained because they are functional rather than ceremonial.

Chapter 5 deals with colonial policies prior to Nigerian Independence. In Chapter 6, the national development plans are analysed in a political context. Chapters 7 to 10 deal with major shifts in government policies in industrial, agricultural, land and population redistribution. Part Three focuses from the Nigerian role examined in Part Two to the particular case of the Abuja Capital development, in relation to the issue of uncertainty. Chapter 11 reviews the regional context, and the Regional Development Plan and the Master Plan for the Capital are respectively reviewed in Chapters 12 and 13. In Chapter 14, the concepts of risk and uncertainty are introduced, and Chapter 15 deals with the assumptions underlying the Capital Plans. In Chapter 16, the problems of implementation of the Plans are assessed. Chapter 17 reviews the issue of uncertainty in regard to other international Capitals. Finally, in Chapters 18 and 19 conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made on how the Capital can be adapted to uncertainty and to the institutional implications of Nigerian society.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Competitive hypotheses were chosen as bases for analysis subject to uncertainties arising from imperfect knowledge, experience and management effectiveness which were empirically tested. The findings falsified a causal relationship existing between imperfect knowledge and plans; and experience and means of better anticipating unexpected occurrences. Discovered was a causal relationship between increase in qualified managers and awareness of uncertainties which might lead to better anticipating and reducing uncertainty. The framework focuses on existing situations, plan assumptions and objectives and comparison of Capital City plans in uncertainty.

2.1 The study is in the main based on data derived from a number of sources which have bearing with some definite theoretical expectations of human settlements.

2.2 Various theories have been propounded to explain why people concentrate in cities, the factors that necessitate the agglomeration and why people behave as they do. Many of these theories present us with limited approaches to the study of human settlements. Much of the literature concerns itself with the development of cities in Europe and America. This is not to accept that cities are an exclusive domain of European and American nations. Cities or settlements constituting urban communities existed in China, the Middle East, Egypt and even in West Africa in the Middle Ages. Of particular interest in West Africa were Tekru, Oualata, Timbuktu, Goa and Agades. All were not contemporaneous but whatever their date, Mabogunje (1968, page 47) said that they performed similar functions such as serving the functions of entrepot of trade with North Africa and virtually stations for equipping the caravans for the journeys across the desert.

2.3 Recently, a few studies have been carried out in the Third World countries with particular reference to Nigeria, primarily to justify the existence of cities before the colonial era. Their efforts, especially that of Professor A.L. Mabogunje's Urbanization of Nigeria, are nonetheless worthwhile in the present circumstances when the highest level of urbanization is found in those parts of the world where industrialization has reached an advanced stage and may appear to reinforce the claim that industrialization is the main ingredient of urbanism.

2.4 None of the studies in urbanization in Nigeria, including Professor A.L. Mabogunje's (1968) and Andrew Godwin Onokerhoraye's, so far identified an acceptable methodology for understanding the evolution of urban settlements mostly in those areas where they predate the arrival of the Europeans.

2.5 Harris, Britton (1960, pp. 265-72) said:

"at least for the moment there can be no theory of city planning which is wholly divorced from a theory of cities, and hence no wholly general theory of planning as such".

A cursory survey of urban texts does not easily reveal what is lacking. The statistics of transportation networks, markets, trade routes, chambers of commerce, trade unions, consumer's societies, churches, mosques, palaces, city halls, social clubs, racial censuses, parks and playgrounds abound. What do we lack, one would ask? We do not even lack features that are characteristic of cities or urban settlements; what one may see lacking after a careful study in urban books is the informing principle that creates the city itself.

2.6 Human settlements are major decisions that concern men either as individuals or as a group, starting with a room one sleeps in and a house for six persons, to towns, cities and metropolis for various persons and community of persons.

2.7 To understand human settlements we must, in both space and time dimensions, begin with the whole cosmos and come down to nature on earth, the biosphere, anthropocosmos, and finally human settlements.

(Doxiadis, C.A., 1972, p. 2, Action for Human Settlements).

Doxiadis in 1964 was the first to propose the definition of human settlements to include housing, building and planning. Even though this concept was rejected then, a few years later it was adopted as the accepted terminology. The definition is not easy. Even within the U.N. there is no "agreed upon definition" (Habitat 76, U.N. Conference - Exposition on Human Settlements, Vancouver, Canada, May 31 to June 11, 1976). Human settlements are the territorial arrangements made by man for himself. This may be very simplistic. It is difficult to conceptualise on a subject without getting the meaning clear, but if we accept the above definition, we can go forward to think of the decision-making mechanism that creates cities.

2.8 Given the definition of human settlements, the next probable thing is to set up for our reference a conceptual framework. Because a conceptual framework maps a system of variables, it highlights the inter-relationships among them and the importance of tracing through their systemic linkages (Finsterbusch et al., 1981, page 5).

2.9 The human settlement with its environment is very complex in that no single theory is capable of explaining it. The more recent thinking in the study of human settlements is not to confine one's analysis to a particular theory. In view of this problem, how can we possibly develop reasonable guidelines for selecting among numerous variables and problems? Such guidelines must be able to integrate into a small number of rather coherent bundles an extremely large number of multifarious facts. Social scientists are well aware of the need for sound theory or theories that will integrate research

findings, provide the necessary guidelines and make comparative analysis more simple (Blabock, Jr., 1970, page 79). This, however, has not been achieved.

2.10 In addition, such guidelines worthy of consideration have to take into account the behaviour - environment system of human settlements. A behaviour¹ - environment² system consists of interrelated behavioural and environmental elements. The social/behavioural elements include economic, political, cultural and institutional aspects of human settlement and these will form the main focus of the study. The inter-relationships of these elements are important to us since they determine the nature of behaviour-environment systems.

2.11 It is assumed that any proposed guidelines to this course will not contradict the provisions of the prescriptive hypotheses. For analytic reasons, a "hypothesis" is defined as a supposition made as a starting-point for further investigation from known facts.

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1. Behaviour is defined generally as human activity. Behavioural elements include attitude, beliefs, perceptions, as well as observable human actions.
 2. Environment is defined as those conditions which surround and affect the development of individuals or groups of individuals. Environmental elements include such things as natural resources (for example, air, water, land, energy, etc.); man-made or designed things (for example, housing, transportation, health, and recreational facilities) and social/behavioural elements (for example, economic, political, cultural and institutional).

2.12 All the hypotheses described below will be tested. If a hypothesis is applicable to future situations, the possibility exists that it may be proven false in the future. On the other hand, since abstract statements are applicable to the past and the present, it is possible to falsify an abstract statement.

2.13 We, therefore, posit that every instance of action according to technical rules is at the same time a test of these rules; every failure of a feedback-controlled action is at the same time the refutation of a hypothesis, and every reorientation of a disturbed behavioural system is at once both the extension of a previously exercised power of technical control and the result of a learning process (Habermas, 1972, p. 124). Consequently every event that falsifies a prediction derived from a hypothesis must be subsumed under alternative assumptions in order for us to be at all able to comprehend it. This agrees with Habermas' observation that "... new hypotheses must not be left to the randomness of a hypothesis-creating imagination" (1972, p. 125). However, there is an argument that in a pragmatic system of reference, if the deduction of lawlike assumptions are made, their inductive confirmation is not an exclusively logical relation. The post-plan unexpected occurrences have led us to design this research to test the hypotheses concerning factors that influence decision-making.

Hypotheses

2.14 1. All knowledge is imperfect and, therefore, all plans must be imperfect. It is hypothesized that the existing plans for Abuja will face unexpected occurrences which will require changes of policy.

2.15 In view of the definition based on the conception that imperfect knowledge must cause imperfect plans, the following causal process based on the understanding that plans are a set of decisions for action in the future, might be proposed to explain this relationship.

2.16 All imperfect knowledge causes imperfect plans. Imperfect plans lead to implicit policies being pursued by the Authority other than those stated in the plans.

2.17 Implicit policies will lead to misunderstanding between one policy and the other.

2.18 The misunderstanding of differences in policies will cause unexpected effects which subsequently cause the Authority the loss of acceptance and confidence of the policy-makers.

2.19 Loss of acceptance and confidence of the policy-makers may lead to the suspension of the project or decentralization of its functions or reassignment of the staff of the Authority.

2.20 The results are summarised in the statement that the existing plans for Abuja will face unexpected occurrences which will require changes of policy.

2.21 2. Experience in developing other capital city and new town projects can indicate means of better anticipating unexpected occurrences and thereby better planning and managing Abuja's development.

2.22 As increase in anticipating unexpected occurrence will lead to better study of existing resources.

2.23 Better study of existing resources will lead to searching for more new areas of tapping resources to supplement the existing ones.

2.24 New areas of tapping resources will lead to discovering more uncertainties about the availability of resources and more caution.

2.25 Awareness of uncertainties about the availability of resources and more caution will lead to reduction of uncertainties.

2.26 The consequences of these are summarised in the statement that experience in developing other capital city and new town projects can indicate means of better anticipating unexpected occurrences and thereby better planning and managing Abuja's projects.

2.27 3. The more there are qualified managers (that is increase in variation, training and experience of members) there is increase in awareness of uncertainties, leading to better productivity.

2.28 Similarly, the following is the set of processes related to the initial hypothesis. As members vary more in terms of their training and experience, their interpretation of rules and procedures will vary more.

2.29 An increase in the variance in interpretation of organizational rules and procedures will cause a decrease of coordination in organizational activities.

2.30 As coordination in organizational activities decrease, the organizational performance will decrease.

2.31 A decrease in performance disturbs organizational administrators.

2.32 Organizational administrators attribute poor performance to a decrease of coordination, and the organizational administrators attribute a decrease of coordination to ambiguous rules and procedures.

2.33 To reduce the ambiguity of organizational rules, the organizational administrators increase the number of rules and make the rules more detailed and specific.

2.34 An increase in the number of rules and their specificity is generally considered an indicator of increase in formalization.

2.35 The experiences are summarised in the statement that the more there are qualified managers, the more increase in awareness of uncertainties leading to better productivity.

2.36 The operational definitions of the hypotheses are aimed at providing a sense of understanding that is absent from the first procedure, the derivation from the hypotheses. Furthermore, they can provide explanations and predictions in the sense of logical derivations, as well as provide concepts for organizing and classifying phenomena of interests. There is need for an agreement that research will provide support for abstract statement, and any empirical support for the concrete statement also provides support for the abstract one (Reynolds, 1971, page 116).

Empirical Relevance (Test)

2.37 The issue of making a distinction of one variable affecting another and being able to change the variable has been one of controversy for a long time. Two schools of thought have emerged, those who are opposed to the causal theory of perception, and those in favour of it.

2.38 Among the opponents were Hume, who said:

"The idea of necessary connexion among events arises from a number of similar instances which occur of the constant conjunction of these events". He added

"There is nothing in a number of instances different from any single instance, which is supposed to be exactly similar, except only that after a repetition of similar instance the mind is carried by habit upon the appearance of an event, to expect its usual attendant, and to believe that it will exist. This connexion which we feel in the mind, this customary transition of the imagination from an object to its usual attendant, is the sentiment or impression from which we form the idea of power or necessary connexion" (Ayer, 1961, page 185).

2.39 Professor Collingwood¹ pointed out that we sometimes use the word (cause) in such a way that "that which caused is the free and deliberate act of a conscious agent, and 'causing' him to do it means affording him a motive for doing it". He concluded that there was

1. Professor Collingwood (Ayer, A.J., 1961, p.195), in his paper "On the So-called Idea of Causation", Proceedings of the Aristotolelian Society, 1937-1938.

nothing whatsoever to give rise to the idea of necessary connexion; and indeed it was hard to see how the idea could ever have arisen as part of an animistic theory which constituted merely in the false attribution to inanimate objects of properties that were exclusively characterised of human beings.

2.40 In a similar way, Dr. Kelsen Hans in his thesis said that "the law of universal causation" has been derived historically, from a universal principle of retribution. The underlying conception is that effect follows cause as reward or punishment follows good or evil act; and it is thought to follow necessarily, because these sanctions are supposed to be enforced by a deity which, whether personified or not, is all powerful. And this explains why it has been thought essential that the cause should precede the effect (Ayer, 1961, page 196).

2.41 The most important critic of those who hold a causal theory is Alfred I. Ayer (1961). However, he found it hard to reject the prior convention of most thinkers (that is causality concept) by inclusion of such a principle in the definition of "causality" can fairly be condemned as being in no way justified by the empirical facts. He contended that that did not mean that causal inference could be reasonable; and the rationalists took this to imply that they were deductive inferences from ground to consequent, for they held that otherwise there would be no valid reason for trusting them. However much "creativity" a theory may display, its propositions, he said, are not usually designed at the outset to be regarded as a prior truth. It is only when the theory has been very strongly substantiated by empirical observations that the tendency

arises to make it wholly analytic. If there is to be any reason for believing in the law of universal causation..... it must be based upon our actual observations of the occurrences of sensible events. Ayer maintained that it is not very probable that every event is, in fact, connected with some other event, in such a way that one could infer its occurrence from the known occurrence of the other event by means of a valid causal or even a valid statistical law (Ayer, 1961, page 219).

2.42 Among the exponents of the causal theory were Professor H. Price (Ayer, 1961, page 177), Jean Nicod¹ (Ayer, 1961, page 180), Kant (Canfield, John et al., 1964, page 182), Reynolds (1971, page 7) and Professor G.E. Stout (Ayer, 1961, page 187).

2.43 In particular, Professor G.F. Stout criticised Hume's ideas by saying that if one accepts a Humean analysis of the evidence which there is for believing that events of different kinds are causally related, then one can have no valid ground for attaching even the slightest probability to any supposed causal law. So, Professor Stout brought in the notion of 'active tendency' with which he holds that we are made familiar by our experience of our own conative states. He concluded that "it is required that mind shall through and through enter into the constitution of nature". Two reasons deduced from this were, firstly, that there actually are occasions on which we are justified to make causal inferences, and secondly, that we should not be so justified unless we were capable of expecting that the things to which we ascribed causal properties were possessed of active tendencies (Ayer, 1961, page 189).

1. Jean Nicod in Foundations of Geometry and Induction (translated by P.P. Wiener, page 223).

2.44 Given the pros and cons of these arguments about the theory of causation, we come to the conclusion that none of the opposing parties in the argument has called for the dismantling of the theory, rather, they were in unison that the utility of a theory depends on its empirical application. This is the main aspect of the task we shall now face.

2.45 We may now start by assuming, for example, that "imperfect knowledge" is the cause of "imperfect plans" at Abuja. "Imperfect knowledge" becomes the independent variable C, and "imperfect plans" constitute the dependent variable E, whereas Abuja provides the "condition", the presence of which is thought to be necessary for the cause of imperfect knowledge to produce the effect of imperfect plans. Assuming we introduce "imperfect knowledge" in a situation different from Abuja's, for example, in the college system, surely "imperfect knowledge" will not produce "imperfect plans" but may result in poor examination results. Accordingly, the event by which a given event e is determined must be understood. Ayer (1961, p. 181) observed that the formula allows for what is known as the plurality of causes. If an event e of the kind E is a case of another event c of the kind C, it follows, taking c to be the determinant, that every event of the kind C is a case of some event of the kind E. With this we can conclude that the effect of imperfect knowledge varies with situations. We can now hold the independent variable constant and vary the independent variables; realizing that the real world may be more complex than idealized by the hypothesis. Suppose we choose the people that are involved in finding the solution to any particular problem as another cause and in this case we hold other causes constant. The people we give them the letter D, where again it is

true that every instance of D is a case of some instance of E. Then we can agree that taking c (i.e. an instance of C, or in other words imperfect knowledge) to be the determinant on a particular occasion, one can argue that not only all instances of C are cases of instances of E (i.e. Effect, or in other words "imperfect plans"), but also that all instances of E are cases of instances of C.

2.46 Our second conclusion is that imperfect plans of Abuja might have been caused by other causes as well, not necessarily imperfect knowledge. Blalock (1970, page 17) noted that it is difficult to keep all the causes constant, hence in a graphical representation the relationships of C and E, or C, E and D manifest a curve linear pattern. Other causes may be affecting the relationship between cause and effect without noticing. Hence a policy based on such association, hoping to improve a poor situation, may be disappointing. The more the relationship is disturbed, the more we shall suspect that there are other causes of the problem. Even with a perfect fit of the data of the relationship curve, it is possible to think, had a third factor been held constant, the original relationship might have been altered considerably. In a situation like this, the statistical methodology would offer randomization as the solution to the disturbed relationships between causes and effects. One cannot be very sure even with randomization, that is, whether randomization is acceptable in the real life situation of decision-making or management of urban development. Instead, we should manipulate as many variables as possible in order to find an optimal solution.

2.47 Effective decision process almost always involves both experts and politicians (or policymakers) simultaneously in close interdependency. Any politician who values the role of an expert or conversely any expert desiring influence, would not like to undermine this relationship. Therefore, any rational decision will be influenced by political interests to varying degrees and at the same time, it must satisfy some technical criteria.

2.48 Selectivity of activities is a political issue. The issues to be explained and the range of alternatives to be explained are political issues. Certain alternatives will be eliminated because they are outside the realm of political possibility, while some will be included not because of their social benefit, but because they meet the political demands.

2.49 The planned process of management, policy analysis, the concepts of programme budgeting, staff recruitment and others have to accept the realities of politics.

2.50 The Authority at Abuja takes decisions, for example, the resettlement of the displaced persons in the Territory, that in a wider environment have an impact one upon another. The complex weave of effect and counter-effects is but imperfectly recognised within the process of decision-making structure around the particular decision. In choice making values are implicit. It is for the politicians to resolve those choices, not the experts. The Abuja plans should be understood from this political context. The New City's political role is not by any means accidental because Abuja's place among other cities in the country is central. Even within the traditional process of local

politics a city's politics of priorities is worked out always in a conflict situation.

2.51 The existence of pressure groups at this level of abstraction makes politics explosive and they resist any rational technical approach to finding solutions.

2.52 Those who consider group values argue that their optima are adjusted in the democratic process, and that rationality equals the societal optima cannot be achieved in any other way (Rein, 1976, p. 98). The disjointed - incremental school holds that when certain conditions are met, such as representation of all interested parties in the political process, the outcome must yield a rational decision (Rein, p. 101). Finally society is inherently incapable of being goal oriented for deep-seated ideological reasons; these include tribalism and religious differences - accordingly, applied cybernetic rationality cannot be the only basis of social planning.

2.53 How is good decision determined? Generally, the measure is the decision-makers agreement about it. Poor decisions are those which exclude actors capable of affecting the projected course of action; decisions of such type tend to be blocked or modified later. The only way out is to allow people to participate in those things that affect their interests, bearing in mind that the type of participation will depend on scale of the programme to be implemented, and the political situation or circumstances. The decision affecting large change is not made at the lower levels of government, nor specially, is it made in the middle or lower ranks of the administrative service. The decision-makers will be able also to differentiate between ideologically based

from group based problems, which will help diagnose correctly the particular ills they wished to remedy and to predict what direct and indirect consequences of the actions. "Community control" is a slogan of both mystical communities and those who argue as does Dahl (Nagel, 1975, page 80) that a policy matter should be discharged democratically by the smallest association that can deal with it satisfactorily because individual preferences can be more influential in smaller jurisdictions. The underpinning in all this is that different communities with different values should be approached through different methods. Taylor in his "work measurement" techniques for assessment of human effectiveness, based his methods on the assumption that man was rational thinking and motivated by economic considerations. It, therefore, made sense to apply scientific methods to work content in order to control the effort and decision-making required by the worker, so that jobs could be clearly defined and broken down into measurable elements (Hussey et al., 1979, page 75). Another view sees man as basically motivated by social needs and obtains his basic sense of identity through relationships with others (Hussey et al., 1979, page 75). Both economic and social needs are the twin engines that propel man's actions.

2.54 Major efforts have been abandoned or have failed to fulfil their goals because of political resistance. Some successes have been obtained by even questionable means. For example, opponents of programmes are tactically excluded in decision-making relating to that programme. The importance of rational, normative and ideological elements should be noted without sacrificing one for others. The role of any theory of planning should be that of integrating them in its policy formulation.

2.55 Policy issues combine technical and political matters. Technical matters are defined here as those which are concerned with known or knowable facts, and political matters as those that deal with ideological problems. Conflicts arising from technical questions can, in theory, be resolved by the scientific method, given sufficient resources. Conflicts arising from ideological questions, that is, regarding what is good or moral or fair or ethical, cannot be resolved by the scientific method, no matter what the resources.

2.56 The role of specialist services and of the officers has been and will remain a major task. However, this will be accommodated within the political framework. It is the responsibility of the experts to establish the interrelationship between the problems dealt with by the various departments of the Authority. This will include the development of strategies which will include physical, social and economic change, and the building of coalitions among the holders of influence in the urban areas. The Authority contains a range of skills, attitudes and knowledge. Engineers, architects, surveyors, accountants, lawyers, social workers, doctors and planners constitute the experts. Each of these has particular skills and particular knowledge and particular attitudes that determine an approach to problems. The argument is how far these are given a free hand to contribute to decision-making in areas of their field speciality. Where problems arise as a result of imperfect knowledge, the question will be how much are the experts involved? The size, composition and freedom to work are likely the determinants of what the experts can contribute to decision-making. Robert Agger et al. (Faludi, 1973, p. 266) said

"the variability of community decision-making systems suggests a diversity of roles for those who wish to guide urban growth. A community with an elite political group may provide a hospitable environment for the planner as technical staff aid. In a community with a more competitive pattern of decision-making, the planner may be required to be a broker, arbitrating between opposed interests to build support for innovation. In a more fragmented system, where ad hoc coalitions form on particular issues but are rarely maintained, and it is easier to prevent action than sustain it, the planner may have to act as mobilizer of influence. He might first have to arouse those with interests in an issue and then coordinate these interests".

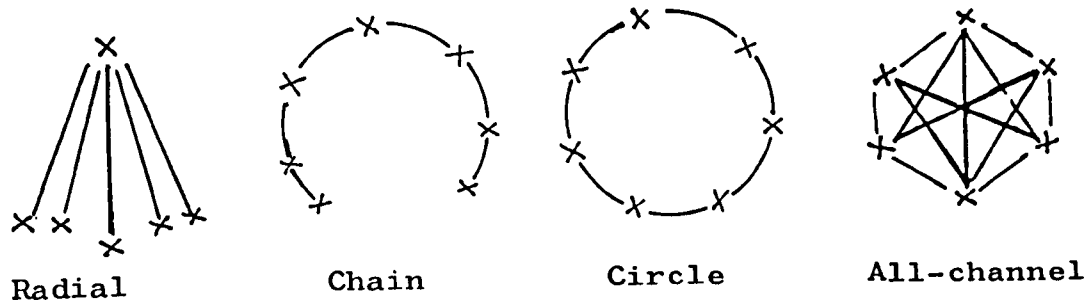
2.57 Where an expert deserts his role for that of power group, he ceases to be personified as one because his roles have been diluted with corruption of local politics.

2.58 Another factor that affects the cause and effect relationship is an interaction factor. No matter how perfect is the knowledge, an implementing agency will only be successful to the extent it takes into account the personal and group relations and motivation of all parties involved. The withholding of information from the group that can contribute to both rational decision-making and its implementation until a particular course of action has been worked out is one of the ways particular group interests are protected and the benefit of good and controlled planning is lost. Matters of personal motivation, professional status and antipathies may be involved. The possible situation that develops is complex and sensitive functions are left in the hands

of mediocrities. The individuals lower down in the organization may feel a real sense of alienation, removed completely from the power source and having little control over their work and working life. The problem in this regard is human and it can affect plans' outcomes immensely.

2.59 Leavitt (1951) in experimental work considered four possible systems which are given in Figure 2.1.

FIGURE 2.1: COMMUNICATION NETWORKS



Of the four systems the radial is closest to the hierarchical system of organization propounded by Taylor (1947), Brech (1957), where all communications proceed via the leader or the director of the group. These networks are simplified patterns of organizational communication, but in a complex organisation all four networks may function simultaneously. The comparison of the effectiveness of the four networks - radial, chain, circle and all-channel - based on speed of decision-making, accuracy, efficiency, morale, and response to need for flexibility and creativity, showed that the radial network is generally fast with a good degree of accuracy and efficiency, but morale is seen to

be poor and response to need for flexibility and creativity is very slow. In contrast to this, the all-channel network is usually slower, has fair accuracy, low efficiency with very high morale, and a fast response to need for flexibility and creativity (Hussey, 1979, pages 93-94). The comparison of the four networks is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

FIGURE 2.2: COMPARISON OF NETWORKS

	Radial	Chain	Circle	All-channel
Speed	Fast	Fast	Slow	Slow
Accuracy (i.e. errors, misunderstand- ing)	Good	Good	Poor	Fair
Efficiency (i.e. efforts expended in achieving results)	High	High	Low	Low
Morale	Poor	Moderate /poor	High	Very high
Response to need for flexibility and creativity	Very slow	Slow	Fast	Very fast

Source: Findings from Roffey Park Management College, Horsham, Sussex, reproduced in Hussey et al. (1979, page 94).

The success of any of these approaches depends on the agency or agencies. From the basis of the results, one can argue that the radial system should work best where the task is straightforward and routine, calling for little need for creativity. But the low morale would

still remain a problem. On the contrary, where the task is more complex and need for creativity and problem solving high, then the all-channel system is likely to be more appropriate.

2.60 Following the interaction factor is the language problem. In view of this problem, implementation is made difficult. Decisions may be arrived at in a language that is not common among the professionals nor between the professionals and the lay participants in the implementation of the plans which provide a basis for clearer expression and wider comprehension of the implications of the complexity of planning problems.

2.61 The efficiency of any agency will be affected by the scale of a project to be implemented. An inexperienced agency which is confronted with a large scale project will realise that it is facing a herculean task and faulting is possible irrespective of the degree of knowledge. The scale of the project too determines the degree of penetration into the subject-matter, trying to deal with all elements and aspects of the subject-matter or aiming at specific areas and central factors. The realization of the scale of the operation is important, so that there would be no misleading representation. Size is a problem even when the subject area is familiar. A further complexity capable of affecting the outcome of plans is when an agency staff consists of people of varied knowledge, experience and interests which in most cases are inimical to the operational efficiency of the system. Similarly, contractors with diverse backgrounds and nationalities add to the complexity and the need for planning as a coordinating function becomes readily vital.

2.62 Furthermore, there is the method factor. The most basic (not the only) mechanism for providing an element of participation at the state and national levels is through representative democracy. However, any formal mechanisms of democratic control is liable to become modified in practice through the conventions of party politics. Under President Shagari's administration, there is little difference between elected and appointed representatives to the national agencies in respect to local representativeness. The purpose is still to reflect the current values and pressures in particular sections of the country. The argument that is sometimes heard is that some of these appointed representatives are selfish and only enrich themselves with the taxpayers money, rather than guide strategic choice. The task of plan making is a difficult one and it requires a different level of comprehension; the argument is whether the non-professionals are intellectually equipped to contribute to high level decision-making. If they must contribute, their influence is likely to be reflected in the plans.

2.63 Where decisions are imposed from the centre, it is likely to be taken as given. Once this is a possibility a choice arises as to how far a specialist can influence decisions.

2.64 Meanwhile, it has been assumed that there was no financial problem which determines the decision-making and its implementation. Kaplan (1958) realised the role of money as an independent variable in decision-making when he said:

"We are playing a game in a taxi with the meter running; even though we may possess a theory of the game, the cost of computing the optimal strategy may be too great".

When all other factors have been held in check, the remaining details can be modified according to the cost factors and the like.

2.65 Reacting to the second aspect of the hypotheses, we posit the question whether experiences of other capital city and new town projects are essential for the planning and managing Abuja's development?

Development process is a learning activity combining what experience and knowledge an individual brings to a situation and its actors and the interaction which then goes on between individual and the new situation.

Not surprisingly, the development of capital cities and new towns projects produce research and treaties into more effective ways of planning and managing new city development. Perrow (1972)¹ succinctly put up the advantages an agency will derive by employing men who had the experience and professional skills:

"The less the expertise, the more direct surveillance and the more obtrusive the controls. The more the expertise, the more unobtrusive the controls. The best situation of all, though they do not come cheap, is to hire professionals, for someone else has socialised them and even unobtrusive controls are hardly needed. The Professional, the prima donna of organization theory is really the ultimate eunuch - capable of doing everything well in that harem except that which he should not do, and in this case that is to mess round with the goals of the organization, or the assumptions that determine to what ends he will use his professional skills".

1. C. Perrow (1972) Technology organizations and environment: a cautionary note, paper presented at the British Sociological Association meeting of the Industrial Sociology group: in K. Thompson, People and Organizations, Unit 1, The Problem of Organization, Open University Press, 1974.

2.66 Hussey (1979, page 44) saw this as a nice point and concluded that organization overcomes the partial allegiance which individuals have either by overt control and direction or, more subtly, by hiring those who have already been socialised into organization norms and standards through professional education and training and will not, therefore, question the basic tenets and goals for which the bureaucracy exists.

2.67 It is important to observe that varied training and experiences do produce varied interpretations of organization rules and make coordination difficult. We posited thereafter that through an internalised mechanism, an organization is capable of solving those problems. Through the process of learning from agencies with similar experience an organization develops the means of anticipating unexpected occurrences and thereby better planning and managing development projects.

2.68 The interrelationships between future actions and existing laws are equally important. Any act which contemplates upon any change in administrative direction will impinge upon some existing institutions or some existing laws which are the products of earlier policies. For example, the cost of compensation on developments of land will influence the attitude of any authority that wishes to acquire land. The implementation of new policy demands for its success a thorough knowledge of existing laws and their operation as they touch upon the execution of the contemplated policy. It is not enough for policymakers to know the existing laws as they affect the intended project; they must also know the impact of the administration of those laws on the social situation which their new policy will eventually be expected to change.

2.69 Information obtained from existing data helps to deduce the trends in the past and predict the future. Sources of such data include census reports, planning reports on local, regional, national and international levels, stored data on population dynamics, employment, size of industries, cost of building materials and provision of services and traditional institutions. These provide aids to judgement, and decisions based on the trends produce more accurate results than point-events, which in most circumstances are exaggerated or faulted because of bureaucratic enthusiasm and haste. But it is important to warn not to expect too much from experience, for no one driving a car would like to be involved in an accident before one learns to be careful on the highway.

2.70 On organizational effectiveness, Hussey et al. (1979, page 93) identified five determinants such as speed of decision-making, accuracy, efficiency, morale and response to need for flexibility and creativity. An experienced and knowledgeable planner has the advantage of knowing where to find the solution to his problem and that reduces the time cost. However, the speed in arriving at a solution could be constrained by non-availability of resources, for instance, a soil scientist can hardly be effective without a laboratory. Similarly, accuracy in carrying out an assignment depends on the level of skill and exposure sequence of the subject to a particular experience. Based on the frequency of events, a subject will be able to look for alternative solutions and choose the one that produces the most accurate solution.

2.71 Efficiency in management is measured in terms of the ease with which the purposes and regulations of the

organization or government, business and individual can be carried out. What could provide this ease? Surely it is not the knowledge or experience of the subject, but the environment in which he operates. Such an environment may include office space, residential accommodation and its location to his place of work. The interaction of the subject with his environment may have a psychological effect on his efficiency at work. It is not surprising to find a most knowledgeable and experienced worker inefficient in the execution of his duty if most of these facilities are not in their proper places. Efficiency can as well be affected by the operational size of the managers to permit specialized centralized staff, and a sizeable labour pool of appropriate workers. Where this is not available, internal efficiency of the organization can be sacrificed to adaptability.

2.72 The morale of the staff is another determinant of effectiveness that can be influenced by externalities (that is outwith the worker's knowledge and experience) even though his previous experience can to some extent help him to adapt to the new situation more than an inexperienced person. The morale of a worker is vulnerable to the type of organizational structure. In most pluralistic systems a low morale can be generated for example, where a planner with a university degree earning about N3500.00 is made to receive orders from an administrative clerk and a secondary school drop-out with no other qualification than his place of origin but earns over N5000.00.

2.73 A manager is likely to be more flexible and creative in taking any planning action than an amateur.

With experience has come the understanding that the name of the game is awareness of, and strategic response to change, and an acceptance of the fact that formal planning is partly about making changes to be a defined strategy with some awareness of the various possible outcomes (Hussey et al., 1979, page 217). A planner can hardly be flexible in his action unless he is able to perceive the fallibility of that planning action. The range of skills which may be brought to bear on a problem may be numerous, and can rarely be possessed by one man. Often creativity can be increased by bringing together a group of people with differing skills, who provide each other with flashes of insight, and by seeing the problem from differing angles, tend to stimulate creative ideas in the group as a whole. Such creative ideas could be mechanisms for reducing uncertainties.

2.74 In conclusion, we have found empirically that the same C can produce varied effects in other situations, so as the same E can be caused even independently, by other variables. Hence, H.W.B. Joseph said:

"To say that the same conditions may yet produce a different effect is to say that a thing (inanimate) need not be what it is".

There is evidence that imperfect knowledge can be associated¹ with imperfect plans. Plans which are defined as a set of decisions for future actions involve much more than knowledge of problems. Human factors, interaction of various variables, technical aspects and

1. Associational statements describe what concepts occur or exist together. These can occur either positively or negatively, the only difference being the way the concepts are labelled.

balance of power can influence decision-making and affect it either positively or negatively. In every bad decision we find out that there are those who benefit from it, and to them it is never a bad decision.

2.75 The hypotheses have been found inadequate to account for all the variables associated with cause and effect relations in respect to imperfect plans. Secondly, experiences in developing other capital city and new town projects, while important, cannot be said to be enough for providing enough backing for a new city project. Experiences should be extended to existing local laws, especially as they relate to land acquisitions. A country's resources in people and materials determine what it can copy and implement.

2.76 Given the falsification of the first and second groups of hypotheses, the alternatives are substituted thus:

1. "Some assumptions underlying all plans and all administrative structures must be imperfect and, therefore, all plans must fail in some degree. Existing plans for Abuja will face unexpected occurrences which will require changes of policy and institutional arrangement".
2. "Furthermore, it is hypothesized that experience in developing other capital city and new town projects, studies of existing laws, institutions and resources, can indicate means of better anticipating unexpected occurrences and thereby better planning and managing Abuja's development".

2.77 On the contrary, the third group of hypotheses which in the main assumes that an awareness of uncertainties increases with increase in bringing qualified, experienced and committed personnel together to plan and implement plans has been abstractly validated. Concrete empirical evidences to support the hypotheses will be sought in the research. The hypotheses are therefore retained.

2.78 The purpose of these hypotheses is to maintain and extend the feedback-controlled action. The hypotheses' end is, through subjection to the test of experiment, to lead to better avoidance of surprises and to the establishment of positive expectation that shall not be disappointed (Habermas, 1972, page 124). Figure 2.3 illustrates the conceptual framework.

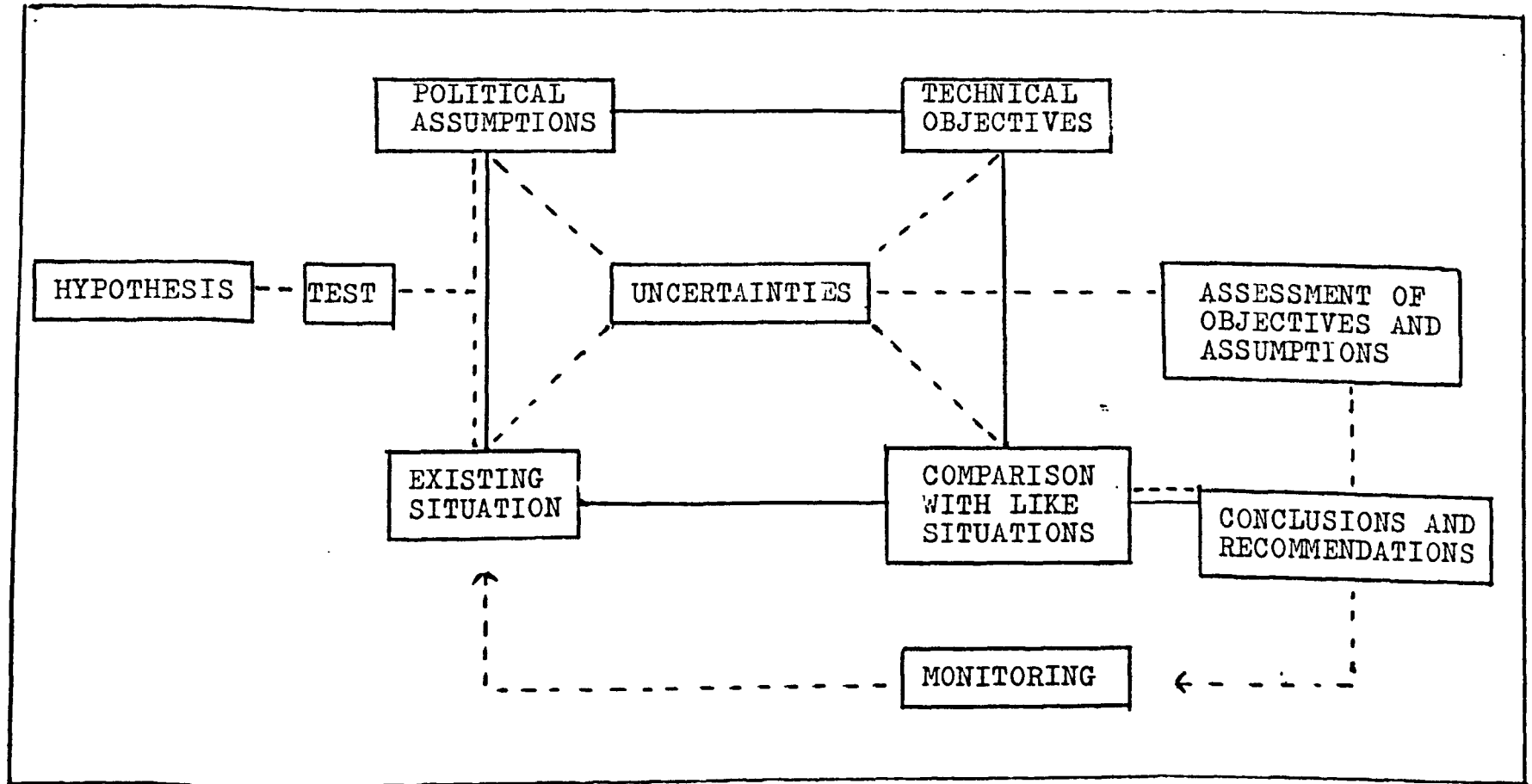
2.79 Therefore, the thesis posited is that planners charged with the planning and implementation of Abuja programmes did not understand what would happen as a result of their intervention. This implies that had the planners been aware of unexpected occurrences they might have acted differently.

Sources of data and information and means of obtaining them

2.80 The study is a combination of both primary and secondary research materials. The initial effort (Chapters 2 - 10,14, 17 and 19) relies for the most part on secondary research. Examination of the documents relating to various traditional institutions, the current status of Types 1 and 2 New Towns programmes, the development policies, and the various land laws is in

FIGURE 2.3:

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



———— PLANNED ACTION
----- DESIRED ACTION

effect. For this effort sources such as court records, legislation, policy papers, reports and studies and the views of interested persons from government and private sector, as expressed in the existing literature, were used.

2.81 The information expressed in these documents has been cross-checked with the existing institutions and found as far as possible to be authentic. Arguments, both pros and cons, relating to the concept of new towns, legislations and policy issues were documented. The research indicates that these arguments have been stated and restated and collated several times in the literature, to obviate the need for formal questionnaires to develop them.

2.82 When the foregoing basic information and data were established, it was possible to conduct the primary research on the NFCC as reflected in Chapters 11-13, 15-16 by participant observation method. The data collected were documented and analysed. For additional data and information needed, the information sources included, firstly, interviews with knowledgeable Federal Government officials primarily in Lagos, and secondly, site visits to selected new towns in Nigeria and Great Britain. The former data consist of significant information on the political assumptions of the New Federal Capital City and the latter helps to assess some of the planners proposals when compared with already functioning new towns in other countries.

Methodology:

2.83 The study leans heavily on the Theory-Then-Research strategy whose main procedure involves selecting statements that are most likely to be true, that is, correspond with the empirical results. A research project to test the hypotheses correspondence with empirical research was designed. This was followed by testing the hypotheses to determine where they need to be amended or modified. The hypotheses' failure to correspond with empirical research led to the modification of the hypotheses, and subsuming under the alternative assumptions in order to make them comprehensible.

i) The abductive process was used for forming an explanatory hypotheses. This helps to extend our knowledge of the hypotheses.

ii) Conditional predictions based on the hypotheses are produced through a deductive process. This led to the test and thus the formation of the final estimate of the credibility of the hypotheses.

iii) The interactive approach was adopted and this entails the historical description of the existing behaviour - environment system, and the continued readjustment and adaptive change of the Nigeria Institution, first during the colonial period and second, during the post independence period.

iv) The inductive approach helped in the case study analysis. This helps in the discovery of possible uncertainties, whereas the means for the reduction of which will be deduced.

2.84 The combination of both the deductive and inductive approaches is aimed at using the case study to provide support for research thesis resulting from the tested and reformulated hypotheses. Whereas the interactive approach provides for the historical backgrounds of the new town policy, history per se facilitates the identification of the major institutions, culture groups and the pattern of their relations. Also, it is possible to learn about power arrangement and how it affects the new Federal Capital City programmes.

2.85 The assessment was based on the technical objectives and assumptions derived from the various plans of Abuja's projects. The analytic processes followed are in four parts:

(a) The current thoughts as expressed in the new town and new city literatures are examined. Another group of literature review included those that dealt with both traditional and modern institutions operating both in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria.

(b) The demographic analysis is based on the empirical data collected from both the surveys conducted by the ECA, the Regional Institute for Population Studies and the Federal Capital Development Authority, the Federal Office of Statistics, and from individual data produced by the IPA for the Abuja Master Plan and Doxiadis Associates, for the Regional Development Plan for the Federal Capital Territory. These data helped to learn about the demographic characteristics of the probable migrants to the NFCC.

(c) Through the surveys and interviews conducted in the areas occupied by shanty dwellers, it was possible to identify the reasons why the migrants moved to Abuja and likely factors that will influence their continued stay in the Territory.

(d) The information on institutions has been gathered through interviews with traditional leaders, age grade leaders, elders and colleagues in office at Abuja who come from various parts of the country. These were used to cross-check the information provided in the literature as well as helping to appraise recent changes in the institutions.

3.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter discusses, first, the planning background consisting of the various ethnic groups, states, roads and railways as integrative means, existing new and traditional towns; secondly, the planning problems including migration, employment, housing, access to building fund and land and shortage of food supply in urban centres.

3.1 Institution is a word in good currency which can be used in various contexts. By 'institutional context' of New Towns is meant the particular patterns or social relationships in which a 'new town' is situated, to which it adapts, and to which if it is successful it eventually modifies.

3.2 On the other hand, 'new town' has been defined by the Working Party on New Towns of the International Federation for Housing and Planning, based on the ratio of the induced to the indigenous population. According to this definition one might speak of new town development rather than of a simple town expansion if, within a given time span, the induced population will exceed the original population and its incremental natural growth by a significant amount (Ervin Y. Galantay, 1976, page 373-4).

3.3 Like all ideas in good currency, the application of both the 'institutional context' and 'new town' in Nigeria have their histories. While the applications of the former in the modern sense can be dated after Independence (1960) the latter predated Independence, to be precise in 1909 when the Eastern Nigerian railway systems were constructed.

3.4 The institutional context of planning will require a review of indigenous traditional institutions in the country (Chapter 4). The scope is so embracing because of the role Abuja is expected to play. Abuja is the new Federal Capital and in the hierarchy of cities it could in time be compared with such older world capitals as London, Washington, D.C. and Rome, and more recently built capitals like Chandigarh, Brasilia and Islamabad.

3.5 In the national scale, Abuja will in time be at the apex of systems of urban centres in Nigeria and will eventually surpass Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna politically. Territorially, Abuja occupies a central point in Nigeria (see Figure 11.6). Though there are about 36 different ethnic groupings in Nigeria (see Figure 3.1) none of the major tribes is dominant in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). At the national scale the Gwaris, the dominant group in the FCT, ranked only 16th accounting for 0.7 per cent of the total population of the country. Notwithstanding the ethnic groupings in the country, there are similarities in human institutions. These include family, kinship, community, age groups and Kingship (Emirship, Obaship or Ezeship). There may be differences in emphasis each social group places on any of the institutions. For instance, in the Northern Hausa states much more emphasis is laid on Emirship than on community assemblies, whereas in Yorubaland, the influence of the Obas is limited by checks and balances set up by the council of chiefs.

3.6 The first three tribes shown on Figure 3.1 are culturally the dominant ones in Nigeria and will be the focus of this study in Chapter 4.

FIGURE 3.1: NIGERIA: POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP - 1963

GROUP	ALL AREAS	RURAL AREAS
Hausa	20.9%	21.9%
Yoruba	20.3%	15.5%
Ibo	16.6%	16.7%
Fulani	8.6%	9.6%
Kanuri	4.0%	4.4%

FIGURE 3.1 (Contd.)

GROUP	ALL AREAS	RURAL AREAS
Ibibio	3.6%	4.1%
Tiv	2.5%	2.9%
Ijaw	2.0%	1.6%
Ede	1.7%	1.6%
Annag	1.2%	1.4%
Nupe	1.2%	1.1%
Urhobo	1.1%	1.2%
Igala	1.0%	1.2%
Iduma	0.9%	1.0%
Igbirra	0.8%	0.9%
Gwari	0.7%	0.8%
Ekoi	0.6%	0.7%
Mumuye	0.5%	0.6%
Alago	0.4%	0.4%
Ogoni	0.4%	0.4%
Isoko	0.4%	0.4%
Higgi	0.3%	0.4%
Bura	0.3%	0.3%
Effik	0.3%	0.2%
Chamba	0.3%	0.3%
Shall	-	-
Arabashuwa	0.3%	0.3%
Kaje	0.3%	0.3%
Jari	0.3%	0.3%
Kambari	0.3%	0.3%
Eggon	0.3%	0.3%
Kobchi	0.3%	0.3%
Angas	0.2%	0.3%
Karekare	0.2%	0.3%
Birom	0.2%	0.2%
Yergam	0.2%	0.2%

3.7 The complexity of the study area is furthermore increased by the dynamic progression for the demand for more states and the Federal Government acquiescence to such demands. After the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914, between 1946 and 1951 different constitutions were introduced which divided the country into three regions with a Central Legislative and Regional Houses of Assembly. This was the beginning of the Federal Structure of Government in Nigeria. Regional autonomy was granted in 1957 to the Eastern and Western Nigeria, and in 1959 to Northern Nigeria, respectively. On 1st October, 1960, the country became independent of British rule and declared itself a Republic after three years. In 1963 the fourth region, the Midwest now the Bendel state, was created.

3.8 However, after two coup d'etats in January and July, 1966, a civil war broke out in the country in 1967. On 12th May of the same year the country was divided into 12 states, with a Military Governor at the helm of affairs in each state. For the Federal Military Government, it was necessary to minimise the powers of the regions. There was the tendency of such big regions as the Northern Region of Nigeria to concentrate all the political powers in their hand because of mere number of population. And secondly, and more importantly, the creation of the 12 States in 1967 was meant to destabilise the seceding Eastern Nigeria by granting autonomy to the so-called minority elements in the Region. The present Cross River and River States did complain of domination by the Igbos who shared the former Eastern Region with them. The Tivs complained of domination by the Hausas and Fulanis of

the North. The fact that the same people are still asking for more States with similar complaints of domination of one section over the other shows that minority problems are endless. In the Cross River State, the Efiks complain against the Ibibio, and in the Rivers State the Ikweres complain against the Kalabaris. Today, a section that talks most of maltreatment and domination by others will in turn be accused of committing the same offence for which it fought. It is pertinent to note, therefore, that it is a nation-wide understanding and which can be verified internationally.

3.9 As a result of another coup in 1975, and strong demand by the people, the country was further divided into 19 states on 3rd February, 1976, as illustrated in Figure 3.2. With the change-over to civilian rule in 1979 and the present demand for more states, it is hard to imagine what the number of states in the country will be in future.

3.10 The state creation has both political and cultural implication. Politically, each state becomes somewhat autonomous with its Assembly and Executive arms of government, and each state capital developing into a major city. Culturally, an awareness is created by the process of state creation, each people identifying themselves with a state autonomy come to realise their specific cultural identity which hitherto was subsumed to bigger cultural groups. The argument is that State consciousness and cultural identity might affect the purpose of building a new capital city which is meant to enhance a national unity. However, State advocates insist that an important element of federalism is unity in diversity. In addition to common political parties which are beginning to evolve since 1979, the only

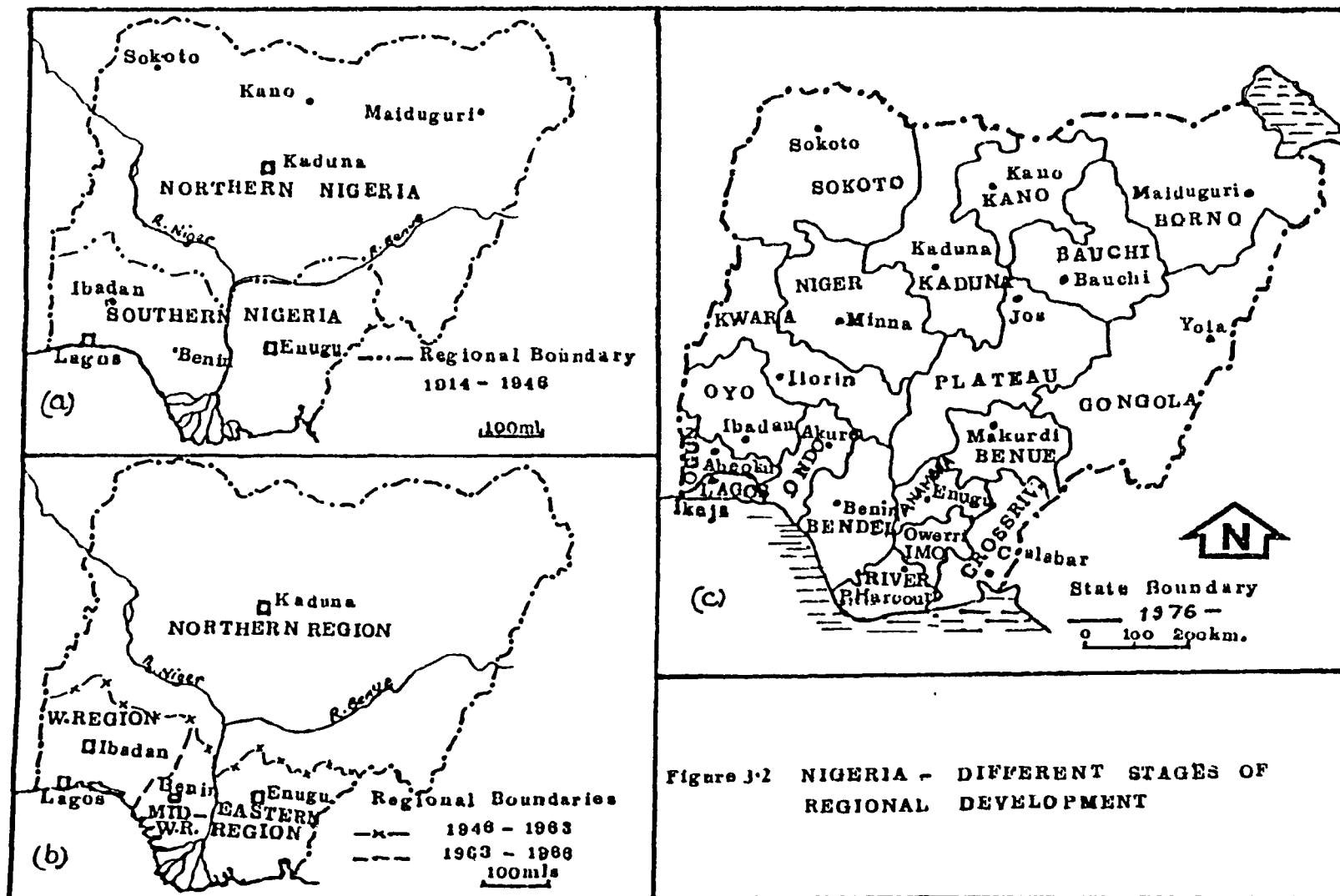


Figure 3.2 NIGERIA - DIFFERENT STAGES OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

practical indicators are common transportation systems and economic interdependency.

Roads:

3.11 The wheeled vehicle as a means of transport was unknown in Nigeria prior to the advent of the British administration. At that time the transport system of Nigeria could be divided roughly into three zones:

- (i) North was the camel zone;
- (ii) South was characterised by head loading porters until
- (iii) Rivers and creeks near the coast were reached for river transport.

3.12 Community life developed at locations where many track-ways converged. With time, man's tendency to communicate with others coupled with increased population, specialization of production and market areas, other villages grew up alongside what were recognised as good and convenient track-ways or footpaths.

3.13 With the passage of travellers and traders, new ideas were developed, and innovations prospered and advanced the social and economic life of the communities. Thus New Towns were born out of the villages that were founded at the nodal points of the track-ways, for instance Kano in the 15th century, and Aba in the 20th century; at the market places, for instance, Ibadan was founded in the 19th century, Umuahia, and Owerri in the 20th century.

3.14 Those track-ways sufficed to meet the movement requirements of a primitive economy in which productive activity was directed mainly to the serving of local needs. Though a certain degree of specialization was attained, and within the confines of the local markets, there was little incentive for greater specialization. In such circumstances, goods which constituted coral beads, cowries, tobacco, spirits, gunpowder and palm produce, required movement only over short distances to and from market between adjoining villages and between villages and nearby towns.

3.15 The early roads developed under British colonial system were developed not only to act as feeder roads to the railway system but to facilitate military movement of the West African Frontier Force, whose responsibility was to maintain the abolition of slave trade, quell riots, for instance the Aba Women Riot of 1929, and to stop tribal feuds.

3.16 With the pacification of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria and the expansion of British influence from the seaports and rivers to the interior, colonial system of transport development changed from military motive to more economic considerations.

3.17 The increase in influence and desire to exploit the economy of the nation at the turn of this century carried with it the desire to develop the road transport system. It was not surprising, therefore, that the first road development in the southern areas saw the provision of roads suitable for motor transport, while in the north of the rivers Niger and Benue, early efforts were directed towards the establishment of the use of carts drawn by oxen and mules (Walker, 1953).

3.18 The early roads were off-shoots of the existing footpaths used by the local people before the improvement of road transport network, hence such roads were characterised by "meandering" patterns. The colonial road development in the country had a common characteristic. The colonial administration did not aim at building roads to a specification suitable enough to meet the traffic demand of the heaviest vehicles used in the country. On the contrary and similar to the railway, the objective initially was to provide minimum standard which would permit traffic to run easily over the road system. The argument is that it would be necessary to build roads so that future improvement to the highest standards would be possible. (Annual Reports of the Government of Nigeria 1955-1960, page 11).

3.19 Unlike the railway, the roads were not important mechanisms of spatial integration during the early period of colonial administration. Up till 1945, only some 858 km. of road in Nigeria were tarred (Mabogunje, 1971, page 20). Compared with the area of Nigeria, 923,770 sq. km., it is easy to conclude that road investment in the country then was extremely poor. Most of the untarred sections of the roads were in very bad condition and almost remained impassible during the rainy season. The Premier of former Eastern Nigeria, Dr. M.I. Okpara, aptly commented in his address on the Development of Nigeria, 1961, "by far the greatest deficiency in the British colonial administration was in the way of road construction and road tarring. This is evidenced in the fact that all the colonial roads have either been reconstructed or widened to accommodate present increase in traffic. It is crystal clear that our road system has been built rather more with the view of carrying of produce to the port and from there to the market abroad

and not necessarily for promoting the area of indigenous trade and agriculture". It was only with the beginning of internal self government in 1952 that the kilometre figure of tarred roads jumped to over 3219 in 1954 and nearly 14,484 km. by 1964.

3.20 However, road development in the country suffered a setback during the civil war. The effects of the war and the consequent neglect of the roads between 1967 and 1970, especially in those areas that experienced prolonged combat activities, rendered some of the roads into a bad condition. While some efforts were made to continue road development in the country, in the former East Central State the resources meant for the rehabilitation of the existing roads and new road development were diverted to other projects, for instance the roads in the East Central State were the worst throughout the country until 1975 and the coup that ousted Gowon's administration, which some critics saw as a perpetuation of the war crimes on the indigenes of the state. Apart from few urban centres, the township roads were worse hit. However, with a renewed interest, road development has resumed its dominating place in the programme of activities in the country. In the Fourth National Development Plan (1981-85), for example, the road programmes were allocated N3,651.0 million as against N1,500.0 million for railways, N650.5 million for air transport and N798.5 million for water transport. These figures can also be compared with the Second and Third National Development Plan estimates (see Chapter 6). There are now over 95,000 km of tarred roads in the country.

3.21 The principal function of the Nigerian road up to 1952 was that of a feeder to the railway. Now it has become not only an important instrument of spatial

integration but of major urban development projects such as the Type two New Towns in Nigeria (Agwu, 1979, pp. 32-36). Housing Estates, and Industrial Locations have been conceived more on the national road transport system than any other form of transport system.

3.22 The road transport system emerged first as a feeder to the railway, later it grew into a competitor, now it tends to dominate the transport system of the country. We are establishing connections between indigenous traditional institutions with the modern ones; between institutions and the distribution of powers; and between institutions and human settlements (see Chapter 4 for definition), and finally, between institutions and the planning and development of new towns.

Railways:

3.23 The historical manner in which Nigerian cities and towns have evolved could not, however, be ignored as it represents a developed way of life and a pattern of living which it would be a great mistake to interfere with in any drastic manner. It is important, therefore, that as much of existing social and cultural patterns as possible should persist in our new towns and cities.

3.24 New towns as by-product of planned human settlement are associated with economic exploitation and railway transport development in Nigeria. The Western railway line started from Lagos in 1895 and reached Kano in 1912, connecting some of the important towns, and passing through rich cocoa lands of Western Nigeria and cotton and groundnut zones of Northern Nigeria, as shown in Figure 3.3. An Eastern line based on Port

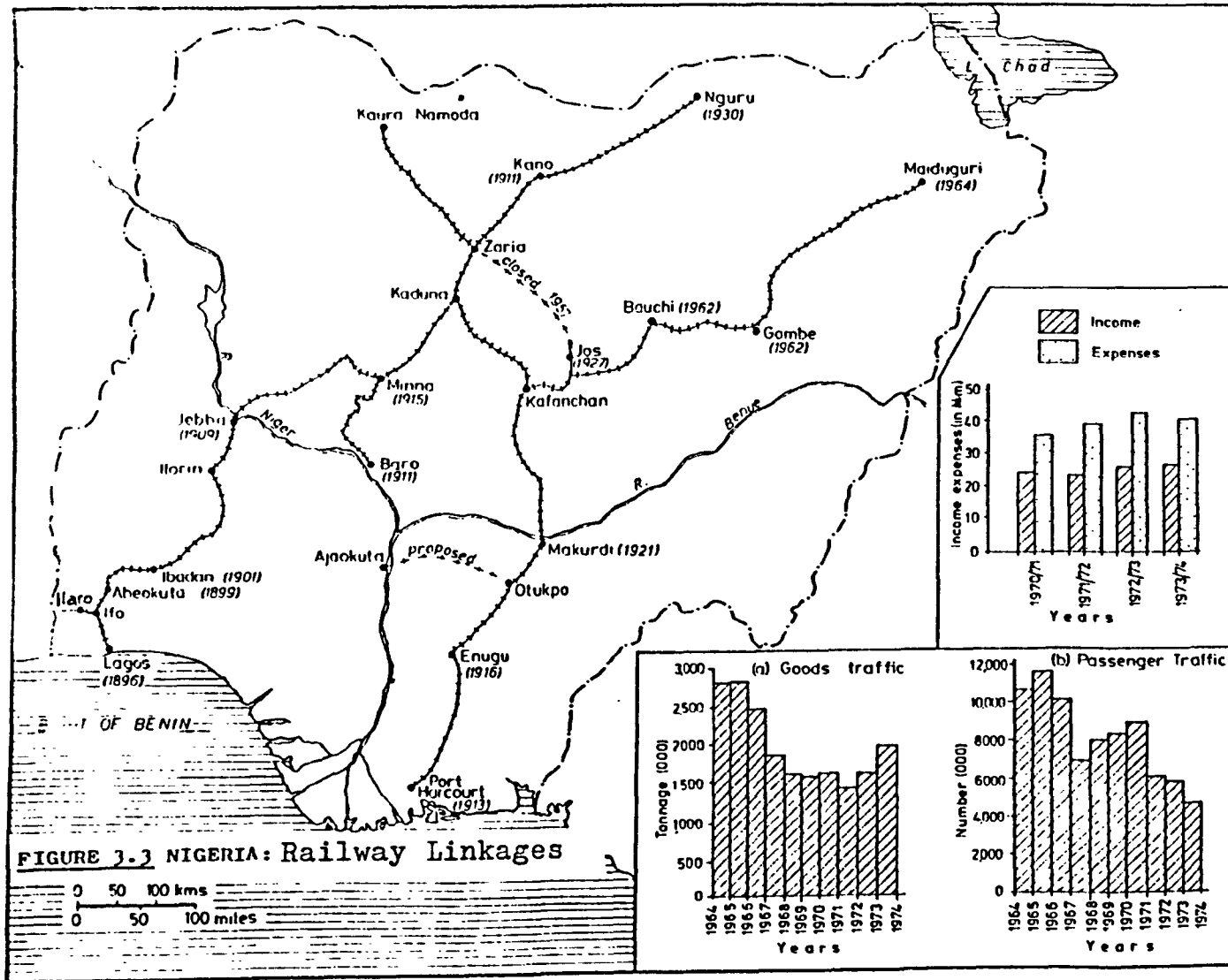


FIGURE 3.3 NIGERIA: Railway Linkages

Harcourt was begun in 1913. Essentially this was constructed to facilitate the exploitation of coal at Enugu, tin in Jos, palm produce for which Eastern Nigeria was noted, and benniseed of the Middle Belt.

3.25 Over much of the area through which it passed, there were no existing systems of cities. It was, therefore, necessary for the colonial administration to establish new urban centres in these areas. Thus, starting with Port Harcourt itself, new towns were founded at Aba, Umuahia, Enugu, Makurdi, Jos and Kaduna. All in all, Nigeria today has 3219 km of "cape" gauge (3'6") lines linking different parts of the country together. This gauge was chosen for its ease of construction, hence cheapness, compared with 4'8½" standard gauge. In turn, this enabled more areas to be opened up for a given investment, so making the founding of more new towns possible. The question of cheapness has been questioned. The 4'8½" standard gauge adopted by many European countries is likely to be cheaper due to mass production, than the cape gauge (3'6") lines and wagons which are exported to the few non-industrialised countries still using them for their railway system. The small scale demand one can argue reduces production capacity of cape gauge facilities, thereby rendering them more costly than the standard gauge.

3.26 An analysis of the Nigerian growth centres according to Mabogunje in 1971 (see Figure 3.4) showed that ten of the sixteen towns lie along the railway lines, two were port towns, and only two, Benin City and Ondo are other inland towns not on the railway.

FIGURE 3.4: GROWTH CENTRES IN NIGERIA, 1952-1965

Centres	No. of Manu- facturing Establishments	No. of Employees	Gross Output N'000
1. Greater Lagos, (including Mushin and Ikeja)	216	30,975	82,653
2. Abeokuta	16	2,066	4,507
3. Ibadan	47	3,785	15,738
4. Ondo	9	3,154	994
5. Benin City	23	1,443	2,777
6. Sapele	20	7,623	8,365
7. Aba	36	3,204	11,278
8. Calabar	13	2,291	870
9. Enugu	24	3,849	7,797
10. Onitsha	57	2,027	2,527
11. Port Harcourt	55	4,276	13,973
12. Kano	72	9,964	29,099
13. Jos	22	1,087	14,880
14. Zana	14	1,411	3,888
15. Kaduna	31	7,704	13,773
16. Ilorin	4	3,260	1,096
Total	658	90,115	216,168
% of total Nigeria	85	94	97

Source: Mabogunje, 1971. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Report No. 71.3, Geneva.

It is pertinent to observe that the railway system in Nigeria made three major impacts on the urbanization process outside its function as a medium of evacuation of produce and import of European manufactures, whose distribution inland is a potent cause of development of new trading centres.

- (i) The indigenous urban centres that lie along these railway lines were given a boost to develop. For example, both Ibadan and Kano are embodiments of ancient and modern culture. In Kano the indigenous section is carefully preserved within the walls, while the new residential areas outside the walls compare favourably with such new towns as Port Harcourt, Enugu and Kaduna.
- (ii) The centres that were by-passed by the railway lines tended to decline. Oron, Owerri, Shagamu, Oyo, Ile-Ife and Sokoto were examples.

Other reasons for the decline of such towns were the difficulty of evacuating farm products. This impoverished the people and made the centre unattractive to migrants. Lack of an alternative means of long-distance transport affected the growth of trade and commerce in the disadvantaged areas. There are, however, lack of records and this makes it difficult to analyse the trend of growth or fluctuation of those centres.

- (iii) In the areas through which the lines passed but which had no existing urban centres, new towns were created.

3.27 These growth centres (first generation new towns and traditional cities) were founded or encouraged to grow in direct response to the administrative and economic initiatives of the colonial administration. They will only form standard for future new towns

development where they have achieved their goals and objectives. If not, the success and failure of future new towns and new cities will be determined on how far they have corrected the mistakes of the old ones.

Problems of urbanization:

3.28 The study of the institutional context offers a fresh opportunity of finding an alternative means of reaching Federal Government goals.

3.29 The older democracies of the world have not produced much result after much effort to get the public to participate in the national development policies and programmes. Using the orthodox methods as a means of action as now used in such countries as Britain and the U.S.A. may even produce less success in the new emerging nations because of financial and personal constraints.

3.30 In the Third World countries, there have been many cases of uncompleted and abandoned projects or serious failure to achieve the desired objective within the target date. On some other occasions, much money has been expended to recruit experts from other countries without making an optimum use of the locally available talents. In most cases, these foreign experts have failed to achieve goals because of the social and cultural environment they have to work in. Similarly, there is a problem of importing new ideas from environments alien to where they will be used; such ideas may not materialise due to environmental and economic reasons. There is the problem of the scope of activities. When we are dealing with a village or a small town we can detail policies and programmes, but if we deal with a

region or the whole country we cannot enter into the same detail. This applies both to planning and implementation of programmes. The larger the area of human settlement involved, the more general will be the policies and programmes.

3.31 The needs and aspirations are many and the capabilities available to meet them are barely inadequate. Implementing national policies and programmes is the most difficult task in the general field of policies and programmes. National governments should have agencies which could undertake the great responsibility of carrying out policies and programmes.

3.32 At the national level we deal with all sorts of human settlements. Even the advanced countries still have nomads, and their human settlements may range from temporary ones to megalopolises. National policies and programmes must include all types of human settlements ranging from nomads, shanty town dwellers to city settlers, from village settlers to urbanites in cities, and we must deal with each one separately through the medium from which cooperation can be achieved.

3.33 One of the basic facts about urbanization and management of urban centres is the rapidity of change; much of it is generated by the population explosion of cities especially in developing countries. As ever larger numbers of people try to make a living in cities unable to offer either jobs or shelter, new forms of urbanization are emerging out of necessity - "cities built substantially by the poor for the poor", (Dwyer, 1978, page 519). In almost every case of urban growth in the developing countries in-migration must be

added to natural increase, as a second major cause of population explosion in cities. The fastest growing cities are all located in the developing countries and this is shown in Figure 3.5. These urban circumstances present severe problems to the national and municipal governments.

**FIGURE 3.5: THE WORLD'S FASTEST GROWING CITIES
(1970-85)**

Cities	Countries	Rate of Growth
1. Dacca	Bangladesh	16.22%
2. Kaduna*	Nigeria	13.1
3. Gaudalajaua	Mexico	12.22
4. Kinshasha	Zaire	11.8
5. Luina	Paraguay	11.8
6. Lagos	Nigeria	11.5
7. Seoul	South Korea	10.79
8. Addis Ababa	Ethiopia	9.96
9. Medellin	Colombia	9.3
10. Belo Horizonte	Brazil	9.1
11. Sao Paulo	Brazil	8.5
12. Madras	India	8.33

Source: Geographical Magazine, May, 1978, Vol. 50,
Article by D.J. Dwyer, page 519.

* Growth Poles and Growth Centres in Regional Development of Nigeria by Mabogunje, A.L., U.N. Research Institute for Social Development, Report No. 71.3 Nigerian Census Publications 1952-1963. Jos and the Federal Capital City Abuja have been included in the U.N. review of prospective major world cities (1982, U.N. Report on Population).

3.34 In Nigeria, the causes of change in urban and regional policies are not limited to the population growth complicated by rural-urban migration, but by certain government decisions such as the creation of new states, and new towns and the desire to exploit the natural resources of the country. These issues bother the government as well as planners, and have created an opportunity of rethinking in urban and regional affairs.

Migration:

3.35 The massive drift of population to our urban centres must be seen as the primary cause of population growth in urban centres. The cities are growing at a fantastic rate (at an average annual growth rate of 2.5 per cent). Some cities like Kaduna, Jos, Lagos and Port Harcourt are growing at fast rates as shown in Figure 3.6. Rapid rural migration leads, in one hand, to rural depopulation with consequent effects on the provision of food for cities. We now find ourselves in a situation where we have to import a substantial proportion of our food, and yet about 73-75 per cent of our people still depend on agriculture as their main occupation.

3.36 The migrants have various reasons for their movement. A survey in 1977 of the migrants in the public servants' households who moved into Lagos after 1960 by the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa¹ revealed that 20.8 per cent of the migrants moved after 1974.

1. United Nations: Economic Commission for Africa with the FCDA, Abuja - 1977/78 "Report of Survey of migrants in the public servants' households who moved into Lagos after 1960". Unpublished.

FIGURE 3.6: NIGERIA 1980: POPULATION OF MAJOR URBAN CENTRES

Urban Centre	State	Population Number (000)	%	Urban Centre	State	Population Number (000)	%
Enugu	Anambra	429.5	3.1	Minno	Niger	91.8	0.7
Onitsha	"	284.0	2.0	Abookuta	Ogun	291.0	2.1
Bauchi	Bauchi	74.1	0.5	Akure	Ondo	153.5	1.1
Benin City	Bendel	314.0	2.3	Ado Ekiti	"	340.0	2.4
Sapele	"	250.0	1.8	Ikere Ekiti	"	231.4	1.7
Warri	"	212.0	1.5	Ibadan	Oyo	1301.0	9.3
Makurdi	Benue	112.4	0.8	Ogbomoshodi	"	695.0	5.0
Maiduguri	Borno	274.0	2.0	Oshogbo	"	454.0	3.3
Calabar	Cross River	185.0	1.3	Ilesha	"	360.3	2.6
Yola	Gongola	51.2	0.4	Iwo	"	344.5	2.5
Owerri	Imo	75.1	0.5	Ede	"	292.3	2.1
Aba	"	425.0	3.1	Ite	"	282.5	2.0
Kaduna	Kaduna	387.0	2.8	Ila	"	249.2	1.8
Zaria	"	214.0	1.5	Oyo	"	243.9	1.8
Katsina	"	240.3	1.7	Iseyin	"	206.9	1.5
Kano	Kano	735.0	5.3	Ilobu	"	189.5	1.4
Ilorin	Kwara	439.0	3.2	Jos	Plateau	201.0	1.4
Offa	"	109.9	0.8	Port Harcourt	Rivers	364.0	2.6
Lagos	Lagos	2584.5	18.6	Sokoto	Sokoto	215.0	1.5

Source:

- National Population Bureau
- Various Master Plans and Regional Plans
- Consultants estimates

1976 alone brought in 12.3 per cent of the population or 21 per cent of the migrants. The migration trend increased steadily and gradually until 1969. The increase between 1969 and 1970 was very high. Thus, the figure for 1970 was nearly double that of 1969. While the proportion that moved into Lagos in 1969 was 3.4 per cent of the total number of migrants, the figure for 1970 was 6.4 per cent. The proportion fell significantly in 1971 and began to rise again in 1972. The high increase in 1970 followed by a sharp decline in 1971 could perhaps be explained by the Civil War. The War ended in 1970 which in fact must have brought about a return of many from the War-affected areas.

3.37 The migrants gave many and varied reasons why they moved to Lagos. As many as 28 per cent of the total population or 47.3% of the people was moved to Lagos to join their spouses or families. A significant 20 per cent of the households population or 33.7 per cent of those who moved did so in order to find work. These figures could be quite large when only adults are considered, since many of the migrants were children. The next major reason for moving to Lagos was to attend school, which accounted for 11.3 per cent of the household population or 19 per cent of the migrants. Medical treatment was never considered as a cause of moving to Lagos.

3.38 Undoubtedly the wave of migration will be directed to such areas as with the greatest concentration of industrial, commercial and service activities. Rural - urban migration leads to three critical problems:

- (i) the problem of providing employment;

- (ii) the problem of providing housing, and
- (iii) the problem of providing food for those living in urban areas.

Employment:

3.39 The accelerating rates of unemployment in Nigeria has led to the confirmation of inadequacies of the public policies during the colonial era. The development models proposed in the 1950's and early 1960's tended to achieve accelerated rates of economic growth in a few urban centres. (Polarization of economic activities, see section 7.6-7.14 below) The polarization effect was high rate of in-migration and the concomitant effects of a drain of labour force in the rural areas and unemployment or underemployment in urban areas.

3.40 The existence of unemployment in the country, like most of the developing countries, is not in doubt, but the information in this aspect of our economy is highly fragmentary. The 1963 and 1973 census results were widely regarded as fraudulent, while the result of the 1963 census was published, that of 1973 was never made public.

3.41 Figure 3.7 illustrates the unemployment of persons of 15 years of age and over in 1963.

FIGURE 3.7: UNEMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1963

	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	% of L.F.	Number	% of L.F.	Number	% of L.F.
Urban Areas	90,436	3.4	20,197	2.0	110,633	3.0
Rural Areas	181,738	1.6	55,550	1.5	234,288	1.6
Total All Areas	272,174	2.0	75,747	1.6	344,921	1.9

Source: 1963 Census.

3.42 Out of the total labour force of persons 15 years of age and over in 1963, approximately 344.9 thousand persons, or 1.9%, were unemployed. Unemployment was highest among males, especially among those residing in urban areas, and generally lower in rural areas. These differentiations indicate that males, who formed the largest portion of immigrants to the urban areas, had a relatively low unemployment rate of the rural areas and can, to a large extent, be attributed to the traditional character of their economy, which allows work by the less productive segments of the labour force and in which virtually all members of the family - excluding the youngest - contribute to the formation of the family income.

3.43 These unemployment rates at that time were considered generally low, according to international experience. This can be attributed to the fact that approximately 81 per cent of the total population of the country resided in rural areas in 1963, and moreover to the vast expanse of informal activities, especially in the urban areas of the country, which occupy a large proportion of the labour force.

3.44 According to a study by the Nomura Research Institute titled "A Survey Report on Socio-Economic Development in the Federal Republic of Nigeria", the unemployment rate in the country in 1970 was estimated at 7.8 per cent. The Fourth Five-Year National Development Plan estimates unemployment in the country to be of the order of 4.2 per cent of the labour force in 1980. If the unemployment for urban areas is taken separately, the Plan estimates fell between 8 and 13 per cent.

3.45 The Federal Office of Statistics, in its publication "Social Statistics in Nigeria, 1979", estimated unemployment rates in urban areas of the country at that year to be 5.8 per cent for males, 6.8 per cent for females, and 6.2 per cent for the total population.

3.46 An article by David H. Freedman, "Work in Nigeria, a cornerstone of meeting the needs of the people", published in the International Labour Review, Vol. 120, No. 6, November - December, 1981, states that:

In Nigeria, women may not be counted in the labour force, even though they are "unpaid family workers or who work on crafts or in food preparation within the seclusion of their compounds, and who depend on children or men to purchase raw materials and sell their product".

"..... workers below the age of 15 account for considerable economic activity on the farm and in the rural and urban informal sectors. Old people, especially in the rural areas, often continue to work until a very advanced age, sometimes until their death".

Self-employed, unpaid household workers and unpaid apprentices account for 94 per cent of total employment in 1970 and 92 per cent in 1975.

"Over 69 per cent of these persons were still found in the agricultural sector in 1975".

"Unemployment has been shown to be especially high for young school leavers".

"Under employed workers in rural areas are drawn to the towns by the better life that they feel they offer".

The attractiveness of the urban areas is attributed mainly to the anticipation that one may find there higher earnings.

"..... greater education and training opportunities and the much greater availability of essential services and social amenities there".

3.47 The current international oil glut which has affected the funding of many development projects in Nigeria had thrown more people into the labour market.

3.48 A number of conclusions can be drawn from the present population statistical situation in Nigeria: Firstly, all estimates are in agreement of the growing rate of unemployment and under-employment in the country. Secondly, it is not easy to determine statistically the level of unemployment problem in the country, and thirdly, with the available estimates varying widely, any assumptions of growth based on them are bound to be vulnerable. Urban unemployment is the most serious consequence of the industrial concentration. With the influx of rural and urban migrants into the few big cities and industrial centres, unemployment figure rises and heavy demands are also made on the existing social amenities and public utilities. Such an influx of people also leads to mounting rents and cost of transport, water shortages, scarcity of food items, sewage disposal difficulties, power cuts and grossly inadequate social amenities in most of our cities.

3.49 To the city administration, these constitute serious and challenging problems. Unfortunately, no policy guidelines on migration exist. Policies may take the following forms:

(i) Some institutional shift may be necessary. This involves administrative changes that will bring people who are interested in an issue together (the unemployed, welfare people, employers of labour, etc.) who will be able to identify the problems, discuss them in a broad way within the framework of a wide range of other problems and existing organizations and then try to find solutions. New management and welfare institutions may be a great asset to rehabilitation and assistance to people to find alternative gainful occupation where they are familiar with the environment, other than migrating to other areas;

(ii) Repatriation of urban unemployed to their villages where they can contribute in some other form of productive activity, such as farming. In Djakarta, the pressure of rural-urban migration led in 1970 to a similar policy declaring the city closed. (Morley, D. et al., 1980, p.264. The closed city policy was intended as a psychological measure to dampen the enthusiasm of potential migrants and to make things more difficult for them. It was counter productive because it indirectly contributed to corruption and bribery. Another problem one can envisage is how to be sure that those who are repatriated would stay. Repatriated people would require immediate occupation such as to work in farm settlements, agro-based industries, or creating new towns where employment and housing can be provided together;

(iii) Also in China, a policy has been adopted to limit urban mothers to one child only;

(iv) Industrial location policy can be a means of directing migration. The importance of labour supply,

transport costs, market accessibility and availability of essential services in influencing location of economic activities can hardly be denied. All the same, the pattern of industrial location has such great political and social consequences in an under-developed federal country that it cannot be left entirely to these purely economic considerations.

3.50 At the federal level there has been little more than a general process of persuasion addressed to foreign private investors to invest in Nigeria. It is not certain whether this persuasion had any regional distribution dimension. Koyade (Mabogunje, et al. (ed.) 1977, page 126) pointed out that it was probably conducted on a more personal and informal level.

3.51 Fiscal incentives are actively offered by the government. These include a year's tax holiday for industries granted the pioneer status, exemption from import duty, or concessionary rates of duty on raw materials and depreciation of capital.

3.52 In the past the location of many federally sponsored industries is determined by the sheer balance of political bargaining by the state political pressure groups in the federal government, rather than by any conscious policy of achieving a rationally distributed pattern of industries among the states or as an attempt to solve some economic problems of depressed areas. Only the states have so far adopted any active and direct location of industries in their respective areas through incentives such as industrial estates and advanced factory units. Regional plans are rare in most of the states excepting Kwara and Benue. It then becomes the "assumed" responsibility of the chief executive to

direct industries where he wishes. "Assumed" responsibility is defined here as a responsibility not enshrined in the constitution of the land. An important argument against the approach of allowing holders of political power decide where industries are to be located without the guidance of a plan is that it is more open to individual influence and it offers such holders of political power an alternative to discriminatory location of government investment projects. To meet the expectations of a viable industrial economy, new town policies have to guide against these problems.

Housing:

3.53 Housing need is another problem resulting from over-population in our cities. The problem has buttressed itself in a number of other ways. These include overcrowding in living houses, in schools, churches and mosques, homelessness and high house rents. Figure 3.8 shows the housing conditions in selected urban centres in Nigeria. The housing problems can be defined in three senses:

- (i) in the sense of an absolute shortage of housing units in cities;
- (ii) in the sense that a family's dwelling fails to satisfy certain minimal standards of safety and sanitation, and
- (iii) in the sense that a family does have satisfactory housing, but at a very high rental. The last two are obviously a result of the first.

FIGURE 3.8: HOUSING CONDITIONS IN SELECTED URBAN CENTRES IN NIGERIA

Town	Households occupying 1 room (%)	Average number of persons per room
Lagos	74.2	4.1
Ibadan	48.1	3.2
Oshogbo	36.4	2.2
Ilorin	38.2	2.6
Kaduna	73.5	3.8
Jos	74.1	3.7
Port Harcourt	51.5	2.4
Benin City	48.0	2.2
Kano	69.1	2.4
Warri	59.9	2.6
Enugu	N.A.*	3.0
Owerri	N.A.	3.5
Abakaliki	N.A.	2.5
Nsukka	N.A.	2.5
Umuahia	N.A.	2.8

Source: Housing in Nigeria by Donatus C.I. Okpala, Ekistics Vol. 45, No. 270, June, 1978, page 250.

* N.A. Not available.

According to the figure, in all the selected urban centres the average number of persons occupying one room units is over two. It is above three in Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Jos, Enugu and Owerri. In a more recent survey conducted in Lagos in 1980, the situation was a distinct

concentration of households in one room. A surprisingly high proportion of 75 per cent lived in one room; 14 per cent were in two rooms, while only 9 per cent of the surveyed households had three rooms or more each for their use. Further, emphasizing the prevailing high level of congestion was the fact that households of all sizes were found occupying one room. Thus 19 per cent were single-member, 16 per cent, three member; 15 per cent, four member; and approximately 36 per cent were five member households or more.

3.54 This generalization tends to conceal the problem of homelessness which manifests itself in most of our cities in the form of squatter settlements. The survey shows that 1.7 per cent of the surveyed households had no rooms at all. These people either shared rooms with their relations or converted abandoned vehicles and spaces underneath the fly-over bridges to housing. In Suleja/Abuja from a personal field count by the author of squatter settlements along the Abuja - Kaduna Road, a distance of three kilometres (November, 1981), there were a total of 300 of such structures with an approximate population of 7,200 persons. 85.2 per cent of the structures was dual purpose units used for residential and retail trade activities; the rest was residential. The whole area was depressed because there was no control and discipline over dumping of refuse. Not being generally acceptable to the local Government administration because of the illegal position of the squatter settlements, the residents cannot look to the Suleja administration to provide them with essential services. The first significant thing to be noticed was that the male population formed a major part of the unskilled workforce of the new Federal Capital City, Abuja. The second thing was that it was the first place for country people who have no relations in the town to live.

3.55 Squatting generally is a clear response to lack of accommodation and high rental for available ones. It is a practical solution to individual housing need.

3.56 Figure 3.9 illustrates monthly rental paid by rent payers by size of household in Lagos. It is clear that about 90 per cent of the households pay less than N19.00 monthly and 9 per cent pay between N20.00 and N99.0 every month. There is a linear relationship between low rental and high occupancy of one room apartments.

3.57 The explanation of such a phenomenon can be found from the way households without government intervention budget for their various needs. In the free market situation households diverge in their housing preferences, each preference is determined by household's allocation between housing and other goods and services.

3.58 Figure 3.10 illustrates the household's allocation between housing and other goods and services. AB represents the household budget line expressed in terms of the relative prices of housing and other goods in the absence of intervention. The optimal utility - maximizing allocation, is given by the tangency of the highest indifference curve I and AB, i.e. at F. Assume the government intervenes (as it does to its public servants). The income subsidy method is shown as a parallel shift in the budget line to DE. The rent (or mortgage interest) subsidy reduces the relative price of housing, and represented by the budget line pivoting upwards on A to AC. The more housing consumed, the greater is the absolute value of the subsidy. If the housing subsidy is linked either with public-housing provision or with setting a minimum housing standard, the allocation between housing and other goods will be determined at some point along AC, e.g. at J.

FIGURE 3.9: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD BY MONTHLY RENT PAID BY RENT PAYERS BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, 1976

Size of household	Monthly rent paid									
	N19 and under		N20 - N99		N100 - N199		N200.00 +		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	64014	95.6	2820	4.2	141	0.2	-	-	66975	100
2	50055	95.4	1974	3.8	423	0.8	-	-	52452	100
3	54990	94.2	3384	5.8	-	-	-	-	58374	100
4	52311	92.8	3948	7.0	141	0.2	-	-	56400	100
5	44979	90.6	4230	8.5	423	0.9	-	-	49632	100
6	27918	84.6	4371	13.2	705	2.1	-	-	32994	100
7	14100	77.5	3525	19.4	564	3.1	-	-	18189	100
8	11280	74.8	3384	22.4	423	2.8	-	-	15087	100
9	3525	59.5	1692	28.6	564	9.5	141	2.4	5922	100
10+	5781	68.3	2397	28.3	282	3.3	-	-	8460	100
Total	328953	90.25	31725	8.70	3666	1.01	141	0.03	364485	100

Source: U.N. Economic Commission For Africa: Report on Demographic Survey of Households, Housing and Living Conditions in Lagos (1980).

3.59 The three methods all result in a higher level of utility for the household. It is better off at G, H or J than at F, since as a result of subsidies all three combinations represent higher welfare than achieved at F. Technically, this is shown by the fact that the corresponding indifference curves (I_4, I_3 and I_2) are higher than the initial indifference curve I_1 . However, the three methods differ very much in their implications for household utility and for fiscal cost (the type of accommodation and what level of rental is paid). The public-housing strategy forces the household to consume OQ units of housing or sacrifice the subsidy. The rental/interest subsidy allows the household to choose an optimal combination (at H) which is superior to the public-housing combination (J) since I_3 is higher than I_2 , but nevertheless distorts consumer choice in favour of housing. The best solution from the household's point of view is the income subsidy, which permits a free choice between consuming housing and other goods. The optimal combination at G is superior to that at H (I_4 is higher than I_3).

3.60 It therefore implies that those who live in public-housing or receive rental/interest subsidy or income subsidy and the wealthy people in the country can afford better housing than those outside these categories. The various housing aids also have their relative implication, as has been shown below.

High cost of building houses:

The high cost of building houses in Nigeria has been attributed to a number of causes:

- (a) For public housing contracts were awarded at exorbitant costs compared with similar projects elsewhere. In some cases projects were abandoned because of inexperience or insufficient preparation or lack of sufficient funding and were later re-awarded at greater costs to the clients.
- (b) There were also some cases of mobilisation fees running into millions of naira that were not properly secured, were made away with, and were yet to be recovered.
- (c) Analysing the trend of the cost of housing between 1973 and 1981, as shown in Figure 3.11 below, up to 1973 there appeared to be some sanity in Nigeria's contract administration. When funds were injected into the economy between 1975 and 1980 the contract prices and unit rates skyrocketed to all time record levels in 1977-78 as depicted in the figure below.

FIGURE 3.11: TREND IN HOUSING COSTS 1973-1981

Year	Average cost in N per M ²	Percentage change over 1973	Year	Average cost in N per M ²	Percentage change over 1973
1973	68.00	-	1977	172.00	152.90
1974	122.00	79.40	1978	178.00	161.80
1975	135.00	98.60	1981	210.00	200.60
1976	164.00	141.20			

Source: Federal Ministry of Works and Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment.

- (d) The increase in the volume of construction activity in recent years has not been matched by an increase in executive capacity and this has resulted in sectoral inflation.
- (e) The "rush strategy" has led to the waiving of important elements of tender and contract procedure aimed at the proper evaluation of tenders and efficient monitoring of contract costs.
- (f) The bulk of construction work in Nigeria is carried out by foreign-managed firms. The nature of the structure of the industry dominated by this category of firms would appear to have resulted in some sort of collusion among the firms. In addition, the heavy overhead costs in the form of expatriate staff salary, housing and so on, are contributory to high unit rates and the consequent high construction costs. Indigenous contracting firms are mostly under-capitalised and they lack the necessary equipment required to execute major works even when they have the competence. Institutional development for promoting the growth of indigenous construction capacity has not hitherto received due attention of the Government.
- (g) Local manufacturing capacity with respect to material inputs into the construction industry is inadequate to meet the industry's requirements. Import restriction and tariff policies have aggravated the problem of scarcity of construction materials, thus leading to higher prices.
- (h) The government has not hitherto developed in-house capacity for planning and design of projects as a way of internalizing a considerable proportion of this aspect of costs, as is done in other countries.

No conscious effort has been made in Nigeria to strive towards self-sufficiency either in the production of construction materials or in design and executive capacity as has been attempted in Kenya and Algeria. If construction costs are to be reduced to a manageable level, there should be a deliberate policy shift towards self-reliance in the construction industry. This is important in new towns where there are massive construction activities.

3.61 The private house building has run into the same problem. The world-wide inflation on prices of goods affected the building industry so severely that it costs more to build today than previously. This shows that only well-to-do, rich organizations and government can provide houses for self and the masses. The poor usually resort to squatting or shanties.

3.62 The comparison of the unit cost of some projects and other relevant cost factors in the construction industry in Nigeria, Algeria and Kenya, as shown in Figure 3.12, found that the unit cost of providing all categories of residential and non-residential building projects is higher in Nigeria than in other countries. Project cost in this category is about 20 per cent above the cost of similar projects in Algeria and about 200 per cent the cost of similar projects in Kenya. The same pattern is reflected in civil engineering projects as highlighted by cost per kilometre of various categories of roads in the countries.

FIGURE 3.12: UNIT COST OF BUILDING AND CIVIL ENGINEERING PROJECTS, 1979

Project Type	Nigeria	Algeria	Kenya
Residential Building	N350/M ²	N313.0/M ²	N132.0/M ²
Multi-storey Office block	N450.0/M ²	-	N207.0/M ²
Single carriage-way Road (2 Lanes)	N294,000/km	N149,252/km	N105,553/km
Dual carriage-way (4 Lanes)	N800,000 - N1,200,000 /km	N597,015/km	N278,961/km

These are 1977 figures.

Source: Arc.G.I. Jinadu (1982). Unpublished paper on "The need for greater cost consciousness in housing development".

A detail comparison shows that prices in Nigeria and Algeria are closer than those in Kenya. That could be attributed to the fact that both countries are oil producing countries with high government commitment in the construction sector leading to sectoral inflation. However, the fact that Nigeria unit costs are higher than the unit costs in Algeria can be explained by Algeria's commitment to building up an executive capacity and attainment of self-reliance in all facets of material input without depending very much on imports from other countries. Since prices of basic materials and labour are significant in determining the eventual costs of projects, a comparative study of some of the materials and labour costs in these countries is also very important.

FIGURE 3.13: BASIC PRICE OF CEMENT

Country	Year					
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Nigeria	N50.00	60.00	54.00	60.00	70.00	72.00
Algeria	N -	-	-	-	-	35.00
Kenya	N -	32.34	35.43	38.60	42.52	60.82

FIGURE 3.14: ANALYSIS OF MAN-HOUR COST

Category of Labour	1977			1978		
	Nig.	Alg.	Kenya	Nig.	Alg.	Kenya
Unskilled	^N 0.25	^N 0.36	^N 0.17	^N 0.27	^N 0.49	^N 0.20
Skilled	0.36	0.92	0.30	0.39	1.07	0.30

Source: Arc. G.I. Jinadu (1982) - Unpublished.

The basic material prices show a wide range which cannot be explained adequately by differences in levels of customs and excise duties in the countries. Nigeria's prices are relatively higher when compared with others. In man-hour cost for labour the differences in the cost of labour of the unskilled are not significant but slightly higher in Algeria. The same situation is observed in hiring the services of the skilled labourer in the three countries.

3.63 Jinadu (1982) concluded that in both Kenya and Algeria the emphasis has been trying to achieve self reliance in the construction industry. In Kenya through the National Construction Corporation, the government has

sought to minimise the handicaps such as lack of capital and expertise plaguing undeveloped indigenous contractors. In Algeria the government has gone further to create a system whereby only 15 per cent of its construction activity is dependent upon foreign participation. This is in striking contrast to the situation in Nigeria where between 1974 and 1978, more than 95 per cent, in terms of value, of the road contracts went to foreign-managed construction companies. Even up to the present period (1982) local participation has not been totally indigenous for the local firms had to depend on foreign partnership. Since a substantial proportion of the cost of contracts in Nigeria is related to importation of essential materials from abroad and the wages and salaries of expatriate personnel, a deliberate policy to achieve self-reliance through institutionalization of construction industry and as much as possible utilization of locally produced materials in the construction industry is urgently needed in Nigeria in order to reduce the upward trend of the costs of building houses.

Access to Building Fund:

3.64 The world-wide inflation had put up the interest rates of bank loans to as high as 10 per cent that only a few individuals will opt to build their houses or even purchase already built ones with bank loans. The second problem is the discriminatory conditions under which banks give loans. The bank would require securities or sureties, a certificate of occupancy as a guarantee for access to land and approved building plans. The processes of fulfilling these conditions are expensive in terms of time and money. Similarly, the employer's housing loans policy has not availed most employees of

the opportunity of securing money for building their own houses or purchasing built ones. Employers demand similar conditions as the banks before the housing loan is given; in most cases the policy becomes dysfunctional. In view of the prevailing difficulties, it is easy to see why very few who have built their own houses in urban centres persistently put up the house rents, why individuals incapable of securing the land and owning their houses resort to squatting or shanty towns, or why some governments allow the existence of shanty towns co-existing with well planned urban areas. The implication of these problems must be noted in future housing policies in new towns.

Access to land:

3.65 Access to land, before the land use decree (Land Use Decree No. 6 of 29th March, 1978, see Chapter 9) varies from the Government to an individual. Under the Compulsory Acquisition of Land and Compensation Laws ranging from the Land and Native Rights Proclamation of 1910 through the Land Tenure Law of 1962 to Public Lands (Miscellaneous Provisions) Decree of 1976, the government could acquire land for a number of purposes:

- (i) for exclusive government use or for general use.
- (ii) for or in connexion with sanitary improvements of any land, including reclamations.
- (iii) for or in connexion with the laying out of any new township or government station or the extension or improvement of any existing township or government station.

- (iv) for obtaining control over land, the value of which will be enhanced by the construction of any railway, road or other public work or convenience about to be undertaken or provided by the government.
- (v) for obtaining control over land contiguous to any port.
- (vi) for obtaining control over land required for or in connexion with mining purposes.
- (vii) for obtaining control over land required for or in connexion with planned rural development or settlement, and
- (viii) for or in connexion with housing estate, economic, industrial or agricultural development and for obtaining control over land required for or in connexion with such purposes (Public Lands Acquisition Law (Cap. 105) Western Nigeria).

3.66 This right to acquire land has not been without problems. The problems can be grouped into two: complaints of lack of compensation, and the problem of who actually owns the land.

3.67 Problems of lack of compensation are nationwide and have been highlighted from the Reports on Land Investigation Commission in Kaduna State (New Nigerian, 16 November, 1981). These problems include:

- (a) Lack of a uniform policy regarding land acquisitions for schools.
- (b) Failure of the Ministry of Education to make funds available to cover compensation payments.

- (c) Compensating for land in disregard for economic trees mainly because the rate of land compensation is low.
- (d) Failure to compensate on the assumption that it is the responsibility of the community where the school is to be built to provide land free of charge.
- (e) Among others, there is a lot of favouritism and discrimination as to whose land is to be acquired, especially when it is left with the local officials to suggest appropriate places.

Ownership of land:

3.68 The laws providing for compensation after acquisition implicitly recognise that the right of ownership of land belongs to the community. It is a fundamental principle of customary tenure that membership of a community, for example a town, a village, or even a whole Kingdom, carries with it a right to share in the use and occupation of the land of the community. In urban areas the situation is different where the majority of the settlers are migrants. Oluyede, P.A., (1975, p. 51), pointed out that the right or relationship vis a vis the individuals and the community must not be confused with the relationship between a landlord and a tenant. Before an interest can qualify as a tenancy under the customary tenure, it must satisfy three conditions, namely:

- (a) There must be an intention to grant tenancy;
- (b) There must be an agreement between the parties; and

- (c) The tenant must enter into actual possession or must do something which justifies an intention to enter into occupation of the land.

3.69 Lack of immediate access to land for development purposes was identified by the government as a major problem which was well articulated in the Third National Development Programme. Both the Anti-Inflation Task Force and the Rent Panel Reports identified land "as one of the major bottlenecks to development efforts in the country and recommended various solutions. For example, the Anti-Inflation Task Force expressed concern over the need to reduce the injustice that stems from the private appropriation of socially created wealth and to remove the bottlenecks that land constitutes generally to the development of the nation and particularly to housing expansion and agricultural development". (Igbozuruike, 1979, p. 1).

3.70 With the Land Use Decree of 29th March, 1978, a possession of the Certificate of Occupancy qualifies one's access to land. It is astonishing to note that the various conditions to be fulfilled before the Certificate of Occupancy is approved are very rigorous and costly. The situation is complicated in areas where the civil servants appointed to process the applications have turned it into money making concern. The author applied for an issue of a Certificate of Occupancy for a piece of land he has legal rights to build on in Imo State; for two years he was still struggling to secure the certificate. Sometimes the file disappeared, in other cases officers were said to be unavailable to lead site inspection. The inability of the author to consider bribery a worthwhile approach to secure what he

considered an inalienable right of occupancy for land he legally acquired which had no incumbrances (Section 34 (5) Land Use Decree, 1978) was partly responsible for the delay. In conclusion, the problem of raising money to buy the land and secure a Certificate of Occupancy adds to the problem of owner occupation of houses.

The issue of food production:

3.71 Delivering the lecture on "Modern Training Methods and Approach to Youth Work" in Jos, Nigeria, the Commonwealth Assistant Secretary General, Professor K.S. Murshid, stated:

"More than 900 million people in the Third World get below 2350 calories required for nutrition, 1,200 million with no safe drinking water, and 800 million without basic health services and housing. In addition, 1,110 million people lack basic education, and over 350 million are unemployed, while 700 million live in absolute poverty". (New Nigerian, 2 December, 1981).

In the past few years, Africa has been undergoing serious food shortages despite the good land with which most of the continent is endowed. The food crisis has been particularly exacerbated for the last two decades owing to a number of wars and counter-wars ravaging Africa. The wars in East Africa, in Chad, and Western Sahara, with the refugee problems, have driven a lot of people from the land, resulting in food shortages. Even Nigeria is now spending a significant proportion of her foreign reserve on the importation of food products ranging from meat to grains.

3.72 It is my belief that there is a causal link between poverty and the shortage of food. Poverty itself breeds sickness through mechanisms such as improper nutrition, poor health practices and inadequate medical care. The condition of a poor neighbourhood itself constitutes a source of stress creating greater than average experience of illness, injury and psychological disruption. (Martin Rein, 1978, p. 214).

3.73 Many hours which are spent in sick-beds and hospitals would have been profitably employed in food production. Poverty as a result of low income or unemployment in the rural areas is primarily responsible for migration to urban centres and to rural depopulation, the consequent effects are noticed in the shortage of labour force engaged in agriculture as well as in the inadequate agricultural output to feed the urban population. The problem with rural depopulation in Nigeria is that it involves, according to Murshid, the age group of 15 and 19 years; the age which otherwise could have been employed in food production.

3.74 The problems of the agricultural sector are well known. Firstly, recent developments in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy have tended to depress rather than complement the agricultural sector. For example, the enormous growth in the construction, commercial and services sectors has tended to drain the rural agricultural sector of its virile labour force. There is lack of balance between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. The balance is likely to be restored when the income of a farmer is appreciably increased in order to retain or attract its own labour force. Statistics on number of employees in each sector are hard to obtain.

3.75 Secondly, the main agricultural inputs have been labour and land, while inputs like seeds, tools and draught animals are frequently unimproved. Fertilizer consumption which provides a rough index for measuring the level of modernization of production remains on the average very low at less than two kilogrammes of plant nutrients per hectare of cultivated land. Similarly, the time for supplying fertilizer to peasant farmers, if at all, is not well conceived. There have been situations when the government fertilizer supply arrives in June instead of February or March, the planting period in Southern Nigeria; invariably there must be a disutility of the input when it is wrongly timed.

3.76 Thirdly, there is a major problem in the area of supporting physical infrastructure such as feeder roads. Storage and marketing facilities and water supply which are either totally lacking or inadequately provided for in the areas of production.

3.77 Fourthly, there is the problem of natural disasters, such as erosion and flood, in parts of Anambra and Imo States, desert encroachment, drought and the locust invasion of large areas of farmland in some Northern States and plant pests, for example, mealy-bug destroyed about N1 million cassava farm in the country in 1980 and the Cross River State lost about 75 per cent of total revenue derivable from the farm of over 514,000 hectares of cassava in 1980. Pests such as mealy-bug, leaf insects and spider mites have continued to attack farmlands since 1974 (New Nigerian, 27 November, 1981).

3.78 Finally, the non-mechanised system of peasantry farming generally saps energy under the tropical heat, and that tends to discourage our youths from taking an active part in farming activities.

3.79 Efforts by the Government to improve food production have taken two major ways: (i) Food importation; and (ii) Government agricultural programmes.

3.80 Importation of food has been considered as a short-term measure to avert the problem of food shortage in the country. The Government agricultural programmes which are considered as a long-term measure will be discussed in Chapter 8. With the current growth rate of over-all food demand of 3.5 per cent per annum and the current annual production growth rate of 1 per cent, about 2.6 million tons of grain equivalents are being imported. Assuming that the demand and production growth rates remain the same over the Plan period, 1981-85, a deficit of 3.5 million tons of grain equivalents would be expected by 1985. (Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, page 19). To meet this deficit, the Government have embarked upon massive food imports. Figure 3.15 shows food imports by end use at current prices.

FIGURE 3.15: FOOD IMPORTS 1981-85 ESTIMATE

Item	1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1985	
	value in N (M)	%	Value in N (M)	%	Value in N (M)	%	Value in N (M)	%	Value in N (M)	%	Value in N (M)	%
Food	1784	13.2	1947	12.8	2126	12.5	2320	12.1	2510	11.7	2712	11.4

Source: Federal Ministry of Planning, Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, page 15.

The decreasing demand rates projection from 13.2 per cent in 1980 to 14.4 per cent in 1985 was based on the anticipation of the contribution of the Green Revolution Programmes (Chapter 8) which at the same time accommodates the estimated growth rate in food demands of 3.5 per cent annually.

3.81 In spite of the massive food imports and various other measures to improve food production locally, prices of food stuff show upward trend. Figure 3.16 illustrates empirically the situation of food shortages in Owerri, the capital of Imo State between December, 1980 and August, 1981. This situation may not vary much from the situations in other parts of the country. The figure is self explanatory and shows clearly that prices of certain essential food items increased out of proportion, the prices of yams by 312.5 per cent and garri by 100 per cent. These food items constitute essentially the staple food items for the ordinary people.

3.82 The problem of shortage of food is very much felt in urban areas. The pecuniary externalities are often involved, such as the effects on product prices in origin and destination areas. At the origin, if the farmer has to maintain the same level of food production in view of labour drain in the rural areas, he has to spend more money on hiring labour and at the destination (the urban centres) the effect of the farmer's cost is transferred in the nature of increasing the prices of food stuffs. Hence the problem of food shortage is very much felt in urban areas. The implication of food shortages in the country should be firmly grasped by planners. More money spent on food importation means less money spent on other aspects of our national life, such as new towns' development.

FIGURE 3.16:

PRICE TREND OF SELECTED FOOD ITEMS

	UNITS	DECEMBER 1980	JUNE 1981	AUGUST 1981	INCREASE	PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1. Bread	1 loaf normal size	20k	30k	35k	15k	75%
	Extra size	50k	60k	70k	20k	40%
2. Beef	1 kg.	₦4.00	₦5.00	₦5.50	₦1.00	25%
3. Garri	1 kg.	50k	70k	₦1.00	50k	100%
	5 cups per kg					
4. Yam	1 kg.	40k	80k	₦1.65	₦1.25	312.5%
5. Beans	1 kg.	₦1.00	75k	₦1.25	50k	50%
6. Milk	1 carton					
	-peak	₦19.00	₦20.00	₦21.00	₦2.00	10.5%
	-Carnation	₦15.00	₦13.00	₦14.00	₦1.00	7%
	-NNSC	₦12.50	₦12.50	₦13.50	₦1.50	12.5%
7. Sugar	1 pk					
	-St.Louis	(96cubes) .40k	.45k	.55k	.15k	37.5%
	-Bouchon	(225cubes) .65k	70k	80k	15k	23%
8. Oil (Palm)	1 tin	-	₦14.00	₦18.00	₦4.00	28.5%
	(Groundnut)	1 tin	₦20.00	₦22.00	₦2.00	10%
9. Plantain	1 bunch of about 30 fingers	-	₦4.00	₦6.00	₦2.00	50%

Source: The Department of Home Economics, Alvan Ikeoku College of Education, Owerri, December, 1980, and June and August, 1981 (unpublished).

3.83 In conclusion, we have reviewed the background history of new towns' development in Nigeria. We have observed that the first generation of new towns and existing traditional cities were designed (if any) to play limited roles, primarily to provide either bases for the colonial administration or colonial economic activities, not to solve many of the present urban problems such as housing, employment and food production. Therefore, they are not likely to provide standards for future new town developments.

3.84 On the other hand, the evolution of States in the nation's geo-political life follows tribal patterns and none is dictated by economic differences. The implication is that there will be the tendency for people to prefer to be domiciled in their states of origin, where they will not be discriminated against, to migrating to other states. The only force that pushes people out is unemployment. The integrative means that are emerging from the picture are transportation networks, common national economy and political parties. Probably these are areas where common planning policies are possible.

PART 2: NIGERIA: THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS
AND OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY

4.0 TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Essentially this chapter deals with the traditional institutions in Nigeria. It started with defining the various terminologies and then to the review of the various institutional arrangements. The most important institutions were Kingship and religion in Hausa-Fulani; Kingship and age grade in Yoruba; and community assemblies, age grade and market institutions in Igboland. Emphasis on common institutions varied according to the different peoples. The socio-economic constraints included pluralism and dualism. The task before the decision-makers is to determine how to solve the problems imposed by these constraints in Abuja. Keep that in mind and the chapter will unfold step by step.

DEFINITION

4.1 Kinship institution:

Social groupings in Nigeria are based upon kinship ties called kin-groups. The nuclear family is a kin-group since each of its members is a primary relative of each of the others. The polygamous family is also a kin-group. In spite of primary relatives, there are secondary ones occasionally or incidentally found in the household of either a nuclear family or a polygamous family; these include step-parents, half siblings, and step-children. The extended family, whether patrilocal or matrilocal or bilocal types, are likewise kin-groups. Unlike nuclear and polygamous families, they include tertiary relatives, such as brother's son's wife or a father's brother's son in a patri-family and often embrace remoter relatives as well.

It is important to note, however, that in every family organization the kinship bonds which link the members to one another are always in part affinial and never exclusively consanguineal. In the nuclear family, for instance, the tie between father and mother or husband and wife is one of marriage, incest taboos universally prevent the primary consanguineal relatives to intermarry. In composite forms of the family, a number of members are linked only by affinial bonds.

The second group is the consanguineal kin-group. The members of such groups are bound, together exclusively by consanguineal kinship ties, for example, brothers and sisters, and since incest taboos ordinarily separate married brothers and sisters who regularly belong to the same group, a consanguineal kin-group may not be characterised by common residence.

4.2 The Extended Family System:

The extended family is the basic political unit which is led by the eldest person of the kin group, or in some cases by the first son of the unilinear family. The members of the extended family unit do not have to live in one continuous land area, rather they are dispersed among other family units. This is a common feature in Nigeria. No matter, wherever the members live, solidarity prevails; in monarchical systems such as in the Moslem North and Yorubaland the royal extended family units provide contestants to the vacant post of the Emirship or Obaship. The local government system groups 4-5 related extended families into "wards". The ward system has little or no role to play in decision-making of the traditional system, rather they are used as the basic units for population census or polling system by the civil administration. The extended family units constitute the village unit or the neighbourhood unit.

4.3 Age-Grade Institution:

The date of one's birth may determine the age-grade to which one belongs. The place of birth may determine membership in a particular household, community or residential kin-group.

4.4 The Village:

The village occupies a concentrated cluster of dwellings near the centre of the exploited territory or of a neighbourhood with its families scattered in semi-isolated homesteads such as in parts of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, or some compromise between the two. The village is normally characterised by a

local market square which equally serves as a meeting place for the villagers. In recent times the central part has served as sites for mosques, churches, schools and local stores for day to day retail activities. In the Moslem north of the country each village has a "Jekada" or head man who represents the Chief or the Emir; in Yorubaland, the "Quarter Chief" represents the Oba. These headsmen see to it that the Emir's or Oba's directives have been carried out. In Igbo-land local decisions rest on the village and town assemblies. Ejiofor (1980, p.50) called such assemblies Unions. In town assemblies one becomes a member by right of place of birth, not by any other condition as is the case with most union membership. The accepted practice is a direct democracy, a system which has survived the British contact. The institutions which are utilized in the political processes of the village include kinship, religion, secret societies, priestly associations, oracles and age-grades.

4.5 The Town:

The traditional town is made up of a group of villages (Uchendu, 1965, p. 44, Ejiofor, 1980, p.48). Owing to limited vocabulary to distinguish a group of villages from a western concept of town, this thesis adopts (traditional town) for a group of villages. In Nigeria urban centres are sometimes called townships. We shall adopt the literary meaning of 'town' when it is not prefixed with 'traditional'.

4.6 While traditional necessarily connotes what is handed down from generation to generation and therefore tends to exclude changes and modifications because it is

rooted in the mists of antiquity, the indigenous express what is native to the people and belonging to them naturally even when such people have undergone various stages of development and change (Ejiofor, 1980, page 2).

4.7 Town is to denote a continuous settlement around a central core, but with declining intensity of land use reflected in land value, rent and density gradients (Richardson, 1978, p. 271). The traditional towns are characterised by a common territoriality, their mythical charter, their possession of a common guardian deity, or in place of this, a common religious belief, for instance Islam in the Moslem North of Nigeria, Kingship (Emir, Oba, Obi, Eze), a central market place and a town Assembly; in the Northern and Western States of Nigeria, these traditional towns owe allegiance to Sokoto and Ife respectively.

4.8 On the contrary, in Igboland each traditional town accepts no interference from another town. It is, however, only the civil administration (the local Government or the State Government) that may come into the internal affairs of the traditional town.

4.9 Obedience to the functional institution is important, for instance, in an area where Kingship is functional everybody is expected to obey the orders of the Emir in the Northern States, Oba in Yorubaland, Obi in Onitsha, Igbo and Eze Aro in Arochukwu of Imo State. Where the Community Assembly is functional as in Owerri-Igbo, loyalty to the town Assemblies is an absolute one. It is considered an abomination to flout the town Assembly's regulations and the consequences of

such an action are grave, ranging from ostracism to confiscation of property, and sometimes to death. However, this may be so when all the villages that make up the traditional town are parties to the decision and agreement.

The Emirate:

4.10 The Emirate is a territorial unit under the suzerainty of the Emir. The Emirates are differentiated according to the sizes of the territories. The territorial sizes reflect the importance of the ruler. The largest Emirates are administered by first class Emirs, while the smaller and newly created ones may be assigned to second class or third class Emirs. Each Emirate was supposed to be subject to Sokoto which is under the Saruana, but recent changes put the loyalty of vassal Emirates into doubt (see section 4.35 below).

The Kingdom:

4.11 The Kingdom is described as a territory under an Oba, a traditional King of Yoruba. The Kingdom is related by tradition and sentiment to Ife, the traditional Capital of Yoruba Empire.

The Clan:

4.12 The word 'Clan' which was introduced into Igbo social structural setting during the colonial administration, presents a lot of difficulty to define. Webster (Murdock, 1965, page 68) defined clan as a

social group comprising a number of households, the heads of which claim descent from a common ancestor. Murdock in agreement with Webster stated that for a group to constitute a genuine clan it must conform to three major specifications:

- (i) It must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which units its central core of members. Unilocal extended families lack the unifying principle of descent;
- (ii) A group must have residential unity; this cannot exist if the residential rule is inconsistent with that of descent, for example, patrilocal when the latter is matrilineal; and
- (iii) The group must exhibit actual social integral part of the membership. It cannot be a mere unorganised aggregation of independent families like those residing in a block in a residential neighbourhood.

4.13 In view of these conditions, no one of the Clans in Igboland, for instance, Mbaise (5 towns), Mbanasaa (7 towns), Mbaitoli (9 towns), has the pre-requisite qualities to be defined as such; to the colonial administration an Igbo Clan meant a group of related towns which could trace their origin to a common geneology, contiguity or long-standing association. A clan had an all-purpose native court which was established by the Native Courts Proclamation (1900) and derived their revenue from indirect taxation. The clan was synonymous to Native Court Area formed by

grouping together a number of contiguous (village-groups) traditional towns which were traditionally sovereign political units.

4.14 There were rarely clan meetings or clan King or Chief. Information or orders from the Area Court system were dissipated through the representative "Warrant" Chiefs. The Warrant Chief handpicked by the District Commissioner, were believed by him to represent the traditional towns.

4.15 The translation of these terms to modern planning terminologies also runs into difficulty. The nearest association of an Emirate is a city. An Emirate possesses a traditional ruler, administrative function and areas, a central market and a Mosque.

4.16 The Emirate, like the city, is seen as consisting of nuclei that form business and social centres and which are discernible at a glance, for instance from an intra-metropolitan traffic flow density maps (Richardson, 1978, p. 21).

4.17 Then the "city" is defined by the dictionary as a place inhabited by a large, permanent, organised community. This definition does not differentiate a city from a town. Size alone can hardly be sufficient to define a city, because many villages comprise many thousands of inhabitants which are thus larger than many old cities. Economically defined, a city is a settlement the inhabitants of which live primarily of trade and commerce rather than agriculture. Weber (1966, p. 66) rightly argued that this would include in the concept city colonies made up of family members and

maintaining a single practically hereditary trade establishment such as the 'villages' of Asia and Russia. It would, on the other hand, exclude primary cities in which dwell peasant farmers with correlated urban facilities. Many of the pre-colonial Nigerian cities were of this class as well as some old German and foreign medieval cities at least placed considerable pastures and woods at the disposal of their burghers (Weber, 1966, page 71). Finally, cities are described as multi-centric with separate nuclei linked together via a complex flow of networks that sometimes cross non-urban space. This definition is criticised because it is physically oriented. Undoubtedly, the people and their institutions that build cities are important.

4.18 Most definitions emphasise one or more aspects of the city such as spatial concentration, city size, heterogeneity, law, industry and commerce and hardly the agricultural function of the city. Some associate a city with religious centres. A city in its complex nature can hardly be defined by a single criterion. The transformation and recognition of an urban centre as a city is the primary function of the government of the day. Hence we arrive at this definition - "A city is a well organised, economically, politically, socially and culturally recognised community which may possess one or more centres that sometimes include non-industrial and commercial spaces and linked together through a complex flow of transport networks".

4.19 The 'region' then is perceived as being composed of nodes of different sizes (cities, towns, villages and sparsely populated rural areas) that are linked together functionally.

4.20 Like the city, the term 'region' is a nebulous one which has defied the use of a single criterion for definition. The definitions of 'region' have varied as much as there are natural and social scientists. Geographically defined, a region is a considerable extent of territory with undefined boundaries having similar climatic, biotic and edaphic characteristics. The equatorial, mediterranean and temperate regions of the world are examples. The economic regions may be described as contiguous areas of the world that produce similar products but may not be politically united. The cotton belt of the U.S.A., the copper belt of Southern Africa and the West African regions may qualify for such definition. The choice, therefore, must depend to a large extent upon the particular purpose which the definition is intended to serve. For the purpose of this study, a region is defined as "an area within the national economy that is sufficiently comprehensive in structure that can function independently although, of course, in most practical circumstances it has strong links with the rest of the economy". (Czumanski in Richardson, 1978, page 18).

4.21 From the above definition, it is easy to deduce the characteristics of a region. Firstly, it should be seen as an area which is identifiable spatially in the national space, for instance a depressed area, river basin area, desert area, homogenous area, and so on. The argument against this concept is that the role of spatial friction within the region is ignored. It may be necessary to include the transport costs within and between regions which affect the spatial development of such areas instead of assuming zero transport cost. Secondly, for a region to be comprehensive means that the functional links can be identified through

observation of flows of people, factors, goods and communications. And finally, the concept of 'independent' regions implies an absence of overlaps between regions. This is achieved when there is an agreement between administrative boundaries and the boundaries of economic space which permit policy instrument impacts to be evaluated easily and that the administrative structures of a region facilitate policy implementation. However, complete independence of a region cannot be assured because of a certain degree of openness that exists in the regional space economy.

4.22 The Yoruba concept of Kingdoms and the Igbo concept of Clan might be correlated with the concept of a region. These consist of continuous settlements of various sizes alternating with rural hinterlands, and multi-centres which may or may not be linked by transportation networks. Some of these centres can act independently in certain aspects of their functions and cooperate in others. Factors are mobile - population, services and goods - between regions. The mobility is enhanced by the degree of connectivity that exists between nodes.

4.23 Most of the terms re-occur in our analysis of the Federal Capital Territory or in the traditional societies that form the immediate wider areas of the Territory. Though we recognise other definitions, the reader is expected to accept the definitions as given when reading this thesis. Discussions of a few representative institutions will now follow. The choice of areas where the institutions are mostly found have been based on, first, proximity to the F.C.T., for instance Zaria, and second, areas from which

immigration to the FCT will be expected, for instance, Yorubaland and Igboland. The migrants will no doubt transfer along with them some aspects of their culture and institutions.

Zaria in Northern Nigeria

4.24 The Fulani Empire had been established by a Jihad or Holy War for the local purification and expansion of Islam in 1804. The objective and origin committed the future rulers to observe Islamic practice regarding religion, law, and war on the infidel. A review of the history of the Mohammedan Hausa-Fulani Empire revealed two important institutions - the Kingship and religion. These two institutions, as will be shown later, are the pivot that controls the political, economic, social and cultural lives of the people. As was rightly observed by G.T. Stride et al. (1971, p. 89) the history of Hausaland remains the history, not of a people but of its independent city states. For the purpose of studying the institutions of Kingship and religion in Hausaland, our focus will be on Zaria.

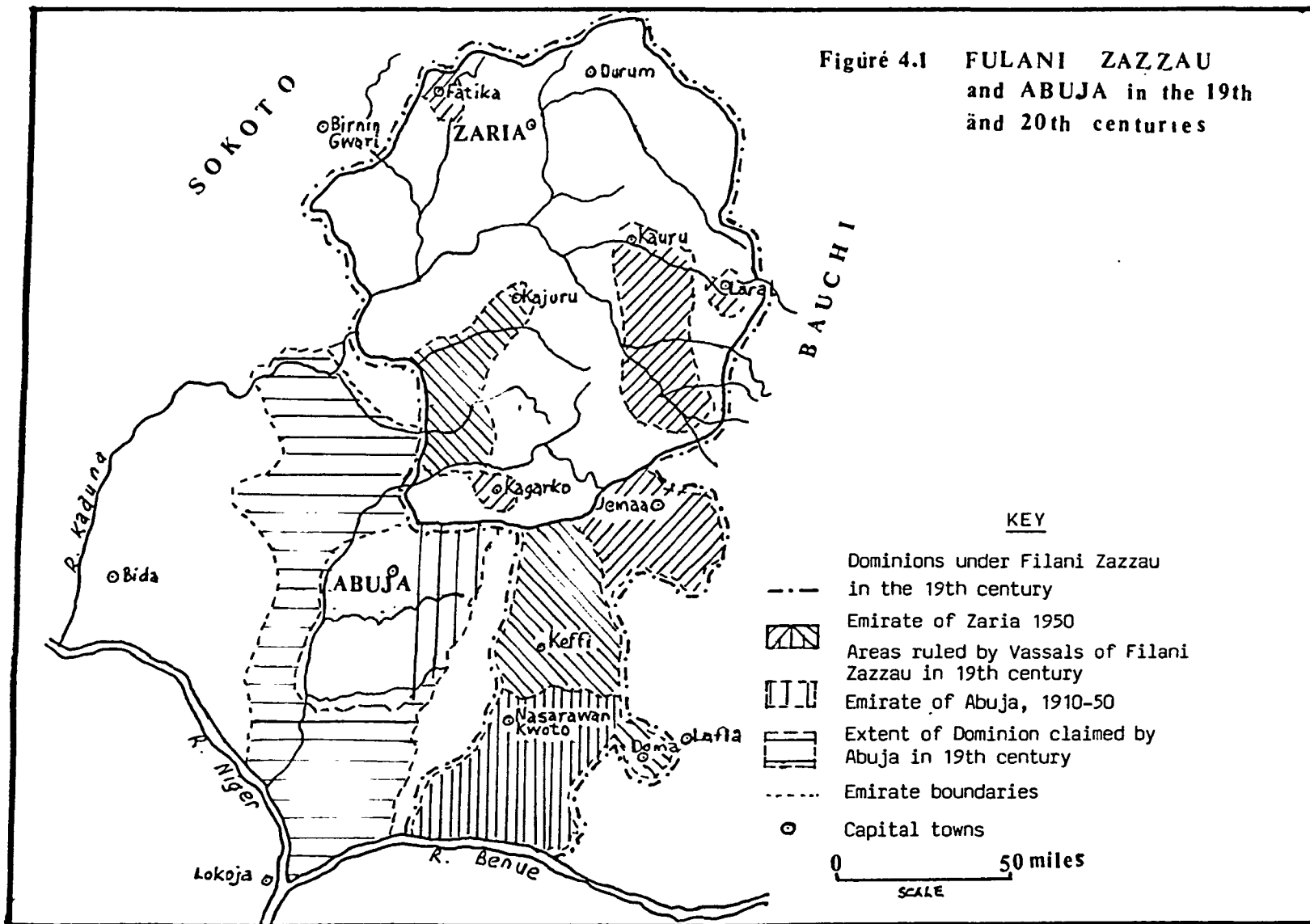
Kingship:

4.25 The following questions are vital. What is the role of the Kingship institution in Zaria? What changes have occurred in the institution? What are the constraints? How can the institution's power be preserved? The Fulani Empire was controlled by the Sultans of Sokoto, who descended from the leader of the Jihad, Shehu dan Fodio, of the Toronkawa Clan of Fulani.

After the conquest, dan Fodio sent out his sons and relations (made Princes by the Jihad) to rule as Emirs over the defeated States in the former Hausa Empire. Most of the rulers of the Hausa-Fulani States have a common Kingship relation (Section 4.1). Societies were organised in patriarchal families under dominance of the eldest parent or the strong man with domination extending to life and death of the people. Zaria was one of the vassal States. The Emir was normally appointed by the Sultan of Sokoto after he had been elected by an Electoral Council consisting of the Chief Priest (Limamin Juma'a) the Galadima, the heir apparent, and one other official mallam, normally the chief judge.

4.26 Zaria itself had vassal units, but unlike Sokoto Zaria's intervention in the internal affairs of the units was limited. These vassal units were Jemai Jema'a, Dororo, Nassarawan, Kwotto, and Keffi, south of Zaria; others are Doma in the south, Lafia in the east of Doma and Bagaji. Figure 4.1 shows the locations of these areas. The rulers of Keffi and Jema'a (two of the biggest vassal units of Zaria) were elected by local electoral councils, but they were usually crowned at Zaria. The reason for crowning subordinate rulers in their over-lord's courts was not only the acknowledgement of the former's position as a vassal chief, but to reduce the chances of civil war developing over the succession. Each unit or village was subdivided into wards and occupational units headed by wardheads and occupational heads respectively.

4.27 These integrative elements in the government were usually latent and were clearly unplanned. They developed as it were accidentally almost in spite of the



form of the state of affairs. One can argue, however, that the Fulani government was not based on accidental integration for the maintenance of their governments. They actively sought to assure its continuity through their organization or territorial administration, law, taxation, tribute and military force, as can be shown below.

Territorial Administration:

4.28 In the 19th century the Emir of Zaria exercised power over appointment to office, dismissals, promotions, the creation of new offices, and related matters. He did not, however, exercise power of the appointments to the chieftainships or units which were his vassals as the Sultan exercised over Zaria itself. Rather, the Emir of Zaria exercised a supervisory jurisdiction over his vassal units. He inherits from his vassal chiefs who died in office and on the occasion of his appointment, the Emir received handsome gifts from his vassals and officials. According to Smith (1960, p. 81) political office provided its holders in the 19th century with opportunities for the accumulation of wealth, booty, and slaves, and slaves were the main sources of farm labour. An owner having sufficient slaves usually established his own settlement (slave settlement) which is known in Hausa as "rinji" (plural "rumada"). The power to establish "rumada" lay with the Emir. This agrees with the idea of Weber (section 4.17). Smith (1960, p. 8) noted that the majority of the larger "rumada" belonged to one or other of the dynasties. The conversion of these "rumada" to towns by the process of walling depended on the goodwill or political consideration of the Emir. Towards the end of the 19th century the security of slave property tended to diminish, partly

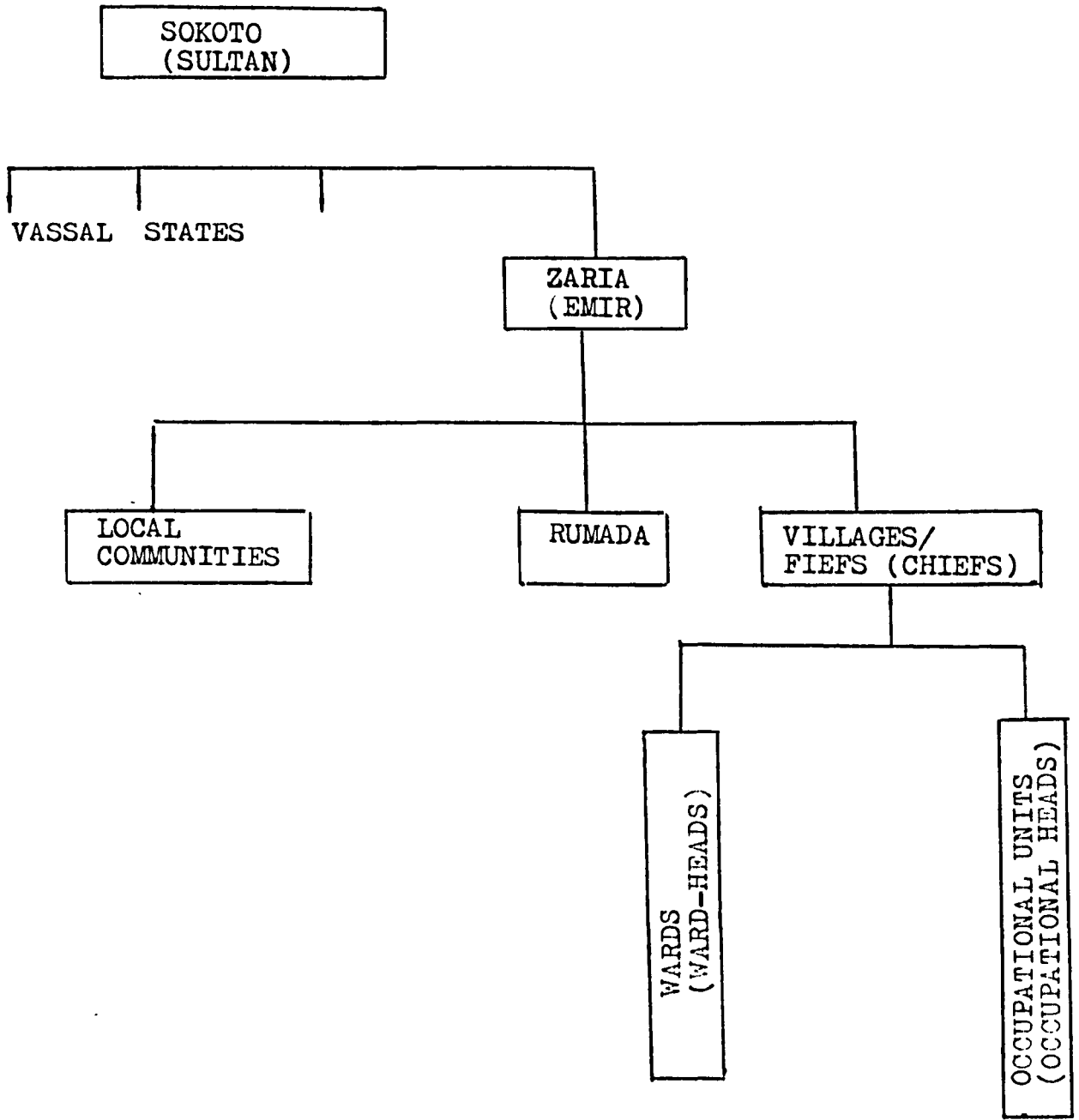
due to attacks from external enemies, such as Kontagora, the Habe of Maradi and the Ningi, partly due to increased local kidnapping by Yan Kwanta; partly to the effects of political competition within the State itself. The final death blow on slavery was dealt by the British abolition of the slave trade. These were the most important factors which prevented the development of a rigid and caste-like stratification in Zaria.

4.29 The territorial organization of Zaria was based on the local chieftainship of community units. Settlement patterns emphasized defensive values and were based on the compact distribution of population within walled towns, strung out along the principal caravan routes. These villages or traditional towns had their local chiefs, but such chiefs were supervised by the overlords called "Hakimai" in Zaria through representatives called "Jekada". Within the villages themselves there were smaller units called wards and occupational units, each of which had its headman. The Emir himself had some local communities and rumada which he administered through his "Jekada". The hierarchical structure of the territorial organization as shown in Figure 4.2, did not only emphasize the pattern of decision-making but also their influence in structuring roles of actors and determining complexity of problem-solving arrangements.

The Legal System:

4.30 In conformity with the Moslem practice of legal administration, a court was established in Zaria under a qualified Mohammedan legal scholar - the "Alkali" judge. His responsibility was to hear appeals from a travelling court of the "Salenke", a judicial office

FIGURE 4.2: ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE STATE



established under the Hausas. The "Salenke" was a judge of the encampment who accompanied the army on campaigns and decided issues which arose there. He also held court at Zaria, and presided over Wali court which dealt with administrative issues in the villages. Besides hearing appeals from the "Salenke" the "Alkali" court dealt with issues giving rise to mutilation or capital punishment, both those referred to it by local chieftains, and those sent on to the capital by the nearer vassal states. There was an overlap of jurisdiction with regard to land matters. The village chiefs presided over land issues within their communities; some land issues were decided by "hakimai", the overlords of the villages, but the Emir presided over boundary disputes, and over conflicts of Pagan custom and Islamic law as were reported to him. The Emir's mother who held no official position but was known as Uwar Sarki, was frequently asked to intercede on behalf of condemned persons, though the Moslem law (Sharia) does not recognise this practice. Like the territorial organization, the legal system was structured hierarchically, even though there were certain overlaps as had been shown above. The important issue to note is that the Emir was the chief judge, but the laws were handed over to him from the Koran.

Taxation and Tribute:

4.31 In the 19th century Zaria levied on a number of items. In spite of the establishment and expansion of the occupational tax-gatherers, there were land tax, levied on each householder, taxes on caravans, canoemen, market sales of slaves and death duties levied on the estate of office holders. The community or vassal

chiefs who acted as local collectors kept a portion of the tax or tribute due to their areas and handed the rest over to the "Jekada" for their lord. The "Jekada" kept another portion, and the lord kept rather more. The remainder went to the Emir who forwarded the tribute due to Sokoto through the "Waziri", the latter keeping a portion for himself. The Waziri was the Kinsman of the Sultan who acted as an official link between the rulers of Zaria and Sokoto.

4.32 During the period under review the Hausas mainly participated in the government of Zaria as subordinate officials charged with tax-collection. The majority of these offices were defined in relation to occupational groups. For instance, there was a "Sarkin Makeran Zazzau" (chief of the Blacksmiths of Zaria).

4.33 An important question is, who paid the taxes? In considering who paid taxes in a system of that nature, it is necessary to find out what system was operating in Zaria in the 19th century. It was that of feudalism.

4.34 Zaria had a feudal system, where states were subjected by other states, people were differentiated according to classes, and slaves were regarded as their owners' properties; in such a system there ought to be unequal treatment between the inhabitants. Members of the ruling houses were royals by their birth. Their male members were each a "Yerima" (Prince), their females, a "Gimbiya" (Princess). Such persons paid no land tax and were also exempted from other annual taxation under the rule of "hurumi" or perpetual exemption, a right which vested in these dynasties by virtue of their royal status (Smith, 1960, p. 81).

In Zaria every subordinate ruler or lord paid tribute

to his superior. Smith (1960, p. 74) noted that the Waziri had to collect six monthly tributes to Sokoto (Sultan) during "Id-el-kabir" and "Id-el-Fitr". In the 19th century the tributes consisted of slaves, cloth, horses, mats, some cowrie currency and levies on grain. The Emir of Zaria or other Emirs within the Fulani Empire were bound to pay tributes to the Sultan of Sokoto. Besides these, the Sultan of Sokoto had the right to inherit portions of the property left by rulers of vassal states. This right to a share in the inheritance of the personal estates of vassal chiefs (whether deposed or dead) was a source of considerable income to Sokoto. On the occasion of his appointment, the Emir of Zaria received gifts from his subordinate chiefs and vassal states which expressed the subordinate allegiance and loyalty. The Emir as well received a large share of the state tax, a half share of military booty, tribute from vassal states, and certain Pagan tribes, death duties of office-holders, and that portion of his predecessor's estate which was due to him as a successor. The Emir used part of his earnings for the maintenance of the royal household, support and enrichment of the royal lineage and part to the King's personal clients in office and out of office, part to the Waziri and Sultan of Sokoto, and part for the maintenance of public property - military wares, mosques and so on.

Changes:

4.35 Various changes had occurred in the Kingship institution of Zaria due to internal and external influences between 1900 and 1950. Internally, succession to the throne had been based on rotating succession from different dynasties as a practical defence against mono-

dynastic absolutism, but at certain times there had been a digression from the rule especially when Ibrahim succeeded Dallatu, both from Bornawa dynasty (Smith, 1960, page 225).

4.36 The relationship between the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Zaria had been that of the lord and his vassal. But Kwassan's forcible seizure of the throne of Zaria and the support he received from the people for his accession, showed that Zaria had indirectly repudiated the authority of Sokoto (Smith, 1960, p. 201).

4.37 The type of system in which the Kingship institution operated in Zaria was such that its internal changes could remain imperceptible. What affected the Kingship institution in Zaria was more of external than internal factors. The essence of the traditional Kingship had been its overwhelming power and its administrative unaccountability at law. The Emir had the power to wage war with their neighbouring states as well as to make peace, to appoint as well as to dethrone subordinate chiefs, and he was not required by law to account for his actions while in office.

4.38 After the conquest of Northern Nigeria by the British, the authority of the Emir was defined and limited by the laws of the British administration which had appointed him. The British could dethrone and enthrone both the Sultan and the Emir.

4.39 The initial attempt by the Fulani to resist the British brought about the deposition of the Sultan of Sokoto, the Emir of Gwandu and other important Fulani rulers such as the Emirs of Yola, Bauchi, Kano,

Katsina, Hadejia, Kontagora, Nupe and others. What did not change then was the subordinate nature of Zaria. There was a change of the actors; the British replaced Sokoto as the overlord in their relation with Zaria.

4.40 In 1905 the fief-holder who was charged to collect tax from fiefs concerned was removed from Zaria city and was sent to live in his fief as a District Head in charge of administration of the district. Thus, the old system of territorial administration by which officials resident in Zaria had administered a variety of scattered fiefs/communities was abolished.

4.41 Between 1920 and 1950 there were upward and downward reductions of territorial districts. In the former date there were 27, and by 1950 there were only 17. Each reduction had been accompanied by a corresponding reduction of administrative costs and a corresponding increase in the effectiveness of the Emir's supervision.

4.42 The territorial power of the Emir of Zaria was gradually reduced. Fiefs, which were territories held from an Emir or a chief on rent, had been replaced by districts, and wards became the recognised units of local administration. The "Rumada" (Section 4.28) have not been eliminated and may continue indefinitely. Their concentrated location make them identifiable still. The 1978 Land Use Decree (Chapter 9) was not aimed at redistribution of land, but rather to make land available to the Government. The "Iyayen giji" (the lord of the slave settlement) can still control the Rumada and their inhabitants through the control of land ownership.

4.43 The changed role of the Kingship institution was not limited to territorial organization, but to other aspects, such as the power of appointing his staff. In 1943, the power of appointing the officials of Native Authority was removed from the Emir and vested in the Governor of Nigeria (Native Authority Ordinance No. 17 of 1943). Before then, the Native Authority which was recognised was the Emir. The Native Administration were the staff recruited by the Emir to assist him in the administration of the Emirate.

4.44 In 1902 Zaria was established as a provincial administrative headquarters with a resident in charge as well as being made a divisional centre. Wushishi was another divisional centre under Zaria province. The creation of two divisions out of the former Zaria province means that the dominions under the direct control of the Emir of Zaria had been reduced and that eventually reduced his power and income derived from direct administration. By 1907, the native treasury was established; the Emir and his central officials were paid monthly salaries instead of percentages of the tax collected as before. The institution of salaries, and the prohibition of unauthorised levies, commissions, and forced labour, were immediate and brought far-reaching changes in their position which aroused the opposition of these territorial chiefs.

4.45 By 1916 each resident chief was assigned a clerk who was trained and paid by the Native Treasury in Zaria. In 1917 each District Head also received a paid messenger and two native policemen. The native policemen had since been abolished and replaced by the Nigeria police. Changes in the judicial system have been continuous.

Before the British rule, there were three courts in Zaria, the Emir's, the Alkali's and the Salenke's. After the establishment of Zaria Province, the British established a new Alkali's court at Wushishi which was the second Divisional Headquarters of the new Province. In 1950 the number of Alkali in Zaria Emirate equalled the number of District Chiefs. Civil Courts have now been established according to the status of each urban centre.

4.46 The first act of British administration was the demilitarization of the Emirs and the establishment of its government army. The military titles still in use traditionally are merely ceremonial, even though from time to time some religious fanatics set up illegal army to propagate their beliefs. Such incidents took place in Kano in 1981 and in Maiduguri and Kano in 1982. By 1956, Zaria local authority area was subdivided into Zaria, Saminaba, Ikara and Kachia administrative areas. In 1974, these areas together with 10 others in the former North Central State, now Kaduna State, were upgraded and given Divisional status in April 1974. Until July, 1975, the local authority councils were each headed by the traditional ruler as president and the membership consisted of elected or nominated persons as well as ex-officio members.

4.47 Following the change of Government in 1975, all councils were dissolved and replaced by Caretaker Committees headed by the then Divisional Secretaries who were State Government Officials. This continued until October, 1976, when the present Local Government reforms were launched. With the introduction of the present Local Government reform the 14 administrative

areas including four in Zaria local authority were made autonomous local government areas with equal status. They were given identical functions and powers and authorised to have direct dealings with state government ministries. With this reorganization, the political role of the Emir in the Local Government Council disappeared. The chairman of the new council was appointed by the Governor after a consultation with the traditional councils out of the persons elected for the council.

4.48 To maintain the invaluable role played by the traditional rulers in the affairs of the people, the local government reform allowed each state government the option of establishing traditional councils. Such a council would consist of the Principal Chief and other traditional title-holders. Generally the council will advise the local government, assist in the maintenance of law and order, help in determining chieftancy matters, and so on. In other words, the situation in which some politically-oriented chiefs were in the past injected into local government to alter the balance of power will henceforth not arise. A politically motivated chief must always have the right to run for election to the local government.

4.49 It is pertinent then to observe that the reorganization of local government has rather broadened the respect for the traditional rulers, making them patrons of their people instead of partisan politicians. In the 1975 Salary Review for Public Servants in Nigeria, the Kaduna State Government approved an increase of 30 per cent in the salaries of Emirs and chiefs as well as district and village heads on the basis of the offices

occupied not on experience or qualification. The ward and hamlet heads, who are responsible for collecting taxes and closest to the people, formerly were compensated financially by being paid a commission of 2½ per cent of the total tax collected per year, but the State Government increased their commission to 10 per cent based on total tax collected per annum with effect from 1st October, 1977. (L. Adamolekun et al. 1979, p. 192).

Persistent Features of the Kingship Institution:

4.50 From the foregoing discussion on the Kingship Institution in Zaria, it is important to agree with Smith (1960, p. 309) when he said:

"The official functions were assimilated, official roles were revised, a new cadre of occupational tax-collectors was established, the council, procedure of Habe Zazzau (Hausa Zaria) was abandoned, and the Habe political system based on certain rank-orders was replaced by a new pattern of dynastic competition which flourished outside administration. The King appropriated despotic authority, but the succession went to his rivals, the modes of official remuneration and the functions of officers were also changed, and the Habe promotional arrangements lapsed entirely".

4.51 Despite these changes, the Kingship institution in Zaria has been undergoing from the short-lived Hausa Empire, to Hausa Fulani hegemony, British colonial era to the present era of Nigerian independence, there still remain persistent features in the institution.

(i) Kingship has been derivable from the categories which precede it as the most senior of an hierarchic series of differentiated offices. The persistence of these formal categories does not exclude changes of their content within the system. Whoever finds himself in this system automatically becomes an embodiment of loyalty, authority and stability, and is capable of influencing decision-making and the outcomes of it.

(ii) Similarly, the hierarchical nature of the Kingship institution, from the Emirship to community headship, and ward headship, from Alakali to mallams, so also authority descends from the high to the grass-roots of the community. Bolan (Faludi, 1973, page 374) observed that the presence of many actors creates the potential for specialization of process roles. Some persons, for example, excel at the identification of problems and opportunities; others perform publicist or popularizer roles; and others are brokers in the exchange of power and influence. The Emir, his chiefs and entire staff play various and differentiated roles both in decision-making and execution in which lie urban planning and administration.

(iii) In spite of changes, the Kingship institution in Zaria is still highly centralised. Its centralised quality even goes beyond Zaria. The acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Sokoto over Zaria by the Emir of Zaria during the formal opening of the telephone link between Zaria and Sokoto in 1951 and the unified protest for failing to provide separate Alakali courts in the Constitution recently are examples. In Kaduna State, the most senior Emir invariably becomes the President of the Traditional Council. This is part of the provisions of the reformed local government system of 1976.

In the State, the Governor still seeks the advice of the Emir before appointing the chairman of the local government council. Government communications to other lower chiefs in the State are usually made through the Emirs.

4.52 What is the value of centralization? For this, Bolan (Faludi, 1973, p. 381) said that a highly focussed and centralised decision centre is more likely to produce action on a given proposal than a dispersed structure of many autonomous decision centres. We accept Faludi's assertion provided the centralised decision centre has the power of implementation. From our contact and observations of the working of the Kingship institution in Zaria the Emirs still possess the powers of influencing their subjects to take actions. In such circumstances, permanency coupled with authority and loyalty, hierarchy and centralization, the Kingship institution remains capable of contributing positively towards planning decisions and implementation. It can serve as a planning mechanism for mobilising public and private participation in planning. Efforts to reallocate the distribution of resources, including land, can easily be achieved if channelled through such an institution.

4.53 For any large scale project, such as the new town planning, large areas of land are required, many people are likely to be displaced and may require resettlement, and large resources need to be committed to it. The achievement of these in a community such as Zaria's lies on the co-operation of the Emir and his chiefs.

Religious Institution:

4.54 Another important institution in Hausa Fulani, North of Nigeria, or in any other Moslem controlled State is Religion. The people traditionally were farmers and herdsman, and like most other farmers in West Africa believed in a pantheon of gods - gods of the sky, of the earth, of local sites, of animal world, and so on. Religion was a complete way of life. Even their rulers possessed varying degrees of divinity through their descent from deified ancestors, who were worshipped and consulted by the people through oracles. Each god had its own cult, each cult had its own secrets, shrines, and priests and priestesses. Each god was the centre of important ceremonies and the recipient of sacrifices; each cult was a vital core in the working of the whole social system and a source of authority, political as well as religious. Offerings were made not only to the gods, but also to appease or exorcise evil spirits. Some of these cults did not develop into national religion, even though they have still their tribal adherents. With the development of trade, certain locations undoubtedly became meeting points for traders from far and wide. Kano, Katsina and Zaria became such centres. In 1385 in Kano a new religion - Islam - supplanted the existing one under Ali Yaji and became the state religion. Katsina embraced Islam in 1483 and Zaria in 1530 during the reign of Bakwa Turunku, a woman (Zaria was occasionally ruled by women). Olatunbusun (1971, p. 106) noted that Islam made a significant impact in Zaria and in the rural areas. An important question is whether women have equal rights in decision making under the Moslem religion? Ethically, women are kept in the background. Women are believed to be unclean (Al-ma'idatil, Verse 6). No other reason is given for that action.

4.55 It could not be for the purpose of maintaining a labour force for domestic services or for farming as in other parts of the country because most of the work in agriculture in Moslem communities was carried out with slave labour (Section 4.28) or by male dependents (Section 4.59) and most importantly, married women are kept in seclusion by their husbands and only allowed outside the house in veiled faces. Islam was only introduced into Zaria during the reign of Bakwa Turunku, not to imply that Turunku was the head of the Moslem religion. The Hausa rulers mixed Islam with traditional religious practices, a situation which contributed to the cause of the Jihad of 1804, and the overthrow of Hausa rule.

Why the Spread of Islam?

4.56 The early spread of Islam was the result of a number of factors, some philosophical, some social, some economic and some political. The philosophy which the traditional religious practices presented to the adherents did not seem realistic. Islam started with a spiritual conversion of the people who saw it in a new light when the beliefs and achievements of Islam were explained to them. Unlike Islam, the people could not explain the wisdom of their belief in the various traditional religious cults. Islam assured the faithful of life after death.

4.57 The Islamization of the people took place in the trading cities. There lived different people removed from their own close village societies where the success and failure of the harvest were held to depend on the god of earth and on fertility rites and sacrifices to

the local gods. In the urban setting, these urban dwellers were in a religious sense detribalized and thus more open to the influence of a new religion which seemed adapted to their urban mode of life. To them Islam must have seemed very much like the cult of traders, and Allah, the God of merchants.

4.58 Hence, in a typical Moslem town, for example, Kano, Kaduna, Katsina and others, the Friday Mosques are located very close to the central market where Moslems are expected to congregate every Friday at mid-day for prayers. Like in the Christian churches, the Imam (the Moslem priest) is expected to preach to the congregation from the Mosque. The Mosque forms a point for the dissemination of information as well as for mobilization of the adherents for action. The traditional people acknowledged the existence of a supreme god who was usually the god of the sky. The worship of Allah must have seemed unobjectionable. Islam had its own rituals like the traditional cults and could be interpreted in terms of local cult practices by the uninitiated.

4.59 Moslems are required to pray five times daily! The social interaction, irrespective of status or race, has a great impact on the leaders and followers alike. The master-servant relationship which exists between the rich and the poor, even though criticised by the Southern Nigerians, provides a process of reallocating the distribution of resources. Through the process the poor find ready employment and means of livelihood by working for the rich who invariably have found a labour force replacement since the abolition of domestic slavery. Neither domestic slavery nor clientage is opposed to the doctrine of Islam.

4.60 The situation has very grave consequences and correlates with high level of illiteracy, health problems and low income distribution relative to the population in the Moslem North of Nigeria. Another social reason for the spread of Islam especially in Nigeria was its acceptance that man by nature is polygamous. Professor N.W. Ingells in an essay "Biology of Sex" says: "Man as an animal is anything but monogamous and one would have great difficulty in explaining biologically such a sudden change of heart, the transition to single wife". Similarly, Max Nordan writes that man lived in a state of polygamy in so-called civilized countries in spite of the monogamy enforced by law (New Nigeria, 30 August, 1982). It can then be adduced that Islam permitted polygamy as a solution to social ills and has rightly allowed a certain degree of latitude to human nature. Such ills include adultery, dissolution of marriage, hardship to the divorced wife and so on. Some Nigerians seeing the solution to these social ills being provided by Islam have no other choice than to embrace it.

4.61 Finally, the love for wealth and political power offered another chance for the spread of Islam. The Koran prohibits the humiliation of a person, shedding of his blood and confiscation of his property, for instance (Chapter of Al Bakara, Verse 178).

4.62 One can then argue that the various wars of conquests by Moslems against the infidels were prosecuted not to convert the infidels per se but for the love of wealth resulting from looting, slavery and tribute from the people or for political motives. The above conception agreed with the conclusion made by the

deputy Governor of Kano State, Alhaji Ibrahim Farok, on the Kano Religious Crisis in December, 1980. He said: "Muhammed Marwe Maitatsine, the leader of the sect, was more ambitious politically than religiously". (Daily Times, 19 Feb., 1981).

4.63 The failure of Governor Abubaka Rimi of Kano State to call to order Maitatsine shows how strong religious conviction and influence are on the people in spite of what their roles in society expect of them. It remains a surprise that no singular voice from the Moslem world, either internally or from outside Nigeria, condemned the massacre of Igbos in Northern Nigeria in 1966, who were seen as unbelievers, but this provided some people an opportunity to loot others' property. It is difficult, therefore, to separate political, religious and economic motives in our religious actions. Religious values, like any other values, are capable of inducing action from the people.

4.64 The need to maintain presence in any community is the ambition of most religious organizations. In Zaria there are very many Mosques, but the one that calls for attention is the Central Mosque which is situated very close to the Emir's palace. Besides being a praying ground for the local Moslems, it serves as a meeting ground during the important Moslem festivals of Id-El-Maulud, Id-El-Fitri and Id-El-Kabir.

4.65 The existence of these feasts does not only provide the believers opportunity for spiritual purification, but an opportunity of coming together and distributing gifts to Moslem members. Some of the local Mosques provide places for educating the young.

The Mallams instruct the young Moslems on how to read the Koran and other Arabic prints. It is important to observe that preference to this type of education deprived most of the Northern Nigerian youths of opportunities to embrace the Western education earlier than they had done. The effect of this is still with us. Nevertheless, the Mallam's type of instruction has its functional benefits - at least it tries to educate believers who form one third of the population of this country on their faith.

Ado-Ekiti in Yorubaland:

4.66 The Yorubas of Nigeria occupy the Western part of Southern Nigeria, sharing a common boundary with the people of Benin Republic, formerly Dahomy, in the West and the Bendel State of Nigeria in the East, as shown in Figure 4.3 Nigeria: Location of Yoruba speaking people.

4.67 The origin of the people of Yorubas is not important in this study, but there is a general consensus that the Yorubas descended from Oduduwa, their progenitor. The sons of Oduduwa dispersed from Ile-Ife to found their own cities and carve out Kingdoms for themselves. Consequently, each Kingdom developed different mechanisms for dealing with its individual problems so that it would be unnecessary to postulate any model constitution for a Yoruba Kingdom. (Smith, Robert, 1976, p. 135).

4.68 The differences stem from the origins of the Kingdoms. The Kingdoms that can trace their origins from Ile-Ife have monarchies that are patriarchal and hereditary. For example, Oyo, Ife, Ado-Ekiti and others. Generally the Obas receive their staff of office from the Ooni of Ife. Each Oba has a council of chiefs, the

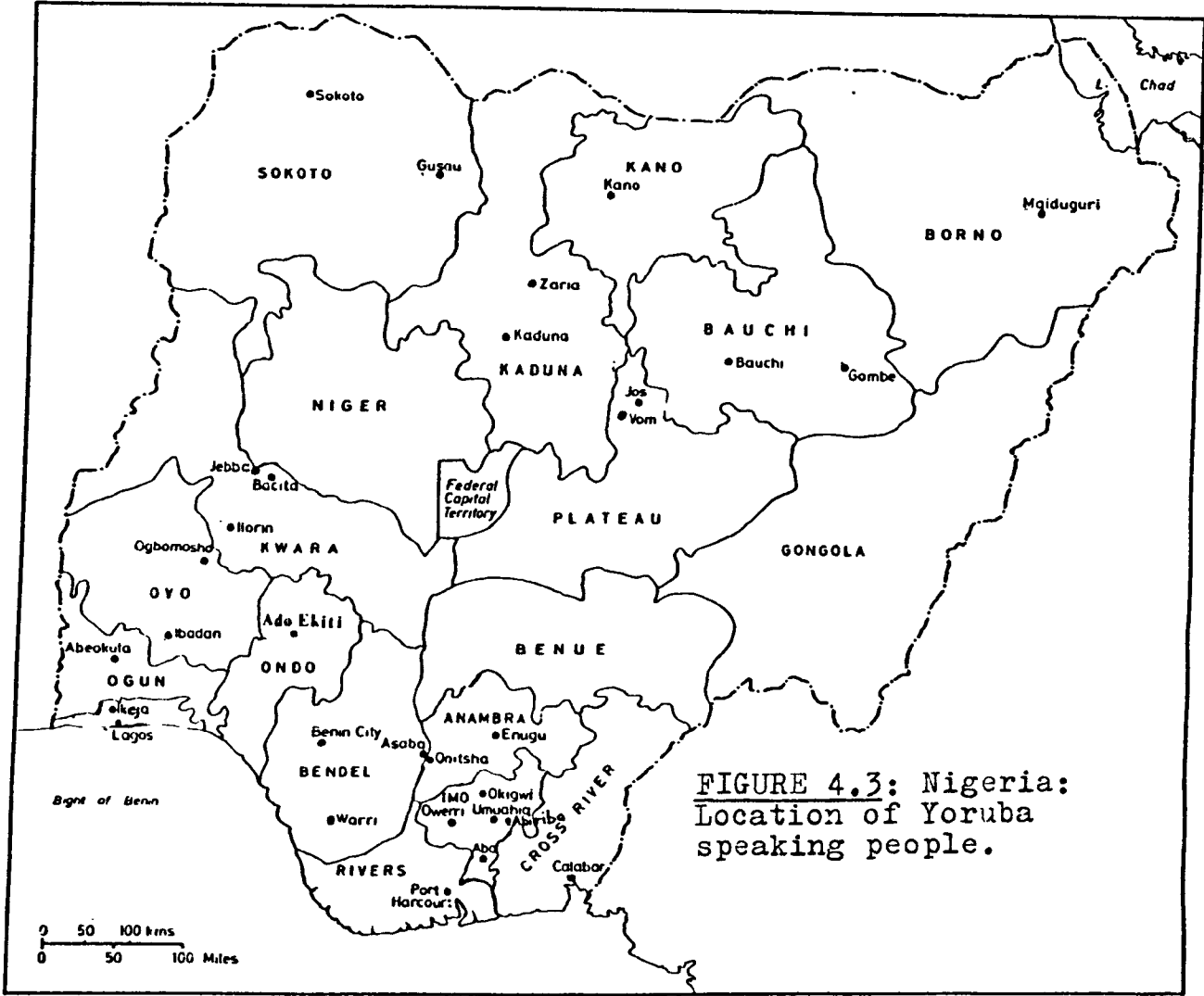


FIGURE 4.3: Nigeria:
Location of Yoruba
speaking people.

title of each chief is also hereditary in the descent group. Thus the descent group becomes to a greater degree a unit of political representation and administration.

4.69 These characteristics are not attributable to Kingdoms such as Ibadan and Abeokuta which have different origins. The indigenous populations were no doubt Yorubas or at least they spoke Yoruba.

4.70 Ibadan originated as a military camp in the 19th century. The leaders were war lords who generally developed from the commoners. Ibadan did not develop a hereditary chieftaincy because of its size which became so large that only a small proportion of descent groups could at any one time hold a chieftaincy title. Secondly, the political power was equitably distributed among the leading descent groups and particularly those of the leading warriors. The armies of Ibadan in the 19th century were recruited by the individual war lords, the success of each one in attracting a following depended largely upon one's reputation for valour and military expertise and one's ability to supply recruits with weapons. In War Councils which met at the battlefield, the lords spoke according to the seniority of their titles (Ajayi and Smith, 1964, p. 20). This explains why the Olu-Ibadan (the King of Ibadan) is elected. In an elective monarchy there is an element of democracy and the most eligible aspirant usually is elected to the Oba's throne at each time. One can argue that the most eligible might not always occupy the throne since an over-lord who became unpopular perhaps as an indirect result of his great wealth, might be punished by the combined forces of the rival aspirants.

4.71 Similarly Abeokuta was regarded as a temporary refugee settlement in the 19th century war period. The early settlers built their compounds in groups according to their Kingdom of origin. Thus developed a territorial division of the town into townships which has persisted to the present time. Abeokuta, like Ibadan, did not develop Obaship; the six "Iwarefa" (Council of Chiefs) were headed by the "Oluwo" together with the "Apena" or spokesman, formed the highest council. In a traditional Kingdom where there was a combination of people who had Obaship and those who had none, such as in Ado Ekiti, the Oba was chosen only by Oke Ewi, whereas Odo Ado and Oke Ila did not participate in the selection of the Oba. The people that did not develop chieftaincy utilized some other institutions for solving their problems. For example, Ado proposed a system of age sets and age grades between the 18th and 19th centuries. This compares favourably with most parts of Igboland. In Yorubaland, generally political decisions were made by the secret organisation, known as "Ogboni". This constituted the highest judicial tribunal (Lloyd, 1971, p. 28).

4.72 Each of the Yoruba Kingdoms was thus a sovereign entity, though related by tradition and sentiment to Ife and the other Kingdoms of the Ife family (much like the ties between the seven Hausa Bakwai of Northern Nigeria).

4.73 To many people, what Sokoto is to the Northern Hausa Fulani States is what Ile-Ife, the principal Kingdom in Yorubaland, is to Yoruba Kingdoms. According to Akinjogbin (Smith, 1976, p. 126) the Ooni of Ife exercised a constitution and divinely sanctioned control over the other Kingdoms expressed especially in his influence over the consecration of other rulers.

4.74 The sending of the sword of State and the divination calabashes from Ife to a new Alafin of Oyo provides support for this in the case of Oyo. However, the individual traditions and histories of all the Kingdoms, and of Oyo in particular, refute the claim of Ife as the principal Kingdom. It is argued that the Ooni's own Kingdom was politically subordinate to its stronger neighbours in at least two periods of its history, to the Oyo Empire and later to the short-lived Ibadan Empire. The competition for supremacy continues even in recent times; with the appointment of the Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuwada, as the chairman of the Oyo council of chiefs by Chief Bola Ige, the flame has been rekindled. In the National Concord of February 1, 1981, Chief Badmus said: "The Alafin of Oyo is generally acknowledged by all Nigerians as the foremost and so acclaimed all over the world. Chief Badmus' statement cannot be accepted as authentic at least by Nigerians who support the Ooni of Ife, including the Governor of the State, Chief Bola Ige.

4.75 Following the arguments from the interested parties, one can infer that we may not have a similar pattern in Yorubaland as we have in the Hausa-Fulani North where up to date Sokoto's supremacy is unquestionable. Although the disagreement on the supremacy of the various Kingdoms in Yorubaland is an on-going one, yet certain facts are true to most Yoruba people; all Yorubas speak the same language. There may be local variations, no doubt; they have similar Kingship institution - the Obaship; recognise certain societies and organisations, such as the "Ogboni" and age grades. The "Ogboni" is a society of the initiated which had a very great influence on the political decisions of the communities which had it during the 18th and 19th centuries of Yorubaland.

4.76 However, this study will focus on Ado-Ekiti political structure for its Kingdom approximates closely to what is generally acceptable to most Yoruba societies.

The Obaship in Ado-Ekiti:

4.77 The Oba is a sacred King of Ado-Ekiti who was selected alternatively from the two segments of the royal lineage by the council of five senior chiefs - the "Ihare Merin" - only candidates born to a chief's throne and free from physical blemish were eligible. According to Lloyd, (1971, p. 24) the five senior chiefs (Olori Marun) on the other hand were selected from among the members of the largest descent groups in Oke-Ewi. Oke Ewi was the only group that had Obaship among the three groups that constitute Ado Ekiti; the other two, Odo Ado and Oke Ila, had a chieftaincy system similar to that of Oke Ewi, though lacking an Oba. They did not participate in the selection of the Oba. Oba was the wearer of a beaded crown, bestowed on his ancestor according to legend, from Ife and his town was defined as "ilu aladi" crowned town or capital.

4.78 The sacredness of the office makes it incumbent on the Oba to appear rarely in public. Smith (1976, p. 129) observed that the Oba was not only the head of the town and Kingdom but their personification reincarnating also all his ancestors back to the origin of the dynasty and he was the titular head of all religious cults in the Kingdom. It is pertinent to note that the title of the Oba is usually derived from their towns as in the case of Ewi derived from Oke Ewi, the Olowo (the lord of Owo) Olubadan (the ruler of Ibadan) and many others.

4.79 It is usual for the Oba's palace to situate at the centre of the town. The building located within a vast area of land is of some pretentiousness with its gabled entrance and external veranda, usually facing on the main market place.

4.80 If the leading Oba was a wearer of the beaded crown, such a town was classified as "ilu aladi" crowned town, or capital. Subordinate towns were classified and ranged from a market town without an Oba "ilu olaja" to towns on the fringe of the farmland "ilu ereko". Similarly, other settlements, villages, "ileto", hamlet "abule" and camp settlement "ago" were so classified. The title of Bale for a village head which originated in Oyo had spread throughout Yorobuland.

4.81 In Ado Ekiti, below the five Kingmakers were ranked the junior grades of chiefs - the "Ijoye". Some of the "Ijoye" titles were held by individual descent groups (including the largest ones); others were bestowed by the Oba on the advice of the "Olori Marun". The "Ijoye" were entrusted with administrative duties. The "Olori Marun" were the overlords of the subordinate towns of the Kingdom, each being responsible for those towns which lay along the roads leading from their quarters of Ado.

4.82 Every Oba had at least one council of chiefs who formed a powerful, usually hereditary cabinet, and in most Kingdoms there were lesser councils for the regulation of the different aspects of government. Smith (1976, p. 129) rightly observed that the Oba was at least as much fettered by constitutional procedure as a ruler in a modern democracy. The chieftaincies were hereditary within the descent groups, or extended families which

made up the population of the Kingdom. This factor was important for it brought about the representative nature of the Government. In the traditional system immigrants are hardly represented in the Government.

What role did the Oba play?

4.83 The Oba's role was purely administrative. While living in the capital town surrounded by his chiefs, officials and priests, he delegates the administrative duties to the "Ijoye". Before the colonial administration the army was recruited among the mass of the people. Such an army as was observed by Lloyd (1971, p. 25) based on the power of magic rather than on training, was effective occasionally in reducing to submission the recalcitrant small subordinate traditional towns and in defending Ado itself from equally small scale attacks. The Oba and his chiefs were aware of this, but to create an effective defence they had to bestow upon the strongest of their Kingdom the title of Balogun. These men had each built up a small fighting force dependent upon themselves alone and quite independent of the military organization of the Kingdom. The rights to collect tolls were held by individual chiefs, often by men who were responsible for opening the route in question, by conquering towns along it, or freeing it from robbers. Such rights were heritable by the descendants, especially the first son, the "Mogaji" after the death of the chief.

4.84 This form of government was not confined to the capital but was repeated throughout the kingdom, every town forming a microcosm of the Kingdom's government. The place of a crowned Oba was taken by a lesser ruler generally entitled to wear only a simple crown or coronet called "akoro" in Oyo, or a cap of office. These lesser chiefs were chosen like the Ewi by Kingmakers from royal

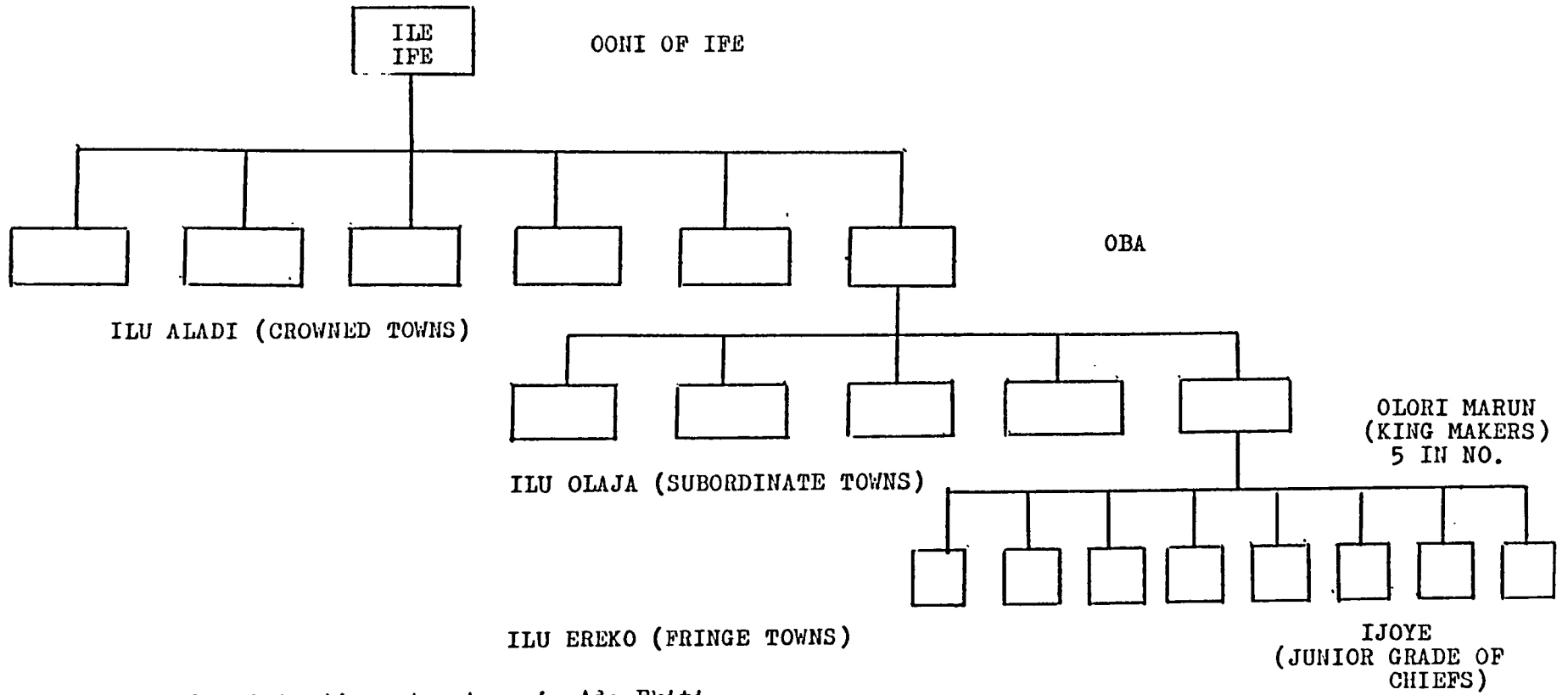
houses and presented for approval to the village rulers. Figure 4.4 illustrates the administrative structure in Ado Ekiti.

What changes had occurred in the Obaship?

4.85 A review of the Obaship shows that a lot of changes have taken place since the colonial regime. The Oba's military organization was abolished by the British colonial administration which on the other hand turned the Oba into a mere staff under its system of Indirect Rule. Rightly or wrongly, they were turned into tools by the Colonial masters for the exploitation of the people, to wet and dampen the genuine aspirations of the people for the attainment of home rule. In contrast, the present indigenous administration does not employ the Obas as administrators, as did the British, neither are they offered a respectable place in the new political system. The present administration confers chieftaincy titles to people who pay for them. Such a way leaves one in no doubt of what fate awaits the institution. The awe of majesty has eluded them long time ago.

4.86 The supremacy of Ife as the traditional capital of Yorubaland is being challenged by some of the Yoruba traditional rulers, especially the Alafin of Oyo, who has been of late reasserting his supremacy over Ife. The installation of Oba Okunade Sijuwade as Ooni of Ife and his appointment by the State Government as the chairman of the Oyo council of Chiefs has re-kindled the old conflict, the end of which is difficult to guess. One can imagine that if the challenge continues the traditional and sentimental attachment that exists between Ife and other Yoruba Kingdoms will further be weakened.

FIGURE 4.4:



Administrative structure in Ado Ekiti.
Patterned from Ado-Ekiti in Yorubaland.

4.87 The toll system through which the Oba enriched his treasury was no longer permitted since the colonial period. Rather the Obas are paid salaries as titular rulers of their people. Some time in February, 1981, the Oba Adeyinka Oyeka of Lagos called for the formation of a trade union by traditional rulers, so that they might so be able to ask "for better conditions of service". Ebenezer Williams (National Concord, February 4, 1981) rightly said that Oba Oyeka was only being realistic, more pay and enhanced allowances were about the only thing our traditional rulers dare ask.

4.88 One other important change in the Obaship is the rate educated men take up the office. This has two major effects. Firstly, the degree of involvement of the Oba-elect in religious rituals and cults formerly characteristic of the office is likely to decline. Secondly, because of the level of education and civilisation the Obas are becoming very much involved in the physical development of their various communities. For instance, on the 150th Anniversary of the founding of Abeokuta, the Alake of Egbaland, Obe Oyebade Lipede emphasised the need to site industries in his domain. (National Concord, February 1, 1981)

Persistent Features:

4.89 Despite the changes which the Obaship is undergoing, there are still persistent features in the institution which influence decision making and the outcome of such decision. The current feature where more autonomous communities and chieftaincy stools are created indicates that the institution is still acceptable to the majority of the people. Albeit such

decentralization weakens the power of the Oba. The Oba's palace still remains the central feature of a Yoruba town. Besides forming a landmark in the urban environment, the centrality of the palace creates a sense of belonging to all who should listen whenever he speaks.

4.90 The council of chiefs which is a feature of the political organization is made up of the representatives of different descent groups which form the Kingdom. It is through these representatives that the needs of the masses are made known to the government, and similarly the people are informed of the government wishes.

4.91 Competition is a persistent feature of the Obaship. Although it creates a divisive effect in the community, it introduces an element of democracy. Every Oba, both present and past, aims at developing his domain. The Oba's strength depends on the strength of his community.

The Age Grades Institution:

4.92 Another important mechanism which the Ado people developed to solve some of the community problems was the system of age grades.

4.93 To the appropriate age grades fell the duties of carrying out public works, the cleaning of roads, the tidying of shrines, of providing police force in Ado, and of forming an army before the colonial administration. It was the duty of the "Elegbe" - the war chiefs, to organise the age grades of the 19th century. With the decline of their duties and the reluctance of the people

to fill the vacant titles, followed the decline of the age grade institution in Ado Ekiti.

4.94 By contrast, the age grades at Ado-Ekiti did not develop like similar institutions in Igboland, which will be discussed in the next section, but nevertheless, at the time, it provided an army of manual workers for the public works as well as the army of defence of the Kingdom. Its decline, one can guess, might have been necessitated by the colonial government intervention in the affairs of the community.

The Igbos:

4.95 The Igbos, one of the three major cultural groups in Nigeria, stretch across the River Niger from the East of Agbor to the fringes of the Cross River and running roughly from North of Nsukka Highlands to some parts of the Atlantic Coast. (Figure 4.5). Their language is Igbo. The meaning and origin of this word Igbo is still unknown. It is also uncertain from where, when and how the Igbos came to occupy their present place of abode. However, their custom might move one to link them up with the Hebrews. A few scholars in Nigeria have suggested that they might have been the Biblical lost tribe of Israel who, after contact with ancient Egypt, were pushed Southwards as a result of Arab invasions of North Africa. Unlike the Hausa-Fulani or the Yorubas, the Igbos did not organise themselves into Empires, Kingdoms or States. They were never united under one political authority or sovereign and no tradition, oral or otherwise, ever attempted to say so (Ogbalu, Igbo Institutions and Customs, p. 7). Each group of villages (Obodo) like the Greek City States guarded its independence with jealousy and was to a very great extent economically self-sufficient.

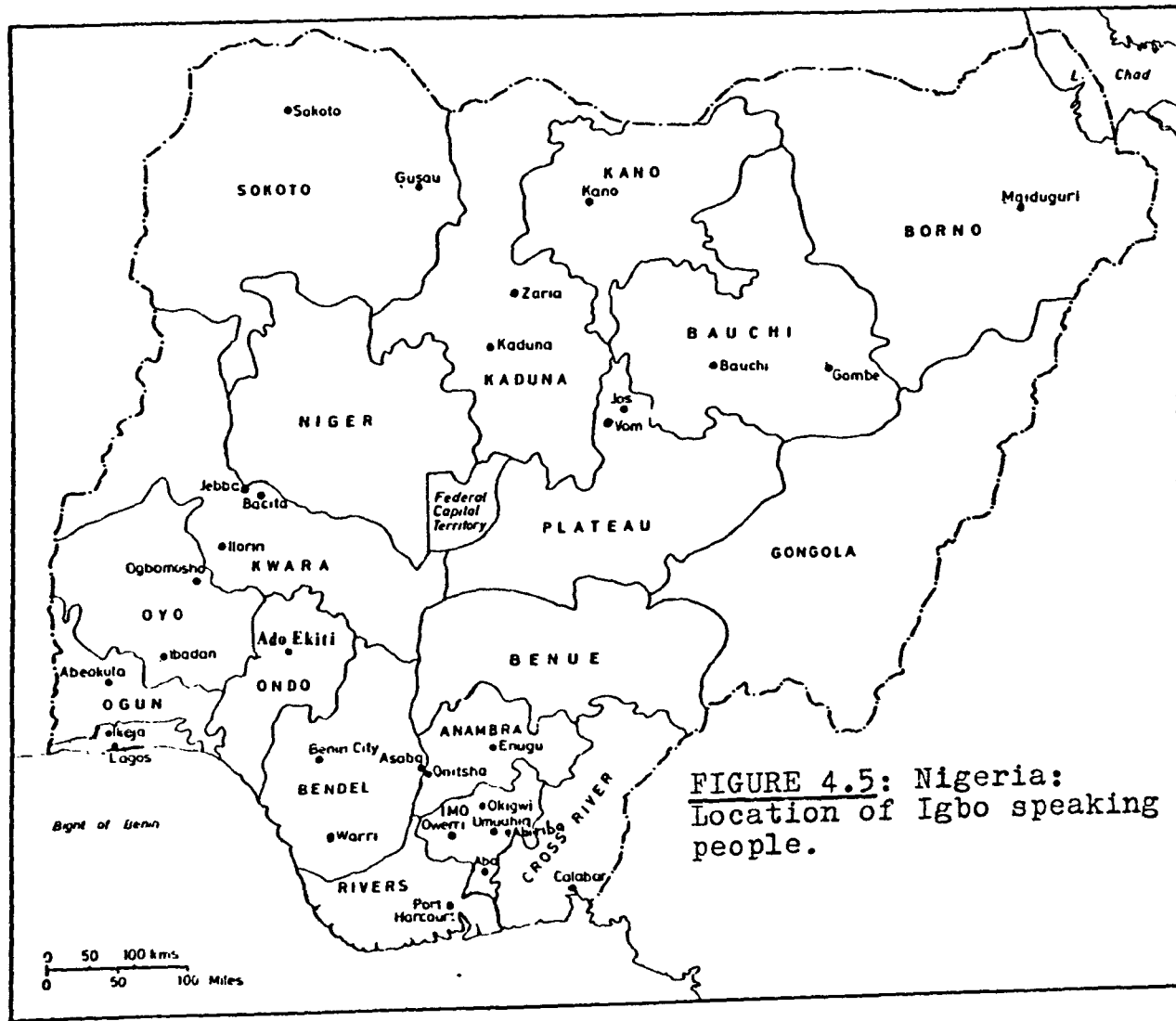


FIGURE 4.5: Nigeria:
Location of Igbo speaking
 people.

4.96 Uchendu (1965, page 46) and Olisa (1971, pages 16-28) held similar views. Uchendu advanced his argument that the constitutional monarchy as the one we have in Onitsha is intrusive in Igboland. Olisa held the view that the Igbo society is very democratic and ill disposed towards chieftaincy.

4.97 Certain distinction needs to be made in Olisa's conclusion. Firstly, there is a chieftaincy title which is hereditary or elective such as the ones we have in Onitsha, Agbaja and Aro Chukwu; this is generally referred to as "Eze". The office is characterised by territoriality and people the particular "Eze" rules or reigns. Another definition of chieftaincy title is a life-time one, non hereditary, and there is no territory or people ascribed to the office. The title is usually bestowed on eminent Igbos, the holder of which is simply referred to as "Chief" followed by the designation, for example, "Chief Egwuatu" (The Fearless), Chief Ikemba (The People's Power).

4.98 For the former definition Olisa's conclusion is acceptable because there are few hereditary chieftaincies in Igboland. For the latter definition, the recent rush by the wealthy and prominent Igbos to acquire chieftaincy titles makes Olisa's conclusion no longer acceptable.

4.99 Another school of thought led by Professor Ikenna F. Nzimiro (1972), Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones (1950) noted the typological differences in Igbo society. Nzimiro identified Arochakwu, Aguleri and Ika Igbo as areas with monarchical and hierarchical systems. Onitsha is included among the areas with monarchical system.

4.100 Onitsha is a town on the Niger, as shown in Figure 4.5. It has a constitutional monarchy. Obi is the official title of the Eze of Onitsha. He has a Prime Minister who is called "Onowu" and three colleges of titled men called "Ndichie", Ndichie Ume, Ndichie Okwa and Ndichie Okwa Aranze. Each college has a hierarchy of officials who achieved their present status by taking a costly "Ozo" title. The office of Obi is elective and not hereditary. The rights of the Obi and his council are regulated by custom. When they exceed their rights, the offended village boycotts the Obi's palace. Such insubordination can hardly be tolerated in the Moslem North of Nigeria.

4.101 The Ezeship of Arochukwu contrasts with that of Onitsha. Arochukwu occupies a territory about thirty kilometres from the Eastern bank of the Cross River. They achieved notoriety because of their oracle, "Ibini Okpabe" which became an instrument of exploitation among the Igbo communities in their sphere of influence. Arochukwu constitutes nineteen villages. Matters of common interest to these nineteen villages are discussed in a general assembly in which each is represented. No village could be bound by a law or decision made at a meeting in the absence of its representative (Jones, 1956, page 5). The principle of equal sharing of rights and privileges is sacred. The Eze of Aro has only a presidential role at the meetings of the nineteen villages. Although young men are allowed a voice, the government of the nineteen villages is dominated by elders from each village because of the need to keep secret the manipulation of the oracle.

4.102 The system at Agbaja is similar to that of Aro Chukwu. Each village in Agbaja is autonomous (Uchendu, 1965, page 45). The solidarity of the

traditional town is explained by their territoriality, their mythical charter, and their possession of a common guardian deity as well as a central market place.

4.103 The third school of thought is being advanced by Onwuejeogwu. In his anthropological study of Nri culture, which is associated with the archaeological excavation at Igbo-Ukwu by Professor Thurstan Shaw, Onwuejeogwu said that Eze Nri held spiritual and political sway over a large portion of Igboland for centuries before the advent of Europeans and that the British destroyed what remained of this influence when they took up the administration of Southern Nigeria in 1907 (Onwuejeogwu, 1981).

4.104 The coming of the British in Igboland has not taken so long a time, for the memories of Eze Nri's influence to other parts of Igboland to be forgotten, if it at all existed. Many of those who witnessed the coming of the British in Igboland are still alive (1982), hence it becomes difficult to explain why there is no written or oral tradition of Eze Nri in areas like Owerri in Igboland.

4.105 The title "Eze" was formerly associated with the priest of god and not king. A verification is required to find out whether Eze Nri was the priest of god or a ruler. Onwuejeogwu's statement: "In 1911 the British Administrators summoned all chiefs and heads of settlements still under Eze Nri at Nri town and forced Nri Obalike to abrogate all codes of abomination (Nso Ani) binding the Igbo villages under Nri hegemony", points to the former meaning of "Eze".

4.106 The Igbos have not been known to have developed their own writing. The use of archaeological excavation will show the spread of the use of an original article and period of using it. The fossils are not sufficient enough to say who used it, whether a King or an ordinary citizen. We require more information to accept the accuracies of the information based on the archaeological findings at Igbo Ukwu in relation to the influence of Nri's hegemony. Ogbalu noted that it was only during the British Colonial times that the description of all the Igbo speaking people everywhere as Igbo became acceptable to them all, and infused into them a sense of national pride and they began to think about themselves as one people. There was an Igbo nation only in the sense that there was a people who spoke the same language, had the same customs, tradition, religious belief and economic and social system and who inhabit a geographical area probably not precisely defined. Like other traits of a people, the Igboman's republicanism was not undermined even by the British colonialism. Each group of villages (Obodo) in non-monarchical societies regarded itself as autonomous in every respect. It could declare war and make peace without any restraint from any quarter whatever. It had no standing army, but every adult male was a potential soldier who could be called upon for military service in the event of war. It made its own laws, repealed or amended them if it wanted. It had its own ideas about judicial institutions. It regulated its religious observances, social and economic activities were mostly controlled or guided by custom. The crucial questions are: How did the modern Igbo society evolve? What contribution did the Igbos make in urbanization processes?

Evolution of Igbo Community:

4.107 It is difficult to make broad generalizations from diverse settlement patterns, primarily because of their development as new satellite communities during the colonial and post-Independence periods, but some observations can be made from the traditional village settlements, which have evolved over the past centuries and which show informal community development suited to the existing socio-cultural and climatic needs in the area.

4.108 The settlement pattern influences the political process which is shared by all Igbos. There are three levels of decision-making in Igboland:

- (i) the extended family;
- (ii) the village;
- (iii) the group of villages or traditional town.

4.109 The extended family is the basic unit of decision-making; all the members recognise the authority of the compound head, who may be the "Okpara" or the elder, and would not make a major political decision without first consulting him. The head has numerous ritual, moral and legal rights and obligations. In non-Christian compounds he offers sacrifice for the welfare of his compound members whom he helps to extricate from their ritual, social and legal problems. In conjunction with other members of the extended family, he settles the numerous matrimonial cases and confers a special name on each child in his compound. He represents them in their external dealings with others like social groups. In return he receives respect, obedience and material tokens of goodwill.

4.110 At the village level the accepted practice was direct democracy, a system which has survived the British contact. The meeting point is always at the common square for all grown up men and women. At the village group level, a representative system was adopted, mostly made up of the various heads of the extended families or compound units; equality among the associating villages was maintained through the principle of equal "sharing of Kola" and equal contribution of material and financial resources needed for the survival of the group. Each village or village group was autonomous and "sovereign" in most matters affecting it; what would modify that sovereignty was the mythical "Charter" from which the village group derives solidarity. This may include a belief of a common genealogy, central market, oracle and inter-marriage. For the village group, the central market square was always the meeting point. The role of the market place in the urbanization process of Igboland will be treated later.

4.111 The loose nature of association existing between individual village groups had its importance which was not found in the more centralised form of Government in the Hausa-Fulani north and Yorubaland. It showed that the principal objective of any Government as maintenance and extension of power and privileges of the governing class can be achieved by other methods than those open to a centralized authority. Secondly, the loose ties between some groups help us to understand why, in absence of centralized government, the Igbo country was not in a perpetual state of warfare, skirmishes, raids and the like.

4.112 The links which existed were perpetuated by traders and ritual specialists who moved from one village to another peddling their specialised products. Also important was a belief in the efficacy of supernatural

judgements and sanctions of oracles which created an extensive religious community of priest and clients who hailed from different village groups. Oracles are shrines at which appeals can be made to a god. Most of the famous Igbo oracles were the Agbala oracle at Awka, the Igweka Ala oracles of Umunaoha, the Amadioha oracle at Ozuzu and the most famous was the Ibini Okabe or Long Juju oracle at Arochukwu. None of these oracles was centralised. Even within the particular village group, only the initiated were members of the cult; this was the case with the Ibini Okabe of Aro Chukwu. With the advent of the British Colonial administration, there arose a need to create units of political administration in Igboland. Consequently some neighbouring groups of villages were merged together into what we know to-day as clans; individual village groups became traditional towns, and the market places which were previously meeting points for these groups became nuclei of urban centres.

Mechanisms for Solving Problems:

4.113 In describing the institution of the Igbos, whether they were political, social, economic or religious, the task is possible because contact with the Western countries has not completely corroded them out of recognition, and also some areas are still recreating them and continue to solve their community problems through them. Examples have been drawn from various parts of Igboland, but particular attention has been paid to Abiriba in Imo State with a developed age-grade institution. As has been noted above, only a few areas of Igboland did develop any centralized form of Government like their neighbours in the Western and Northern parts of Nigeria.

4.114 The chieftaincy institution in Igboland was partly a British creation and partly indigenous to a few areas, but it was applied to all parts of Igboland without discretion. It may be recalled that when the other regions of the Nigerian Federation in the last Republic had a bicameral legislature consisting of the House of Assembly, and the House of Chiefs, the then Eastern Nigeria had a unicameral one consisting only of the elected House of Assembly. The government of Eastern Nigeria initially did not see the need for such a second House, but due to pressure from the power-hungry British created Chiefs, the Government of the day created an Eastern House of Chiefs. Consequently, the chieftaincy titles became political wares for the wealthy to purchase. Ogbalu pointed out that even though the House of Chiefs was created to confirm the true position that Igbos had no Kings or Chiefs and they were fundamentally republican and democratic, almost none of those so-called chiefs or natural rulers with the exception of a few injected without election by the new constitution, found themselves in the created House of Chiefs. Instead they were completely swept off their feet by a new class of bourgeoisie business men and contractors who had money to buy the hot selling chieftaincy titles that qualified them to elect and be elected as members of the Eastern House of Chiefs, in spite of the indisputable fact that their forbearers had never had any claim of rulership of the people. Again in this second Republic the chieftaincy mania among the Yorubas and their love for high sounding appellations, especially their politicians, has spread down to the Igbo States - Anambra and Imo. The result is a mad rush for all sorts of chieftaincy titles and the emergence of a thousand and one "His Royal Highnesses". Some chiefs who found themselves without realms would

cause the agitation for the creation of autonomous communities to rule. It is necessary to note, therefore, that the chieftaincy or Ezeship institution in Igboland, unlike its counterparts in Hausa-Fulani North and Yorubaland, is still trying to establish itself, and will not be considered here as an urbanising instrument. The two institutions which had contributed much as civilizing factors are:

- (i) the Community Assembly/Age Grades;
- (ii) the market institutions.

The Institution of Community Assembly:

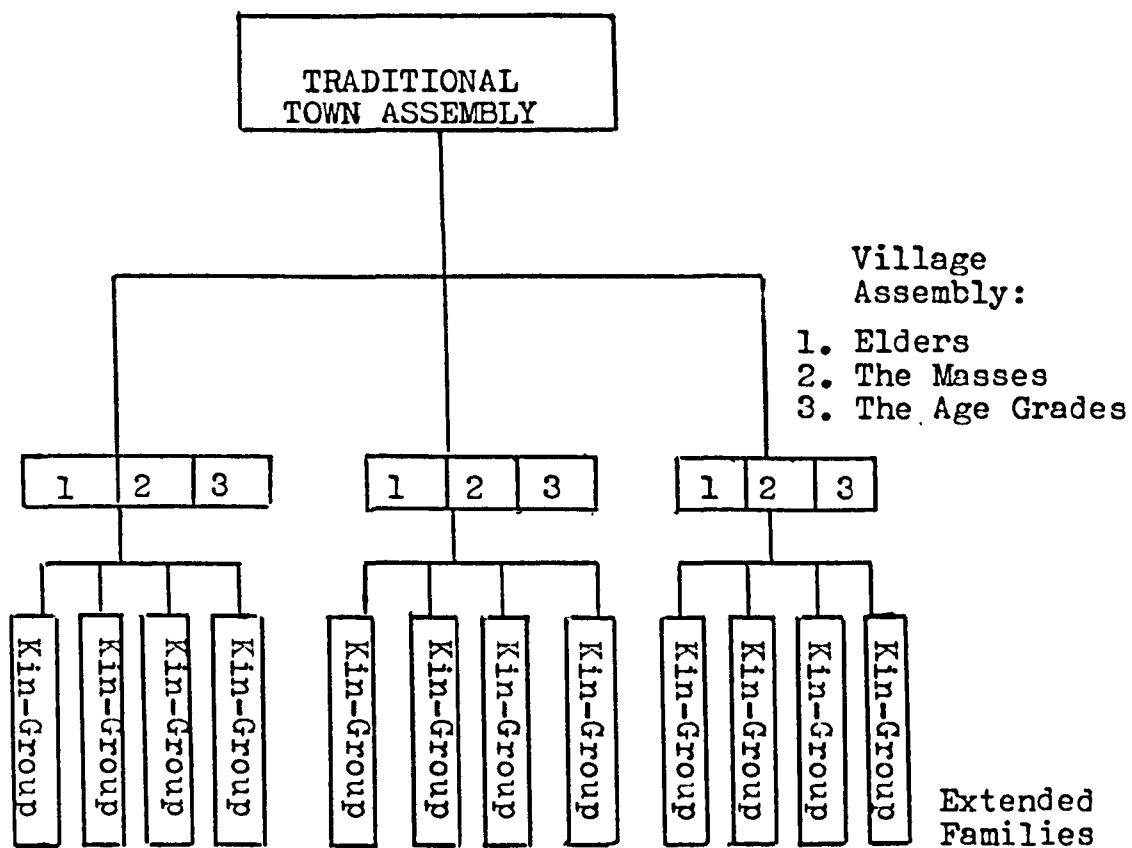
4.115 The Community Assembly was made up of representatives of individual villages which could trace their kinship relations. The representatives were usually made up of elders, "Ozo" title holders, or "the Ndi Nze" and leaders of various age-groups, which are described below.

4.116 The Community Assembly or village group assembly met from time to time and very often during any national emergency. Decisions on matters were arrived at by acclamation of "Hii H-ii" or by raising the right hands as a show of agreement. Where a difficult case was encountered an ad hoc consultative committee was appointed from the elders, titled men or "Ndi Nze". The committee had to report back to the assembly, and decision taken on the issue through a consensus. The assembly was responsible for the exercise of legislative as well as judicial functions, especially when land matters and issues concerning war and peace were involved. The

power of the traditional town is based not on the possession of a standing or ad hoc army nor on any admitted right to use coercion, but rather on the consensus of the villages. To finance its development projects it has to depend on the individual village contribution. Individual village levies are graded according to the seniority of the villages or sometimes they can be based on the population sizes of the villages. It is left with the villages to decide what processes to adopt to raise the fund or collect it from their adult males and females. The common practice is the use of age grades, for instance in Abiriba in Imo State.

4.117 The village representatives are not a permanent body of legislators but are selected at each session for their ability to present the point of view of their village. They have a "delegate" and not a "representative" status and cannot commit their village to any matter not previously discussed and agreed upon by it. These representative elders had to go back to their respective village assemblies, where almost every adult male and female were required to attend, to inform their people. The meeting point was usually the village square which generally was a market place. There, decisions taken at the village group level, were passed to the people and such decisions were debated as they affected individual villages. Every one was allowed to contribute in the deliberations until an agreement was reached. It would then be the duty of the elders to request the Age grades, the executive arm of the community assembly, to execute the function if need be. The hierarchical arrangement of decision-making is shown in Figure 4.6.

FIGURE 4.6: DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURE IN IGBOLAND



The Age Grade Institution - in Abiriba:

4.118 In Igbo society, seniority by age regulates social placement. Within the family circle two age positions are formally institutionalised - "Okpara" and "Ada". Okpara status is according to the first male child and Ada status to the first female child of a man, irrespective of the age of co-wife order of their mothers. These children occupy very important and responsible social positions in their family.

4.119 At a broader level (at the level of the village or traditional town) the age grade institution cuts across the family boundaries. The age group at this stage ceases to be status-determined. The time of one's birth places one at the appropriate age grade. The age grade is made up of both sexes in the village or village group who have attained adulthood and called variously by "Otu", "Ogbo", "Ebiri" and "Uke". The age difference between one age-grade and another is usually three years; sometimes persons of five years of age difference may be organised into the same age-grade. In societies where marriage system is performed on a specific period it helps to determine the ages of children.

4.120 At Abiriba for instance, where females and males are included, an age-grade must be men and women born between one Afauku (a local festival) and another. For example, the members of Ekpankuma Age Grade were born between 1919 and 1922. As the oldest age thins down through death of its members, its remaining members, even though still distinct for certain purposes, are absorbed into the next age-grade for certain purposes

requiring number and physical exertions. In some localities such as Abiriba, members of a particular age grade were allowed to retire between the ages of 55 and 60 years.

4.121 The establishment and initiation of the age grade were often accompanied by colourful celebrations in which food, drinks, and various forms of entertainment feature prominently. An important event in the history of a village group/town or nation, for example, the influenza of 1918 or the civil war of 1967-1970, might lead to a fresh classification and renaming of age-grades. Even though members of an age-grade regard themselves as equal and democratic deliberations prevail throughout, leaders are formally appointed by the members themselves to run their affairs. The number of times members meet in a year depends on:

- (i) the level of out migration from the town, and
- (ii) the issues requiring urgent attention.

4.122 Out migration from the traditional town has two important effects on age-grade institutions. Firstly, it will affect the regular meetings and performance of the various age-grades because of distance friction. In such circumstances periods of meeting are spaced out to enable people to attend meetings at least once in two years. Secondly, out-migration may be responsible for making the functioning of the institution or the more youthful age grades moribund. The ages between 25 and 45 years are ages when people are very mobile. Much depends on the enthusiasm of the members and those responsible to lead them.

4.123 Issues that require urgent attention may include the death of an important member of the age grade, the taking of titles, external threats from neighbouring traditional towns, or a need to send a delegation to the Government in order to pressurise it to implement their demand.

4.124 The age-grade institution is an executive arm of the village assembly which can be used to foster the implementation of community projects. It involves itself politically, socially and to some extent economically.

Political Function:

4.125 Members of age grades were represented in the village group and village assemblies and were consulted on matters requiring their attention by the entire assemblies. Duties were assigned to particular age-grades according to their experience, number and stamina by the village and village group, for example, maintenance of markets, law and order pertaining thereto, clearing and sweeping of spring and markets, building and maintenance of roads, settlement of petty quarrels and cases such as pilfering, picking pockets and fighting. Serious cases were referred to the joint meeting of the Age-grades and titled men and elders.

Social Function:

4.126 It is the social function for which many of the age-grades were noted. The age-grades keep lively the village by dances, masquerades and other forms of entertainment during local and national festivals. They

contribute in cash and kind when one of their members is marrying or is in difficulty. Their public functions are exemplified by what various Age-grades had done at Abiriba:

- (i) the "Erinma Hall" - Omaghuzo Ameke - Abiriba, built by Erinma Age Grade for their Igwa Mang Ceremony in 1976. The building provides offices for the Age Grade; NEPA, Ohafia/Arochukwu Local Government; and a Recreational space (Figure 4.7);
- (ii) the "Obuba Acha" monument at Okpi-Omaghuzo Ameke Abiriba was built by the retired Umuerinma Age-Grade in 1960 (Figure 4.8);
- (iii) the "Ojighirendu Tower Clock Court Hill" Abiriba was built by the retired Ojighirendu Age-Grade in 1976 (Figure 4.9);
- (iv) the Akanu Age-Grade built Abiriba modern library in 1978 (Figure 4.10).

Economic Function:

4.127 The social function of various age grades spills over to economic aspects. Besides ensuring that their destitute members were rehabilitated by lending them money to start their own trades, some age grades or "Ndi Otu" - an association of young men and women - embarks upon commercial ventures and transportation activities which had not only given employment to their members but to others. The "Otu Nkwa Love" UUYS at Alaenyi Ogwa which has commercial stores at Ogwa in Mbaitoli Local Government Area is an example.

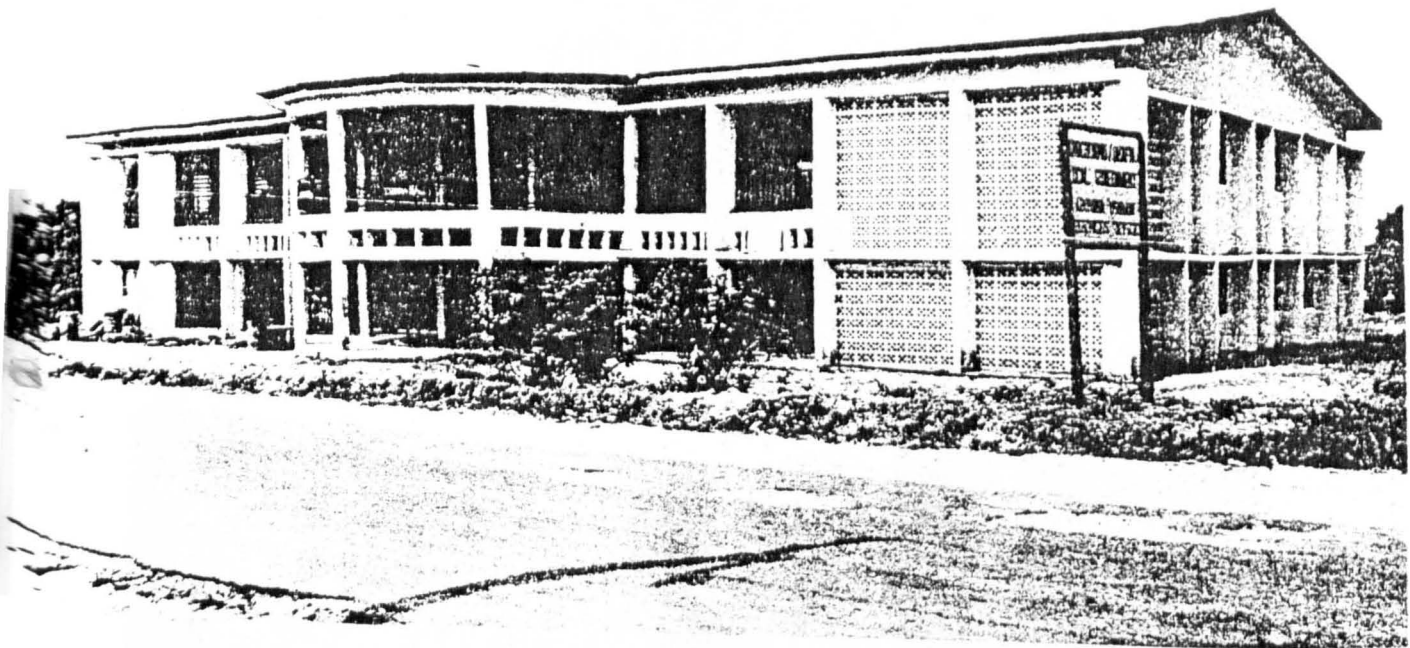


FIGURE 4.7 "ERINMA HALL" OMAGHUZO AMEKE- ABIRIBA. BUILT BY ERINWA AGE GRADE FOR THEIR IGWA MANG CEREMONY IN 1976. THE HALL PROVIDES OFFICES FOR A.C.I.U.; NEPA, OHAFIA/ARUCHUKWU LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RECREATION HALL.

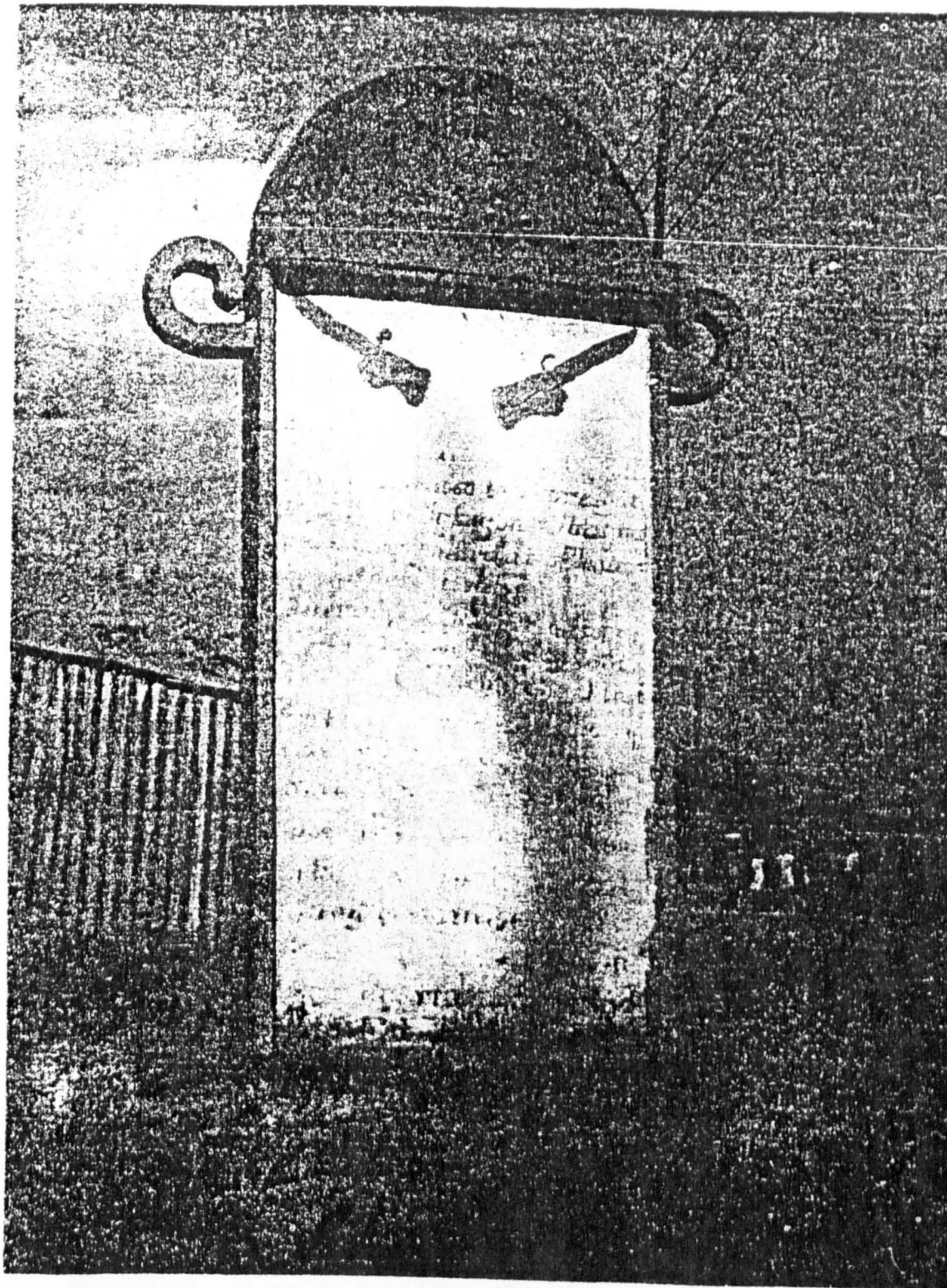


FIGURE 4-8
"OBUBA AGHA" MONUMENT AT OKPI-OMAGHUZO-AMEKE-ABIRIBA.
ERECTED BY RETIRED "UMUERINMA" AGE GRADE DURING THEIR
UCHE CEREMONY IN 1960.



FIGURE 4.9
"OJIGHIRENDU TOWER CLOCK" COURT HILL - ABIRIBA. BUILT BY
RETIRED OJIGHIRENDU AGE GRADE FOR IME UCHE IN 1976.



FIGURE 4.10

ABIRIBA MODERN LIBRARY. BUILT BY AKANU AGE GRADE IN 1979 FOR THEIR IGWA MANG IN 1980.

Changes:

4.128 When the British arrived in this part of Nigeria, they did not find Kings among the Igbos. What they did was to ask the people for their ruler as if they had one; they later saw village and village group assemblies were responsible for the exercise of legislative, executive and judicial powers. The British colonial administration had to introduce chieftaincy institution as a way of indirect rule intended to offset the in-born republicanism. In communities where the chiefs were strong and ambitious, the village group assembly became moribund or a consultative body instead of legislative and executive one where rules guiding conduct of members were made and executed. This condition was a temporary one. In other areas the village group assembly continued to be active and the "Eze" or chief was regarded as a leader among equals. However, the legislative and judicial functions of the community assembly were officially taken over by the Government and the Courts. In real practice, of course, the communities continued to handle all but criminal cases. This is encouraged sometimes by the courts when some land cases are reverted to the elders of a particular society for adjudication. Village groups were declared clans or towns and villages were divided up into wards as the unit bases for political administration.

4.129 The activities of age-grades were also changing. The duty of repairing the roads, building bridges and clearing of markets and streams which were formerly performed by age-grades have been taken over by the Local Government. The various community self help projects are indicators of their untiring efforts to contribute to the development of their areas.

4.130 The colonial administration did not find it easy to rule the Igbos. The Aba Women Riot of 1928 against the demand of the colonial administration for the people to pay taxes was a case in point; hence the pre-British organizations in Igboland lingered on during the administration and resurfaced after the self-rule. It will serve the Government well to mobilise these traditional institutions for its purpose.

Persistent Features:

4.131 The Community Assembly in Igboland has assumed various names and dimensions. Some go by the names of Cultural Improvement Unions, Federated Development Unions and others with whatever name the indigenes think appropriate. Even in the cities Igbo migrants keep alive the idea of community assemblies by founding branches of them. These are called, for instance, Lagos Branch of Abiriba Cultural Improvement Union or Aba Branch of Ogwa Federated Development Union. The branch unions, in addition to affiliating to the mother unions, care for the welfare of their members in their new environment.

4.132 The important thing is that their objectives are similar. Variously they aim at developing their area by providing the local people with basic amenities. Decision-making in the community is still reached through consensus after deliberation on every issue by either the entire members in the case of "the Unu Nna Assembly" and village assembly or an informal representation of the village group assemblies. The democratic and republican nature of the Igbo Society tends to frustrate every effort of the succeeding governments after the self rule to entrench chieftaincy institution in Igboland.

4.133 The elders and titled men in the community are still patronised and revered. Their counsels are still accepted as words of reason, hence Igbos believe in the saying - "the words of the elders are words of wisdom".

4.134 The Central Market remains the nucleus of development, as well as the meeting point for the community assemblies (see Section 4.4). More recently, the market squares have been used as appropriate location not only for the erection of Town Halls and Community Centres, but also schools and colleges. In comparison with the palaces of Emirs and Obas at the Central Areas of Hausaland and Yorubaland respectively, the Town Halls mark an important landmark in the urban structure of an Igbo Community. Self-help effort has been the basis of development in Igbo Community. As has been illustrated by the case study, each village group takes the delight in carrying out one development project or the other, which shows a substitute for, complementary to and sometimes in conflict with statutory government action or plan.

Market Institution:

4.135 The founding of the market had been the responsibility of the people and its objective has been to find a place of exchange for their agricultural products and later for the imported goods as well. The choice of where and when is the market depended traditionally on a number of factors.

- (i) A central place where people could come and exchange their products.

- (ii) As a result of a friendly relation existing between various communities, a market site would be located at the boundary of those communities or at the road junctions.
- (iii) At the demand of gods, for instance, a market could be designated to the god of Earth/ "Ala" - Eke Ala, or Orié Ala, or to the god of Water, the location of which ought to be near the bank of the river, for an example, the Eke Amakohia in Mbaitoli/Ikeduru Local Government Area (LGA), or to such famous oracles as Igwe Ka Ala, the Orié Onuigwe at Umumoha in Mbaitoli/Ikeduru LGA. In such circumstances, the interest of the gods as pronounced by their priests will be paramount.
- (iv) Similarly, a market could be designated to a site after a battle and a peaceful settlement. The Afo Nnudo of Mbieri in Mbaitoli/Ikeduru LGA is one such case. The site was usually agreed upon by the parties that were involved in the peaceful settlement.

4.136 After a market had been founded, it would be the responsibility of the owners to encourage its development. Traditionally a number of methods were adopted. The community could employ the services of a medicine man to plant a magnetic Juju which would influence people to attend the market on the market day. Secondly, the security of lives and properties of the buyers and sellers was very important. An assurance of security would pull people to the market. The enforcement of rules and regulations made for the conduct of business in the markets were purported to belong to the idols to which the markets were designated and their violation or

misconduct was punishable by the idols which were supposed to know the real offender. Finally, the owners of the market could choose to provide shelter, especially during the rains, for which some tolls were collected from the occupiers.

4.137 Originally the markets were broad open squares in which were a good number of tall huge trees to provide shade. They were named after the four Igbo market days, Eke, Oye, Afo and Nkwo. In some places there was a distinction between when the market was supposed to be in full session and when it was not. For full sessions "Ukwu" is added to the market day and not-full-sessions "Nta" is added, for instance Eke-Ukwu, Oye-Ukwu, Afo-Ukwu, and Nkwo-Ukwu for full sessions, and Eke-Nta, Oye-Nta, Afo-Nta and Nkwo-Nta for not-full-sessions. However, the daily markets paradigm which most central markets are evolving is obliterating the major and minor market concept.

4.138 Ogbalu (page 26) correctly noted that the arrangement was to allow each town close by to have its own big market to which others came. Nwodo (1978, page 22) observed that markets are located not only in space but also in time, on the spacing of markets in "time" and "on the ground". Ukwu, U.I. (1965, page 156) also said that a consequence of periodicity is the partial substitution of temporal for spatial competition between centres. Ideally, periodic market meetings are organised in space and time to achieve an optimal sequence and to ensure that markets occurring close together in time are sufficiently widely spaced to attract optimum population. Two markets, which meet on the same day or adjacent days and are located close together, will be competing in the same service area for

approximately the same people, the consequence of which is apparent. One will undoubtedly emerge dominant. This is the case between Eke Atta and Eke Oha Ogwa. Both are located about three kilometers away and on the same day. Eke Oha Ogwa remains a rural market, whereas Eke Atta is developing greatly, probably because of its location along an important highway. Conversely, markets whose days of meeting are widely separated in time can spatially be located close to one another. Smith and Fagerlund (1970, pp.333-348) expressed this temporal phenomenon quite simply: "Proximity in space implies separation in time". The commonness of market periodicity was also noted by Hodder (1965, pp. 48-58) by saying that periodicity is an essential element of the local indigenous market-structure of most developing countries, as it was of medieval Europe.

4.139 In Eighmy's research (1972, pp. 299-314), he observed "a ring" in the spatial relationship of rural markets. Eighmy defined a "market ring" as the spatial expression of the four-day temporal periodicity "..... interpreted as having four market sites in a ring, each site supporting a market one day in four". He, however, agreed that market rings "..... may be clearest in the eyes of the beholder". Ukwu rightly warned that "the market ring" concept must be applied with caution "..... it has relevance only to the individual marketers in a given area". A spatial 'market ring' is possible when the following conditions are present.

- (i) When the itinerant head-porter traders would carry their commodities from one market to another, buying and selling at the same time until they might have visited the four or eight market day of the week.

- (ii) When each market site was linked with another by roads or pathways, and
- (iii) When there were lodging facilities for the itinerant traders to pass the nights, before they could continue their journeys the following day.

4.140 The itinerant head-porter trader would find it difficult to operate in the absence of the last two conditions. The third condition was absent or not necessary in the local indigenous market structure in the past.

4.141 In contrast with the spatial market ring concept is the "temporal market ring". The temporal market ring concept implies that the trader would take off from his house each time to the market not minding whether the markets were located in a ring, in a linear or dispersed pattern until the four or eight market days were completed. That seemed to be the case when most of the local markets could not afford lodging facilities, the transport network was not developed, and distance friction was not much in local market systems.

4.142 The location of markets along the major trade routes and the competition and decay of certain rural markets in Igboland contradicted the concept of spatial market ring in the local or short distance market circumstances.

4.143 The spatial market ring was a characteristic of long-distance markets which is dealt with below. Two types of markets were distinguishable before the advent of the British:

- (i) The rural village market was dominated by women and in which exchange was limited to domestic needs.
- (ii) The long-distance markets within or outside Igbo country were dominated by men. The latter trade was important for salt, slaves, horses, the tse-tse-fly resistant Ndama and Muturu cows, gunpowder and guns and machine made goods.

4.144 Trade was carried on side by side by barter and money; in some places by money alone. Barter was a cumbersome method of exchange, for it implied double coincidence of wants. Money consisted in pre-British times of sea shells called cowries, and manilla, which was introduced by the Portuguese. The Europeans could not accept any of these media of exchange and had to perpetuate barter, a method of exchange. In time, a common currency was introduced which was acceptable to both sellers and buyers. "Market peace" was maintained by the village group where the market was situated. In order to maintain peace in the market it was important to institutionalise the market court whose officers police the market place and whose judges settle disputes arising between sellers and their customers.

4.145 Another important feature of the traditional Igbo market was the market deity. A deity was reputed and feared if it was able to punish the market thieves who had been suspected and summoned before it. That provided a sense of security to traders who hitherto would have feared for the loss of their wares.

4.146 In the rural markets, zoning and the absence of market fees were important features. Usually each

market place was zoned into units selling one commodity, thus creating markets within a market place. The meat market, the cloth market, the food market and so on, are territorially distinguished by zoning. Unlike urban daily markets, rural markets do not normally charge market dues unless where shelters were built by certain organizations for the purpose of raising revenue. The role of the market institution did not stop with providing a place for selling and buying of commodities but it provided a meeting ground for village groups and villages and an arena for social gatherings, such as local and national festivals, masquerade display and sporting activities.

Changes:

4.147 As a result of the improvement of roads, the advent of the railways, and the growth of cities during the colonial administration, in the 20th century some of the important Igbo markets have lost their traditional role and status. All have changed in character, some structural changes in the market organization have taken place and the role of the trader has become a specialised one. New market places have appeared as a result of their central location or access to railway and roads.

4.148 The institutional change of the Igbo market has taken various forms:

- (i) A change has been recorded from predominantly exchange by barter to barter and money, especially in the form of cowrie and manilla, and finally to money economy.
- (ii) In the past there were many market places but these gave way to few big markets and lately to one daily market, within a locality.

- (iii) The tall trees at the market squares have given place to constructed open shades and subsequently to lock-up shops and walled markets.
- (iv) The "market peace" was originally effected by the village owning the market. The new local government has taken over most of the central markets as its responsibility and provided market officials for maintaining peace and order.
- (v) Traditionally the outcasts or "Osu people" were settled near the market squares. This has changed and the market and its environs provide residential and shopping places to both middle and low classes of people alike.
- (vi) The traditional rural markets were small in size and limited in their specialization. The most important ones were the rural weekly markets which held every day in the Igbo four-day or eight-day week; the rural daily markets held either in the morning or in the evening and included specialised markets whose transactions were restricted to one commodity, such as meat or palm liquor; usually each big rural market place was zoned into units selling one commodity, thus creating markets within a market place . The meat market, the cloth market, the food market, the palm liquor market and the machine-made-goods markets were territorially distinguished by zoning.

4.149 As a traditional town develops into an urban centre, many of the features of traditional market place start to change. The marketing becomes a full-time occupation, and markets are held daily except on Sundays. Specialization increases, followed by the development of shopping centres and district centre markets. Instead of having one market with several zones, many specialised markets are located at different places based on convenience.

4.150 One major consequence of the colonial rule was the introduction of foreigners into the urban market economy. The foreigners included Britons, French, Indians, Lebanese and Liberians owning the big supermarkets which traded mostly on the imported goods, and in most cases were responsible for Nigerian export products acting as middle men. The interaction of the local buyers and foreign sellers was only in the market place. This is what Boeke (1953, page 39) described as a dual society¹.

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1. A Gunder Frank summarises Boeke's position in the following terms: "Indonesia had become a dual society..... in that its modern, capitalist, export sector had been created by and incorporated into the metropolitan (that is, imperialist) economy as a metropolitan enclave on Indonesian soil, while the majority of Indonesia's people had been left to continue their age-old and traditional subsistence economy quite outside of the metropolitan-centred world imperialist or capitalist system". A. Gunder Frank, *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), page 222. Nicholls, David (1974) saw this as not a fair summary of what Boeke actually says about the situation in Indonesia, though he agreed that it was a fair conclusion from what Boeke says about a dual economy. For a clear and explicit recognition of the interaction of the traditional sector with the modern sector in a 'dual-economy', the former being dominated by the latter, cf. G.A. Hubert, "Some Problems of a Colonial Economy: a Study of Economic Dualism in Haiti: *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 3 (1950) pp. 4.

4.151 In spite of the changes, the market place still forms a central feature in urban structure, magnetises local celebrants, serves as a place of exchange for local and imported commodities and a meeting point for the community.

What did market institution contribute to urban planning?

4.152 The place of "market" in the community environment can dictate how certain land uses can be configured in designing community centres. The market has played an important political role as a community meeting place, a social one as an arena for local and national festivities and sporting activities and a judicial one as a court for breaches of community rules and regulations and misconduct in market deals.

4.153 In urban systems it has played an important role in acting as a nucleus of the urban centre development. It formed sites for the location of the community hall, community centre, sporting facilities, schools and churches. Its role in developing money economy, though not discussed here, should not be forgotten. The priority placed on the market space in Igbo lands shows why early community development projects were located near the market. Development in most cases started from the market place and expanded outwards. Such market spaces as Oguta, Orlu Central and Afo Oru in Mbaise in Imo State, have been used as the cores of new Urban Developments.

4.154 The economic importance of the market space in Igbo Community is a factor to be considered in planning New Residential Areas. Service facilities, such as

corner shops, and shopping centres, are important adjuncts in residential layouts. They produce jobs near homes and reduce long travels to central shopping facilities. Similarly, the central market provides opportunities to traders who would otherwise find it difficult to afford the high cost of obtaining shops in the big cities, as well as reducing migration from rural areas to big cities in the country. Since a need has been identified for social gathering, with the changed role of the traditional market spaces and changed structure from open to built-up space, its use for social gathering is reduced. Open spaces which could be used for such a purpose as festivals ought to be provided in our urban layouts.

4.155 Nigerians by tradition abhor cheating in market deals. This has been identified in the traditional trading in Hausaland and Igboland. A convenient space or office where officials of the government will check such misconduct will be provided. The markets are no longer designated to idols; rules and regulations guiding the conduct of business in the markets do no longer belong to them. There will, therefore, be the provision of market officials whose duty it is to regulate the conduct of business in the markets.

4.156 Finally, the market as an institution did not only provide a space for economic activities, but a means for social and cultural integration of racial groups. It has a significant role to play in nations that are anxious for their national unity.

CONCLUSIONS

4.157 This chapter has presented a review of some of the traditional institutions, their roles as civilizing mechanisms, the changes they have undergone, and persistent features associated to them which can be utilized in future for decision-making and the administration of such decisions. The review has not exhausted all the traditional institutions which had been developed for the solution of local problems and which can be appropriated for urban and regional development, but it tries to show the need for a clear understanding of the various institutional frameworks in a planning area. The pluralist nature of the country and the concomitant problems - political victimization, intolerance, hatred, inequality and injustice - should be accepted as major problems to deal with in the planning of Abuja. In spite of these, there are also areas of common interest. The three major ethnic groups - Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo - are organised in patriarchal kinship systems and all had a similar colonial experience which has influenced the present economic system in Nigeria. The problem for the Capital Plans will be how to reconcile the differences with the similarities.

4.158 Another conclusion is while there are similarities in the institutions of these people, emphasis placed on the various institutions varies from people to people. The adoption of the institutional theory is not enough. The institutional arrangement is equally important. This will bring about a wholesome functioning society. A wholesome functioning society should be that which accommodates the fullest participation of people in the decision-making processes of development. The basic objective here is to redirect the attention of planners

and governments from purely physical to human considerations in carrying out the planning function. The institutions of the Emirship, Obaship and Community Assembly could provide the leadership much needed in the rural areas for the implementation of government proposals, and also serve as a link in reaching the ordinary people. Organizational aspects of regional development can be institutionalised, the existing traditional institutions can provide the basis for the creation of regional institutions. Negation of these traditional agencies will not only fail to involve the various components of the population in the development processes, but will fail to create full opportunities for their participation in the benefits of development. The dissimilarities between institutions, for instance the Emirship or Chieftaincy and the Community Assemblies, would indicate differences in approach. The Federal and State Governments' attitude to institutions is encouraging (Section 4.47). It behoves on the advisers of these governments to ensure how best to use the institutions in decision-making and how best to ignore those that are ignorable.

4.159 In accepting the institutional method of planning and implementation, the knowledge of human sciences such as history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics and religion will be allowed in considering how best to make the NFCC a living community.

5 NON-UNIFORM COLONIAL POLICIES PRIOR
TO INDEPENDENCE

The simple idea, but exceedingly crucial, which this chapter wants to present is that the new town policy in Nigeria was originated as a result of two Colonial Administration demands; first, for a conducive base for administration, and, second, for a base for economic exploitation of the hinterland. The era lacked uniform policies. The direct responsibility for the administration by the Colonial Office and the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates did not usher in common policies. This might have been thought expedient, but it left many problems unsolved, such as administrative, urban and land problems. The purpose of this chapter is not only to review colonial policies as they were inherited at Independence, but to make you think about the concept of the Capital City development in a historical evolutionary way.

Non-uniform administration policy

5.1 In attempting to use existing institutions, the British colonial authority introduced the policy of Indirect Rule in both Northern and Western parts of the country. In the Eastern part, failing to find powerful chiefs who wielded influence over large territory as were found in the North and West of the country, the British concluded that the Igbo were living in "ordered anarchy" (Uchendu, 1965, p. 46). This led the colonial authorities to opt for direct administration on the Eastern part which was predominantly Igbo.

5.2 In actual fact British colonial rule did not impose much uniformity in local administration; indeed the doctrine of Indirect Rule of governing through indigenous institutions and authorities was itself a denial of uniformity, since none existed in the indigenous authorities. Thus the administration of the Moslem 'Emirate' and Igbo traditional town and a Yoruba 'Kingdom' had almost nothing in common with each other.

5.3 Lord Lugard introduced the administrative method known as Indirect Rule. L.P. Mair (1936, page 12) observed that the aim of Indirect Rule was the development of an African society able to participate in the life of the modern world as a community in its own right. Lugard found in some parts of Northern Nigeria a series of Moslem Emirates formed from former Hausa States as a result of the conquest by the Fulani. Each Emirate was under the suzerainty of an Emir (Section 4.10 above). In the Yorubaland a system of 'Kingdoms' were found being ruled by the chiefs known as Obas, whereas in the

Igboland, except in a few areas (Section 4.96) such chieftaincy organization did not exist, and the initial policy of the colonial authority was to introduce direct rule. Following the experience in Igboland, the colonial authority learned to look for a natural ruler or chief, and they were disposed to invent one if they could not find him.

5.4 The success or failure of the Indirect Rule depended on the political and social environments at the time and to know these a brief review of various areas where the Indirect Rule was applied in Nigeria is necessary.

Northern Region:

5.5 The Emirate was synonymous to 'native authority', but never a unit of local government. The native authorities are defined as bodies which are set up by statute to discharge certain duties and to exercise certain powers, including the power to tax.

5.6 The Northern Nigerian Government retained the term 'native authority' until 1968 in preference to the more usual 'local authorities' which it then adopted. It is true that Emirates were co-terminous with the native authorities, that is to say no Emirate was split up into more than one native authority, but the two expressions were not strictly speaking interchangeable.

5.7 Over substantial parts of the North there are no Emirates since the Hausa-Fulani influence did not fully establish itself over such peoples as the Tiv, Nupe, Igala, Idoma or the Yoruba Kabba, still less among the

many so-called 'pagan' people of the Plateau. In such areas a number of chieftaincies joined with others to form 'federated' native authorities.

5.8 It was true that the British colonial authority tried to impose a uniform pattern of administration throughout the Region, and to introduce the pattern of Emirate rule universally, but experience and growing knowledge of the people led them to modify this policy and local government in such areas has been 'conciliar' and sometimes fragmentary.

5.9 In 1954 a law was passed which was more of a consolidating measure and less of a new departure. It permitted a remarkable degree of flexibility in the composition of the authorities as between the respective influences of the chiefs and of traditional nominated and elected members, and allowed for a gradual widening of their respective character.

5.10 Councillors participated in administration because there were too few educated men in the Region in the 1950s to form local bureaucracies, or at any rate to provide the kind of senior local government officials who could take initiative, make decisions and implement policy.

5.11 The significant difference between the Northern and Southern Nigeria lies in the hierarchy of local government officials right down to the smallest village or quarter of a town. Many of the posts of district and village heads are hereditary, or restricted to certain families and they are often given the general description of traditional heads. They are appointed by the emir or chief, subject to the approval of the

Government, who would not in most cases refuse to grant approval. This represents something that does not exist in Southern Nigeria, that is a chain of authority reaching down directly from Native Authority to the smallest community - within its borders.

5.12 It was through these series of hierarchies that the mechanics of a large operation like a census, an election or the annual tax collection work more smoothly in Northern Nigeria than elsewhere.

5.13 It might be thought peculiar that in the North instead of every holder of a public office to appear on a short list and be interviewed by a committee, a traditional office is being adapted to an increasingly representative form of local government, and there is no question that the work of a district head is thoroughly modern.

Eastern Nigeria:

5.14 The direct administration of Igbo was based on all purpose native courts which were established by the Native Courts Proclamation 1900 and derived their revenue from indirect taxation. Following the proclamation, Igboland was arbitrarily carved into Native Court Areas, formed by grouping together a number of contiguous traditional towns (Section 4.13) which were traditionally sovereign political units.

5.15 The British District Commissioner became the President of the Court; other personnel included warrant chiefs, the court clerk and the court messengers who were indigenes.

5.16 The hand-picked 'warrant chiefs' were believed by the District Commissioner to represent the traditional towns in the court area. Contrary to this understanding, the warrant chiefs were those who impressed the District Commissioner with their courage to come forward and meet the Europeans. The traditional rulers seldom passed the test, and so were, for the most part, left out (Nwabueze, 1963, page 70). The warrant chiefs were mere advisers on the customary law to the president.

5.17 As time went on the difficulties of direct rule became apparent. The warrant chiefs were not in any way representatives of the traditional towns they were supposed to serve. In 1918 reforms were introduced and the Native Court Ordinance (Number 5 as amended to 1922) abolished the office of District Commissioner in the native courts and thus made the courts really native.

5.18 The withdrawal of the District Commissioners gave the warrant chiefs an opportunity to abuse their powers. They became corrupt and some even were holding their own private courts. That was problem number one. The second problem was that the court clerk, who was semi-illiterate member of the court system, usurped the power of the former District Commissioner and became as corrupt as the warrant chiefs, using the improvised prison under his control to further his own designs.

5.19 In 1928, the adult males were directly taxed for the first time and the Native Treasury was added to the Native Court complex. The following year, Okugo, a warrant chief from Oloko, touched off a massive protest of Igbo women when he attempted to assess their property in his area. The association of taxation with assessment of wealth was a logical one. Before their taxation in

1928, the property of the men had been assessed in 1927. What other reason could justify the assessment of women's property, the women reasoned, unless a plan to tax them was in the offing? This mishandled protest (called Aba Women Riot) left many women dead and others wounded.

5.20 Two Commissions of Enquiry to investigate the Riot were set up. The report exposed the weakness of the administration system and led to reorganizations in 1930-31. The changes included subdividing and making the zones small, thus reflecting the nature of the social groupings. The number of benches or judge-ships was increased. Warrants were given to social units, such as villages, instead of to individuals. The villages selected court judges to represent them. The flexibility allowed was such that some courts either selected presidents for each sitting or had no presidents at all, a reminiscence of the functionality of Community Assemblies (Section 4.115 - 4.117 above).

5.21 The Reforms of 1930-31 introduced new native courts which came with indirect rule already practiced in the Northern and Western parts of Nigeria.

5.22 It was only after 1947 when a conscious effort was made to replace traditional native administration by modern local government that uniformity began; the uniformity that arose from legislation adopted first by the Eastern Nigerian Government from the British system. The reason for this modernization of local government first in Eastern Nigeria is understandable. The failure of the Igbo, who form the major group in Eastern Nigeria, to develop a centralized traditional system of administration was the cause. The republican nature of the

people was another reason to reject a system that concentrates power in the hands of very few. In 1952 and 1953, Western Nigeria adopted from Eastern Nigeria, but Northern Nigeria continued on a different path for quite different reasons, and to-day, freed altogether from the constraints of colonial rule and of the struggle for independence, there is nothing to prevent each country or each distinctive ethnic group within a country from attempting to blend ancient local customs with modern imported practice, so far as this may be useful (Wraith, 1972, page 54).

Western Nigeria:

5.23 The Local Government Law of 1952 ushered in the change from Indirect Rule to representative Local Government system. For some years before this the Colonial Government, aware that the Obas and their councils hardly accorded with the Colonial Office's new ideas of efficient and democratic local government, had been trying by every means in their power to modernise the native authorities and to introduce educated young men into Councils that were largely elderly and illiterate. The British Colonial administration realised that the native authorities were inadequate for the 1960s, that a foreign system of local government would not rest easily on the social structure of the Yorubas or the people of the Midwest (now Bendel). They therefore hoped to make the best of both worlds by a policy of gradualism, but the emerging national political party, the Action Group, had little use for gradualism (Wraith, 1972, page 191).

5.24 It also reproduced two features which had caused difficulty in Eastern Nigeria, namely a tiered system (divisional, urban and rural district and local) and provision for precepting. But unlike the East, it did not repeat the mistake of giving the new councils a free hand, but established both a Local Government Inspectorate and a Local Government Service Commission.

5.25 The situation was not improved; the government had to introduce a Local Government Amendment Law which enabled the Governor to appoint either a 'sole administrator' or a committee of management to perform the duties of a council which had become intolerably corrupt or inefficient, and by 1965 every one of them had been suspended.

5.26 The local administration provided the basis for the maintenance of law and order. 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.

5.27 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 (Mabogunje, 1968, page 112). Three categories of townships were identified, 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.

5.28 The 1917 Township Ordinance, besides providing for township status, seems initially to have guided the distribution of government amenities, and the provision of other public utilities (Agwu, 1979, page 24).

5.29 The system was too complicated, it had no relevance to traditional forms, and in particular the requirement that one local authority or a third-class township should collect the tax only to part with most of it to another through the Treasury upon whom it might not look with favour, aroused deep suspicion and resentment.

Relationship with Central Government:

5.30 To Local Authorities, the Central Government means the Minister. In Nigeria, it meant the Regional Governments during the Colonial period, or State Governments after the creation of States.

5.31 There was a representative of the Central Government in the person of the District Commissioner (DC) or District Officer (DO). Even in post-independence, the administrative officer, a lineal descendant of the old DO or DC of colonial days, is appointed. The DO or DC had direct oversight of one or more local authorities. Contrary to the Colonial DO or DC, the present administrative officer does not have the fortuitous prestige or superior rank of the old Colonial DO. The DO was more like an out-posted officer of the Ministry of Local Government.

5.32 The Central Government introduced controls because the financial irresponsibility, bribery and corruption of councils compelled them to do it, and not because they wanted to. Such controls included approval of estimates, approval of the award of contracts (over a modest amount) and approval of the employment of staff.

5.33 Another control which was found all over the world was the audit. The account of local authorities must be audited by persons appointed by the Minister (usually the Government Auditor and his staff), and the auditors must consider not only the accuracy of the accounting, but the legality of expenditure.

5.34 The British colonial administration's use of the policy of Indirect Rule was primarily aimed at cutting down the number of European staff and the cost to be involved. Indirect Rule based on the existing traditional institutions implicitly means the adoption of non-uniform policy, because uniformity does not exist in the traditional systems. Even now, with the policy of representative democracy, local adaptations and traditions modify what is supposed to be a uniform system. The introduction of elected councillors into the Local Authorities is to make it more representative. As for efficiency which the native authority lacked, Wraith (1972, page 76) correctly concluded - "it is clearly not necessary to have elected councillors in order to have efficient local administration, ----- they make local administration better by making it more representative, and by turning it from local administration into local government. If they make it worse, as they frequently have done, it would be better to abolish them". This gives a comfortable backing for more

bureaucratization than democratization in local government management systems.

Non-uniform urban policies:

5.35 The major objectives of the British colonial authority were, first, to establish a political influence in the vast area of what is now known as Nigeria through effective occupation and use of military might. This objective was pursued vigorously and realised immediately after the Berlin Conference of 1884, which was designed to resolve the conflicting claims of European powers in Africa. It signalled the effective occupation of and definition of boundaries in Africa by European powers. One of the most effective ways of indicating such an effective occupation was by constructing railway lines in the territory. Thus, while the French were busy with their various ambitious railway projects from the coast inland to the Niger, the British also conceived of a number of rail-lines within the areas now known as Nigeria and East Africa. Secondly, there was the objective to provide a cheap method for the maintenance of law and order through the introduction of the system of Indirect Rule and, thirdly the objective to establish bases for the economic exploitation of the hinterland and peaceful trade.

5.36 Having satisfied itself with the first two objectives and in order to achieve the third, the colonial government passed the Township Ordinance of 1917 which provided for the creation, constitution and administration of all towns and municipalities in Nigeria with the exception of those traditional towns where the population was sufficiently homogeneous for it to be administered by a Native Administration.

5.37 The existing towns that satisfied this pre-condition of heterogeneity were those that lie along the railway lines and some of the coastal towns which represented places where European traders had set up stores. The major prior consideration of any of the lines was quite naturally their economic profitability to the European investors. Mabogunje (1968, page 144) said that a line was considered viable if it opened up areas which could grow or produce such crops as the European industrialists would buy, areas with valuable mineral deposits, or areas, especially coastal sites with good accessibility to Europe, for the export of these commodities. The towns were neither particularly distinguished by size nor of their traditional importance.

5.38 In implementing the ordinance, three categories of townships were constituted and designated, first, second and third.

5.39 Lagos was only the town with a first class status between 1919 and 1936; and the list of second class townships by 1919 included:

FIGURE 5.1: LIST OF SECOND-CLASS TOWNSHIPS IN 1919

<u>Southern Provinces</u>		<u>Northern Provinces</u>
Aba	Itu	Ilorin
Abeokuta	Onitsha	Kaduna
Calabar	Opobo	Kano
Enugu Ngwo	Port-Harcourt	Lokoja
Forcados	Sapele	Minna
Ibadan	Warri	Zaria

The third-class townships by 1919 included:

FIGURE 5.2: LIST OF THIRD-CLASS TOWNSHIPS IN 1919

<u>Southern Provinces</u>					
Abak	Asaba	Degema	Ikot-Ekpene	Ogwashi	Uyo
Abakaliki	Awka	Eket	Ilaro	Okigwe	Uzuakoli
Ado	Badagri	Epe	Koko	Ondo	
Afikpo	Benin	Ife	Kwale	Oron	
Agbor	Bonny	Ijebu Ode	Obubra	Owerri	
Ahoada	Brass	Ikom	Obudu	Ubiaja	
Arochukwu	Burutu	Ikorodu	Ogoja	Umuahia	

<u>Northern Provinces</u>			
Abiusi	Bauchi	Jeba	Offa
Ankpa	Bida	Kontagora	Sokoto
Baro	Ibi	Maiduguri	Zugeru

Source: Mabogunje, 1968, page 113.

5.40 After much inclusion and exclusion, starting from 1917 to 1936, only Lagos remained in the first-class category, whereas in the second-class category were Aba, Calabar, Enugu, Onisha, Port-Harcourt, Sapele and Warri in the South. All the Yoruba towns had been excluded from the second-class category. In the North, Ilorin, Kaduna, Kano, Lokoja and Zaria were retained. The number of third-class townships had the tendency of progressive increase.

5.41 Township status determined the number and degree of amenities to be provided to the individual towns.

5.42 Similarly, the location of the colonial government developed new towns (Type 1 New Towns, Agwu, 1979) was based on locational and site advantages. Across the East of the River Niger and in the North of the country where there were no established urban systems and economic factors prevailed, new towns were built. For instance, Enugu and Jos were sites for coal and tin minerals, respectively. Thus, starting with Port-Harcourt itself, new towns were founded at Aba, Umuahia, Enugu, Makurdi, Jos and Kaduna. The creation of these new towns had a great connection with the development of the railway systems in Nigeria. Indeed, before 1918, the administration of the townships was entrusted exclusively to the railway department, and it was during these years of exclusive railway rule that most of the Type 1 new towns were developed).

"It is important to remember", writes a former Secretary of the Port-Harcourt - Obia Planning Authority, "that the port was from the first a railway port, as indeed, the coal mine was a railway mine. It was railway engineers who built the port, the railway and the city of Port-Harcourt" (Wolpe, 1974, page 54).

5.43 The railway system in Nigeria made three major impacts on the urbanization process outside its function as a medium of evacuation of produce and import of European manufactures, whose distribution inland is a potent cause of development of new trading centres:

- (i) The indigenous urban centres that lie along these railway lines were given a boost to develop. For example, both Ibadan and Kano are embodiments of ancient and modern culture. In Kano, the indigenous section is carefully preserved within

the walls, while the new residential areas outside the walls compare favourably with such new towns as Port Harcourt, Enugu and Kaduna;

- (ii) The centres that were by-passed by the railway lines tended to decline. Owerri, Sagamu, Oyo, Ile Ife were such centres;
- (iii) In areas through which the railway lines passed, but which had no existing urban centres, new towns were created. Figure 5.3 illustrates the locations of Type 1 New Towns.

5.44 From the foregoing, it can be inferred that the main purpose of developing these Type 1 New Towns in Nigeria was to establish bases for the economic exploitation of the territory; other considerations were thought to be secondary.

5.45 By comparison, the purposes for developing the British new towns included population dispersal, regional development to halt rural depopulation and provision of homes and amenities for scattered communities and mining villages. In Scotland, new towns were required to serve different needs:

- (a) to compensate the gross inadequacy of many of the residential and industrial areas of the Clydeside conurbation;
- (b) to anticipate new large scale industrial developments, including the expansion of coal mining; and
- (c) the desire to replace the ugly, scattered and inefficient forms of urban settlement which were characteristic of many of Scotland's mining and decaying manufacturing areas.

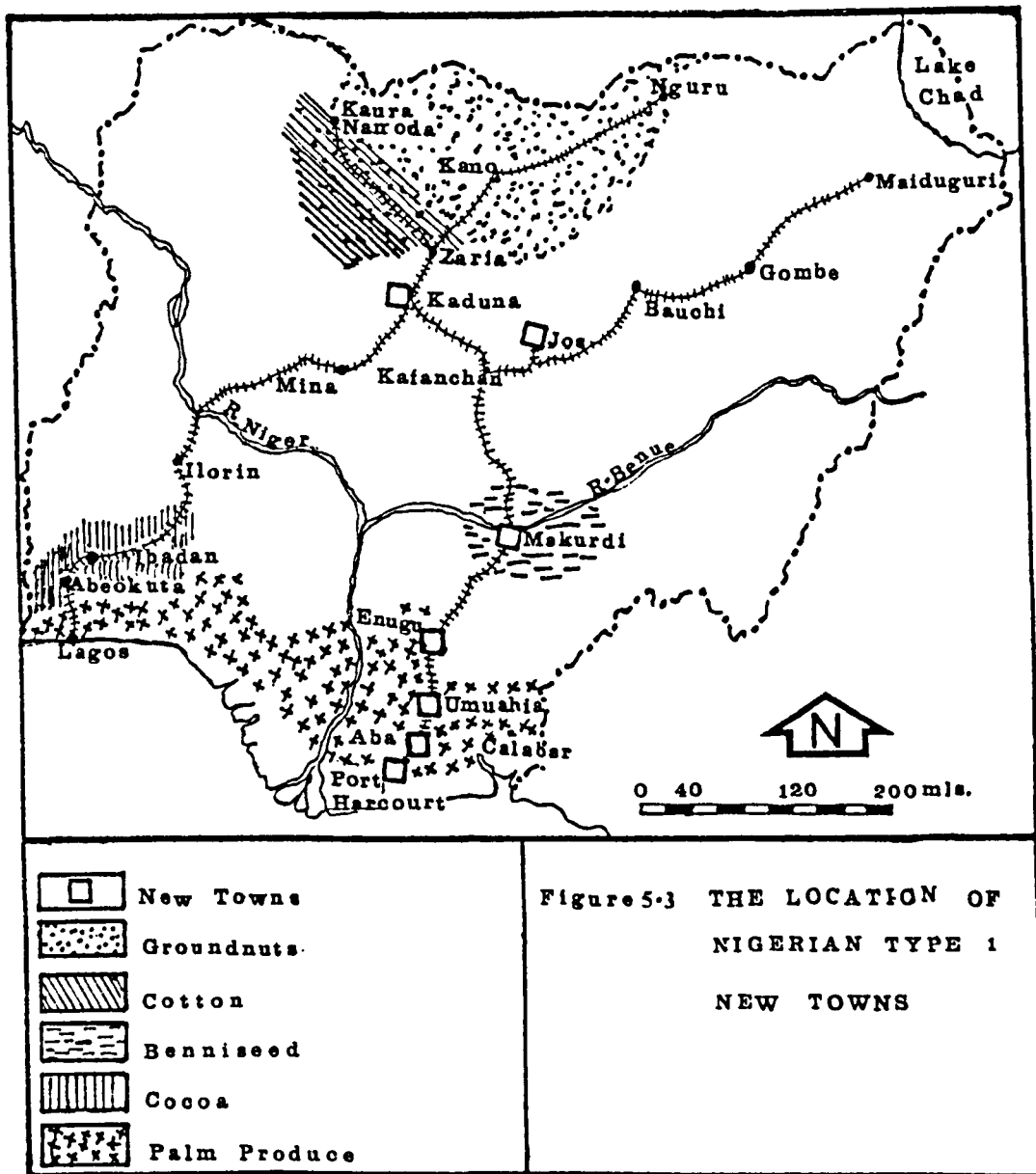


Figure 5.3 THE LOCATION OF NIGERIAN TYPE 1 NEW TOWNS

5.46 New towns are of diverse character and serve quite different purposes. In the Clyde Valley Plan (1946) Abercrombie and Matthew estimated that due to the extremely high prevailing densities in Glasgow - and even with redevelopment of the most seriously affected areas at relatively high densities - 700,000 people would be displaced for whom new housing would have to be provided on previously unoccupied sites (Smith, 1967, p. 26). In communist Poland, new towns are an essential Community for the establishment of new industries (Pierre Merlin, 1971, page 196).

5.47 The policy of the colonial administration in the urbanization process of Nigeria was that of racial segregation. This policy was variously demonstrated in all the Nigerian towns where colonial administration or European traders were located.

5.48 I am not criticising the measures adopted to implement the policy here, but to present them as illustrations of the consequences of the policy.

5.49 In housing in the Type 1 new towns, the African quarters were separate and sometimes segregated by law, although separation would probably have developed for economic reasons without legal restrictions, and higher rents and costs tended to perpetuate the pattern even after Independence. In traditional cities a separate area for the Europeans was designated. Many of the traditional Moslem cities, such as Kano and Zaria, were characterised by three zones, the "Tudan Wada" for the indigenous population, "Sabon Gari" for African stranger elements, and the European Quarters for the European

colonial administrators and traders. The residential areas were also morphologically different. In the Type 1 new towns, the African area took the grid pattern. A fifty foot wide street reservation lined with plots of fifty feet frontage and one hundred feet deep, ten in a row backed by a ten foot sanitary lane, and a further ten plots facing the next fifty foot wide street (comparatively this 'ten foot' sanitary lane was also a feature of the pre-1914 planned area of Scunthorpe in Lincolnshire, England). The standard block of twenty plots surrounded by open drainage gutters and streets was a common feature. The houses are made up of one to three storey buildings.

5.50 The European Quarters have attractive stone and tile roofed structures set in plots of at least a quarter of an acre, well wooded and more often than not with fine gardens and lawns. It is more suburban than urban in appearance. There are lawns, open spaces, parks and golf courses laid out in their convenient locations. In the provision of amenities the government was very generous in the European quarters.

5.51 Much higher densities prevail in the African sections. Indeed the terms "European" and "African" have frequently been replaced by "low density" and "high density" or "Government Reserved Areas" and "township" in Post-Independence days. By whatever name this type of segregation is called, it perpetuates class consciousness and tribal segregation which is still acting as an internal ulcer in the fabric of the Nigerian social system.

5.52 Both new towns and the older towns were faced with the problem of housing and since the government had no solution for it then, the migrants had to provide their own houses mostly at the outskirts of the town. That was the beginning of shanty towns in Nigerian urban centres. In 1952, the Regional Health Officer had this to report to the Port Harcourt Planning Authority in urgent terms:

"The most pressing health problem in Port Harcourt is African housing. There is an acute housing shortage and the demands are not being met by the erection of crowded insanitary dwellings in unplanned suburbs there is no control. The whole area (of Mile Two Diobu) is one vast warren of low, dark, ill-ventilated, small roomed mud and thatch shacks, with an odd permanent or semi-permanent house. There are no roads nor drains. Access is by muddy narrow refuse littered lanes, where one sidesteps the cesspools and the barrow pits. Refuse lies where it is flung; the only latrines are a few insanitary shallow pits; water is drawn from shallow unprotected wells..... . The slums of Diobu menace the whole of Port Harcourt" (Wolpe, 1974, page 20).

Distribution of amenities was based on the status of individual townships as well as on policy of racial segregation.

5.53 The Handbook of 1917 noted that government medical officers were posted to various stations and there were European hospitals at Calabar, Kaduna, Kano, Lokoja, Onitsha and Warri, at which European Nursing Sisters were stationed. (The Nigerian Handbook, Lagos, 1917, page 79). The Handbook of 1924 showed that the

utility had been extended to Jos and Port Harcourt as at that date. All these were either first or second class townships.

5.54 In 1924 also it was learned there were hospitals for Africans at Calabar, Ikot-Ekpere, Ilorin, Kaduna, Kano, Lagos, Lokoja, Minna, Onitsha, Port Harcourt, Warri and Zaria. The location of two classes of hospitals in the same town when there were financial and labour constraints was a clear indication of racial segregation.

5.55 Similarly, there were separate social clubs for African and European elites and separate schools for African and European children.

5.56 Some of the locally made goods were statutorily discriminated against. The local gin, made from palm wine, was declared illegal (illicit gin) and the manufacturers and users were seen as contradicting the law.

5.57 In the employment sector, few Africans were employed to senior management posts. This could be explained to some extent by the scarcity of Western educated Africans to take up such responsible posts then.

5.58 In the location of industries and social amenities the urban areas were preferred to rural areas, a policy which continued after the political independence until recently. There was such a problem when revenues collected from rural areas had to be transferred to urban centres for development to which they did not owe any allegiance.

5.59 The colonial administration contributed immensely to the development of Nigeria (see Section 5.43) but the policy of racial segregation, whether between whites and blacks or between blacks and their fellow blacks, lacked social intervention, such as full employment, adequate housing at low cost, and comprehensive health care.

There is the argument that political, administrative and economic constraints may lead to the development of some services and the neglect of others. In such situation, some groups of people will benefit, whereas others will suffer. We do not deny the existence of social stratification which characterise most communities, whether capitalist or socialist. It would, of course, be possible to achieve perfect equality between races - collectively without altering social stratification as such at all, (Rein, 1978, page 173).

5.60 The question is how such obvious segregation could be tolerated from the citizens of a society whose democratic ideology seems to repudiate the unequal treatment of their citizens? It would not be surprising that people use their economic and political power to protect whatever advantages they hold. But equally, it would be surprising if they did so without appeal to any principle but self-interest.

5.61 The consequences of racial segregation will be the same all over the world. The situation where fear and hatred are the basics. One would have expected that the principles of colonialism would change gradually as the colonised people are assimilated (assuming they are given the opportunity to assimilate) but persistent cases of racial conflict in areas where racial segregation is practised, for instance in Southern Africa, dampens

the notion of progressive development that would have emerged from colonial systems. Urban environment presents a conflict situation, whereas individual relationships are likely to differ. The argument is how can the conflict arising from racial or ethnic segregation be reduced in Abuja and similar urban developments in future. If the racial segregation during the colonial administration is seen as a sign of failure of the existing urban systems, their repetition in future new towns development exonerates those who introduced it in the first instance.

Non-uniform land policies:

5.62 The question of land tenure system in colonial Nigeria is a complex one. It varies from time to time so that it is rather difficult to place a date to it, and also it varies geographically so that it becomes problematic to evolve a common definition for the whole country.

5.63 The colonial administration adopted the policy to respect the pre-existing property rights all over the country. In comparison to the policy of Indirect Rule, the fact that the various property rights are not common, one would not expect a common policy where it does not exist. Because of the differences in land policy, especially between Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria, a good starting point in the land policy discussion would be the determination of the basis for differences.

5.64 With the proclamation of Northern, Western and Eastern Provinces as the Protectorate of Nigeria on January 1, 1900, two types of land ownership emerged:

- (i) the land taken over from the Royal Niger Company and vested on the Governor in trust for the Majesty. The lands constituted those the Royal Niger Company acquired from the natives through treaties entered into between the Company on the one hand and the local chiefs and rulers on the other; and
- (ii) the remainder of the territory described as native land.

5.65 Just as Sections 3 and 5 of the Niger Lands Transfer Act (No. 2 of 1916) provided in the case of lands in the Northern Provinces, so did Sections 2 and 4 regarding the area under the Company's control in the former Eastern and Western Provinces. These sections enacted that "all the lands and rights within the Southern Provinces of the Protectorate belonging to the Royal Niger Company Limited on January 1, 1900, shall be and are hereby vested as from January 1, 1900, in the Governor in trust for the Majesty" (Section 3) but that certain pieces of land and certain rights appurtenant thereto which were mentioned in certain collateral agreements "shall remain vested in the Company", as from January 1, 1900. These include the company's trading posts as well as mineral lands (Elias, 1971, page 27).

5.66 In technical parlance, it is the Niger Company's lands that formed the basis of Crown lands in Nigeria. By definition, Crown lands are State lands, so called and up to October 1, 1963, when Nigeria was governed as a monarchy state. The monarch's crown was used as the symbol of the state. State land is the land for the subjects of the state, since the state is after all only

a device for personifying the aggregate of the individuals inhabiting a given territory (Nwabueze, 1972, page 182). Similarly the public ownership of land was institutionalised. The State land was only increased by the use of Public Land Acquisition Acts (see Appendix 9-A). The difference between the two sets of land is that whereas in the case of certain lands taken over from the Royal Niger Company no compensation to any occupier was paid for their appropriation to public purposes, but compensation is as a rule paid in the case of all lands acquired under the Public Land Acquisition Acts in Northern Nigeria for unexhausted improvements by native occupiers but in Southern Nigeria for the acquisition of land and unexhausted improvements. It is on the question of the remainder of the territory not appropriated for public purposes that differences on land policies occurred between the North and South of Nigeria. What constituted the differences?

Land Tenure System in Northern Nigeria:

5.67 As has been stated above (Chapter 4) after the Fulani conquest of parts of Northern Nigeria early in the 19th century, the Fulani conquerors took over the lands of the conquered people by force of arms and made the original owners merely rent-paying tenants of the Moslem overlords. When the British conquered the Fulani Rulers, into whose shoes the British Crown considered itself to have stepped by mere right of conquest, the then British High Commissioner did not lose any time in pointing this out to them. In the Letters of Appointment given to the Fulani Rulers by the British colonial government of Northern Nigeria, it was formally laid down as a policy that no freehold title could exist in land, but only a right of occupancy. This policy

was immediately given a statutory basis. The Public Lands Proclamation, 1902, declared as public lands:

- (a) all those lands being the property of any conquered or deposed ruler, and
- (b) all lands not in the actual occupation of persons or of tenants, agents or servants of persons having an original or derivative title to such lands under any Proclamation or under any law or custom prevailing in that part of the Protectorate where such were situated (Nwabueze, 1972, page 235).

By this Proclamation, all lands not occupied in the Moslem areas of Northern Nigeria became public lands.

5.68 It is doubtful how much interest the Crown exercised in public lands in view of the British policy of according respect to pre-existing property rights. Nwabueze observed that in practice the Crown never possessed nor claimed any proprietary rights in these lands except those distinguished as Crown lands, which it took over from the Royal Niger Company or which it acquired later for public purposes.

5.69 Because of the ambiguity of this Proclamation and the operational problems it created, the Land and Native Rights Proclamation was made in 1910. This was followed by certain amendments and was re-enacted in 1916 as the Land and Native Right Ordinance. The latter was also in turn revised and re-enacted by the Land Tenure Law of 1962, No. 62 of 1962. This law will be dealt with in Chapter 9.

Land Tenure system in Southern Nigeria

Native Lands:

5.70 We have seen above that the pre-existing land tenure system determined the latter British attitude to land ownership in Northern Nigeria. In Southern Nigeria various theories have been used to explain the operating systems of land tenure before and after the colonial administration. These included "Communal or Community", individual, and "tribal" ownerships.

5.71 According to Elias (1971, p. 73) when land is said to be held in "Communal ownership" it is not, in fact, usually "communal" nor is there any real "ownership" of it. He added that the relation between the group and the land they hold is invariably complex, since the right of individuals and of the group with respect to the piece of land often co-exist within the same social context. Lands described as communal often embrace both those in which individual members of the group hold clearly recognised rights and those over which no claim of right is ever asserted, whether by groups or by individuals. The definition of communal which Professor Elias conveyed is that of 'corporate ownership' or group ownership of land which relates to few lands in the community. In his reaction against Professor Elias' observation, Oluyede (1978, p. 26) remarked that group-ownership of land in the African context means an unrestricted right of individual members of the group to run stock on what is held to be their common asset.... He elaborated the group concept to include family, a clan, a village, a town or even a whole kingdom

I am of the view that if any land is registered under an

individual's name it ceases to be communal. According to the provisions of Section 10 of the Registration of Titles Act, 1935, registration may be refused if family land is involved. Lands which can claim the status of being communal are becoming few in Southern Nigeria. Secondly, 'communal' has been used to describe lands like sacred groves, market sites, magico-religious grounds and houses, dumping grounds of the village, churches and mosque grounds, all of which are best described as public rather than 'communal'. In the view of the present writer, the use of 'communal' should be limited to purely group ownership of land, whereas 'community' land should include both lands owned by individuals and groups within a community.

5.72 'Individual' has equally been applied ambiguously in describing ownership of land, ranging from those over which only limited inalienable rights of user are claimed by individuals to those carrying absolute freehold titles. This is due to the fluidic nature of land devolution after the original owner has died interstate. The individual ownership is somehow limited by the right of compulsory acquisition of land which is exercisable by communities. Even though individuals form part of a wider society, they are normally entitled to the products of their soil, the results of their own labour and exertion. The concept of individual ownership, is likely to be continued to be used in the ambiguous way to include all lands owned by a family made up of a man, his wife or wives and their children, as long as the man lives and those lands carrying absolute freehold titles. Tribal: It is pertinent to note that there is nothing like tribal tenure, for almost similar reasons advanced in the case of communal. The basis of land ownership is the family.

5.73 It is rather difficult to apply the absolute meaning of the word "ownership" to the complex nature of land-holding in Nigeria. Professor Elias (1971, p. 74) said rightly that under the customary law of tenure there is no conception of land-holding comparable to the English idea of a fee simple absolute in possession. The average occupier has something analogous to a "customary right" of occupancy which he enjoys in perpetuity, but unlike the customary right of occupancy he can alienate his holding and thereby divest himself and his family of the right to ultimate title. Such an alienation, if contemplated, can only be carried out with the knowledge and approval of other members of a wider family.

Community Land Tenure:

5.74 The first concept of land tenure-ship in Eastern and Western Nigeria is the "Community Ownership" which lacks the individualistic connotation of ownership in the modern system. On this the Privy Council said:

"..... the notion of individual ownership is quite foreign to native ideas. Land belongs to the community, the village or the family, never to the individual..... This is a pure native custom along the whole length of this coast, and whenever we find, as in Lagos, individual owners, this is again due to the introduction of English ideas" (Nwabueze, 1972, page 32).

It is quite unrealistic to say that individual ownership was foreign to customary law before the advent of the British.

5.75 On the other hand, it can be said that all family lands must have had their origin from individual ownership. In the study of the land tenure system in Akure in Western Nigeria, Oloyede (1978, page 3) expressed the opinion that land was acquired by individuals in the process of farming and hunting in the name of the Deji (Chief of Akure) and on behalf of the community. He, however, accepted that the origin of Akure or the land tenure-ship in the area should not be taken as a pattern for every town in Nigeria. It is helpful in enabling one to see some of the ways in which a community in the past might have acquired the ownership of its land through its individuals. But surprisingly he counter-acted himself by saying that individuals would not have been able to acquire and to retain the land thus acquired against hostile members of other neighbouring communities but for the protection offered by his own community. He concluded that the absolute ownership of the land belongs to the community while the individual owns a limited interest over the area in his actual possession. Accepting that membership of a community, for example a village or even a whole kingdom, carries with it the right to share in the use and occupation of the land of the community, one would expect that individual members do not hand over their land to the community rather than to the chief or the strongest person in the community in order to buy protection. When the security of the community is threatened, it is the individual members who fight to restore it; where they fail, they perish along with their property, including land. The victorious community claims the property and this formed the basis of communal lands which in some occasions would be appropriated by the chief or the king. For instance, in a dispute between Awka and Amawbia communities, the issue was as to the ownership of some 250 acres of land

which formed part of land taken from the people of Norgu after the conquest of the people of Norgu in War; in defence the people of Amawbia contended that the war was waged against the Norgu by an alliance of several communities, and that the land in dispute was their (Amawbia's) share of the spoils (Nwabueze, 1972, page 34). Besides winning land through war, a community can secure a communal land if a land-owning family die off without descendants. Normally such lands revert to the descendants of the first son of the founding father of the community, but in a case between Bartholomew and Umuduruanyaehe at Ogwa, the lands belonging to the deceased family were shared out as communal lands.

5.76 In Ohauzara LGA of Imo State large expenses of land are still described as communal where a native can still acquire land for farming but may alienate his right to farm the portion if he allows it unused for three years. In Yorubaland for example, Ondo and Ife (Nwabueze, 1972, page 33) while treating the entire land as jointly owned by the community as a whole, the community may permit individual members to acquire it by clearing or by grant from the authorities of the community.

5.77 The theory of community land ownership is further enhanced by the appropriatory right which the communities possess to acquire land for public purposes such as building of schools, churches and community centres. This should not be taken too far for most of such acquisitions have resulted in court actions taken against the community. The dispute between Njoku Chinaka and the Roman Catholic Church over a piece of land the latter was given to build its church in Ogwa Owerri is an example of such compulsory acquisition by the community which had been challenged.

Individual Ownership:

5.78 As we have seen above there is an agreement that land was first acquired by an individual either for his chief or for his enjoyment and that of his family. Therefore the basis of land tenureship in Southern Nigeria was the family. Nwabueze (1972, p. 34) suggested that the first settlers might have cleared appropriate particular areas to themselves individually or in groups. It is from such individuals or groups that the component villages of the community evolve and derive their lands. The amount of land at each individual's or group's holding could be increased as long as there were virgin forests to clear. An example of such virgin forest was a juju grove at Ogwa called "Uhu Aguta". During the Civil War in Nigeria (1968) when there was an influx of people to the town, food became scarce and in order to combat the food shortage every available piece of land was put under cultivation. It was the determination of some of the returnees to clear the juju forest and farm it that they own pieces of the land to themselves. Individual ownership might have been rare in the olden days when population pressure on land had not grown so much. Therefore the individualization of ownership must have been necessitated first by population pressure. As population grows, the demand for land increases; unfortunately lands that had not been acquired by individuals or groups were diminishing exponentially.

5.79 Secondly, land has acquired a commercial value. People have acquired wealth through trade and other occupations. The idea of personal acquisition was bound naturally to affect the system of land tenure. With his wealth, the individual began to seek after land

as a personal possession which he can convert to building more permanent houses or putting it to plantation agriculture.

5.80 Thirdly, rapid growth of urbanization is another major factor leading to individualization of ownership of land. Many people are attracted to urban centres in pursuit of employment in government and private services, trade and other gainful economic activities. The individuals in these urban centres need individual titles in order to be able to put the plots of land to economic production, such as building of residential houses, factory or workshop. Hence the sale and partition of land received an added stimulus.

5.81 Finally, the introduction of the English legal system in Nigeria is another reason. As we have noted earlier, the English law did not introduce the individual ownership into Nigeria, rather it reinforced the system. The early administrators and interpreters of the customary and legislative laws were either English trained lawyers or English administrators; they did their jobs in the light of what they knew already, that is, the English legal system.

5.82 It is the understanding of the pre-existing land tenure systems in Eastern and Western Nigeria that influenced the British policy to land after Eastern and Western Nigeria had been declared a Protectorate in 1906. The Benin case was an example of how the British handled the land not under the Royal Niger Company. Elias (1971, p. 28) noted that by the conquest of Benin in 1896, for nearly twenty years afterwards the British Crown granted, as absolute owner of the lands, a number of leases in exercise of its sovereignty. But when the

Oba of Benin was reinstated in 1916, his customary rights of control over Benin lands were restored to him. Lands in the south belonged to the local people until they were acquired at the time of the British advent, and were for the most part acquired by voluntary concessions. Under the British administration similar policy as in the Northern States was adopted in the South which was to respect the pre-existing property rights. But these pre-existing property rights differed from Northern and Southern Nigeria.

5.83 The British attitude was that of regulating the acquisition of land by aliens in Eastern and Western Nigeria. In order to do this a number of regulations or acts were passed between 1917 and 1958. These included: The Native Lands Acquisition Act (Number 32 of 1917) regulated the acquisition of land by aliens from the peoples of Eastern and Western Provinces. It provided in Section 3 as follows: "3 (a) No alien shall acquire any interest or right in or over any lands within the Protectorate from a native except under an instrument which has received the approval in writing of the Governor". "(b) Any instrument which has not received the approval of the Governor as required by this section shall be null and void".

5.84 Also Section 3A provided:

"3A where any interest or right in or over any land has been acquired by an alien from a native with the approval in writing of the governor as provided for in section 3 such interest or right shall not:

- (a) be transferred to any other alien without the approval in writing of the Governor".

Section 4 provided that it should be unlawful for any

alien or for any person claiming under an alien to occupy any land belonging to a "native" unless the right of the alien to occupy or authorise the occupation of the land is evidenced by an instrument which has received the approval of the Governor or his delegates in writing; any default is punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.

5.85 All that any alien could do was to acquire a lease duly approved by the Governor for a maximum period of ninety nine years. A limited number of grants for purposes of trade has been made in certain urban areas, but rights of freehold in land of which a few had formerly been granted were henceforth forbidden to aliens (Elias, 1971, p. 30).

5.86 The 1917 Act was repealed and replaced in Western and Mid-Western (now Bendel) Nigeria by the Native Lands Acquisition Law, 1952, and in the Eastern States by Aliens Law, 1958. The Regulations were also replaced in Western and Mid-Western Nigeria by the Native Lands Acquisition (Approval of Transactions) Regulations, 1959, but not in Eastern Nigeria, except as regards fees payable under the Statute (Nwabueze, 1972, page 477). It is important to note that the 1917 Ordinance never applied in Lagos and Northern Nigeria, though the policy embodied in it is applied in Northern Nigeria by the Land and Native Rights Ordinance, 1916, and which was re-enacted by the Land Tenure Law, 1962 (see Section 27). It is likely the non-applicability of the 1917 Ordinance in Lagos was due to the peculiar nature of Lagos as a colony and therefore a Crown land, whereas the rest of the Southern territory was only a Protectorate. A grant of certificate of occupancy was required of one seeking the use of areas described as Crown lands, whereas in the same locality freehold was permitted.

What choices were made?

5.87 The colonial authority made various choices. In administration it chose 'Indirect Rule', in the economic sphere, it adopted 'effective exploitation' of the hinterland, 'segregation of races' was adopted in the urbanization processes, and in land matters 'respect was accorded to the existing practices' of land tenure systems in the country. To give effect to these policies, various policy measures as described above were adopted.

5.88 A historical review showed that the policy of Indirect Rule succeeded in Northern Nigeria because of the existence of and recognised Kingship institution on which the Indirect Rule was built upon. In Western Nigeria it met with partial success; that could be attributed to the existence of a parallel Kingship institution in Yorubaland (Section 4.11) but the influence of early Western civilization was likely to undermine or modify the autocratic rule of the Obas.

5.89 In Eastern Nigeria the British Colonial administration failed to recognise the Republican nature of the people and the functionality of mass consultation characteristic of the Community Assemblies and opted for direct administration to off-set what they described as "ordered anarchy" in which the Igbo lived. However, the failure of the British direct administration in Eastern Nigeria was due to the fact that the colonial authority wanted to run a direct administration in the same way it operated the Indirect Rule. Its appointment of few warrant chiefs to work in native court areas under the European District Commissioner (D.C.) or District Officer (D.O.) as the case may be, did not help the

situation. Direct administration would entail more European staff, but the colonial authority could not afford it. The colonial authority's belated success in Eastern Nigeria resulted from the abolition of the office of the District Commissioner in the native courts and thus made the courts really "native", (Native Court Ordinance No. 5 as amended to 1922), the adaptation of Indirect Rule to the existing institutions, (1930-31 Reforms), subdividing the native court areas to smaller units, reflecting the nature of the social groupings, and finally "warrants" were given to social units, such as villages, instead of to individuals. It then became the responsibility of each village to select its own court judge to represent it. Once a peaceful rule was installed, economic activities were possible without interference.

5.90 The economic concern of the colonial administration was buttressed on the policy of effective exploitation of natural resources. Both for the administrators and European traders, spatial integration was particularly important. To the administrators, spatial integration was essential in order to provide easy communication of officials and the Army throughout the length and breadth of the country. This role, in some cases, was not seen as particularly important in times of peace, since the colonial administration used the local chiefs to cut down its administrative costs.

5.91 To facilitate the collection and export of the surpluses from agriculture and mineral products, a railway network was begun. The Western line started from Lagos in 1895 and reached Kano in 1912 connecting some important towns. An Eastern line based in Port Harcourt was begun in 1913. Essentially this was

constructed to facilitate the exploitation of coal at Enugu and tin at Jos. For those areas of the country which were already urbanized, all that was needed was to determine which set of towns provided useful nodes on the new transport route (Mabogunje, 1980, page 49). For areas which had no system of urban centres, new towns were built. It all means that new town developments must have definitive goals to achieve.

5.92 Road communications were not thought then to be able to play any major role in the spatial integration process; this might explain why there were no Type 1 New Towns located along the East-West road networks, where there were no parallel rail lines. The East-West rail line was not thought necessary in the South where there was an alternative route, the waterways linking Port Harcourt in the East with Lagos in the West. Along the seaboard were located such towns as Calabar, Opobo, Bonny, Warri, Sapele and Forcados; all these served as bases for European traders.

5.93 However, the new integration imposed on Nigeria was quite limited only to a strip of area some 1120 kilometres from Lagos to Kano. Such limited spatial integration was not capable of promoting balanced regional development in industrial as well as in all other investments.

5.94 A number of economic decision areas in urban and regional systems were not touched, such as employment, redistribution of wealth, migration and rural development. Government intervention was primarily limited to the agricultural sector in order to produce raw materials for

European industrialists. Mabogunje (1968, page 145) noted that the effect of this new spatial integration on production and trade was spectacular. Groundnut export from the Kano region, for instance, showed an increase within two years of almost 1000 per cent from less than 2000 tons in 1911, before the development of the railway, to about 20,000 tons in 1913 a year after the railway reached Kano. (See Figure 3.3).

5.95 Before 1960s, Nigeria like most developing countries was not in the position to process a large part of her materials; this meant exporting the surpluses to other countries. International trade involves exchange and payments, and therefore, participation in it means that a country must export and import. The problem during the colonial period was the middle man's role in international trade between colonised countries and industrialised ones; that reduced the revenue accruable to the primary producers. Similarly, there is a problem where the industrialists unilaterally determine the prices of both raw materials and finished products. It is important for a country or developing countries for that matter, to secure prices which are stable and remunerative in order to support its development and avert persistent payments of deficits. These are some of the problems which the OPEC wants to solve in respect to the oil industry.

5.96 The policy of segregation of races came to define all Type 1 New Towns and, in fact, it was introduced in the traditional towns where the colonial administration pitched its headquarters. Segregation per se could have been influenced by one or two things; a conflict situation or health consideration or both.

5.97 Segregation may be necessary when there is warfare between the parties concerned. After the subjugation of Africans by force of arms in the 19th century, there were only a few occasions when the British colonial authority was questioned; if there were such an occasion, it was as a result of segregation rather than the cause of it. In such circumstances, it is argued that segregation in Africa must have resulted as a show of continued subjugation of the colonised people.

5.98 In matters of health, the Township Ordinance of 1917 specifically laid down measures towards improving the environmental quality of the residential areas both in the European and Native Reservations. The same Ordinance made it mandatory to reduce the congestion which was characteristic of most traditional cities in the country. Hence, a rigorous layout of routeways and property limits was expected to emphasise this goal in the new towns development. Similarly in 1946, the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Act was passed which set up Town Planning Authorities entrusted with the responsibility of controlling the development and use of land in their areas of authority, of securing proper sanitary conditions, providing necessary amenities and preserving places of historic, architectural and artistic interest.

5.99 There were policies and legal instruments to achieve conditions of good sanitation, but sanitation was not achieved in the African areas. Lack of success was as a result of failure to provide supporting facilities to the African reserved areas, in spite of increased in-migration and demand.

5.100 The policy of segregation deprived Africans the right to enjoy equality with Europeans in the distribution of social services which the economy could provide. Though it can be argued that the failure to provide adequate amenities to Africans might stem from lack of resources to do that, recent events in areas still under colonial rule regard the argument as unrealistic. The differences in the provision of amenities between the white and black neighbourhoods in Alabama, USA (Lineberry et al., 1978, page 307), between the African home-land and white neighbourhoods in South Africa, and between the high density residential areas of Isale - Eko Bodiya, Bariga and Ajegunle, and low density residential areas of Ikoyi and Victoria Island in Lagos, provide examples of the independency of policies on environment. The policy of racial segregation or class differentiation was independent of environment (whatever existed before) and therefore what counts most is the option of the decision-maker.

5.101 Public goods such as pollution control measures and street lighting can be enjoyed by one person without diminishing the consumption of the same goods by another person. In principle, a public good reaches everyone in a jurisdiction, at least indirectly. Where public good is localised or spatially zoned, the optimum utilization of such good is reduced.

5.102 But who benefits from segregation? To the affluent G.R.A. an influx of migrants to urban centres would mean larger school enrolments, more service demands, higher taxes, and to many of the residents, a deterioration in the quality of the community. So segregation was meant to keep undesirables out.

5.103 However, the principal effect of zoning (used instead of segregation) practices is to raise the cost of housing. Upward residential mobility out of the high density areas is thus retarded because housing is out of reach of vast numbers of low - to middle income people. Therefore it is the owner or the landlord, whether private or public, that benefits from zoning practices and those who lose are those who have the means to rent housing in low density areas but are not allowed either because of race, tribe or their social standing.

5.104 There is a strong correlation between the types of people who inhabit the different zones and elements like income, rental, taxes, amenities and periods of leave differentials. For instance, leave periods for civil servants vary from 30 days to 14 days per annum for senior and junior officials respectively.

5.105 Finally, the colonial policy of "respecting the existing practices" in land matters created differences in land tenure systems. In Northern Nigeria all lands at the period under review were regarded as public, but how much the authority exercised this power of eminent domain was in doubt. If such power was ever exercised, the 1978 Land Use Decree in Northern Nigeria would have been a continuation of existing policy. But that was not the case. The people in Northern Nigeria accepted or rejected the decree as any other landlord in other parts of the country.

5.106 In Southern Nigeria, there were admixture of tenureships. The public lands which were called "Crown lands" were originally acquired from the Royal

Niger Company (Section 5.68). Crown lands could be increased further through the Compulsory Purchase Order. The process of acquiring additional land was always very costly. It involved time. It also required a financial compensation to those affected as well as a social cost on the part of those whose lands had been appropriated for public use.

5.107 To individual entrepreneurs it became difficult to acquire land for investment in States other than theirs, because of unfamiliarity of the local land policies.

5.108 The situation called for uniformity of land policies which would enable both governments and private individuals to acquire land without much difficulty. If a small proportion of the national land resource was adequate for the colonial authority, it was because it had no need for more land for investment. But with the present government's needs for land for various development projects, it is important for the government to exercise a greater control of land in the country to minimise cost of investment.

Impacts of Policies (1900 - 1960)

5.109 The development of Type 1 New Towns was a positive contribution of the colonial urban policies. Modern residential areas called European Quarters, or later renamed the Government Reserved Areas, were added to the existing traditional urban centres. More people moved into urban centres and the civilizing agents, such as schools, churches and clubs became accessible to them. For instance, the population of Port Harcourt new town grew from 7185 in 1921 to 95,768 in 1963 at an average growth rate of 12.5 per cent.

5.110 The regional impact of the new towns development was marginal. Though the towns were conceived on the existing regional railway system, the railway system covered a distance of only 1120 km. The impacts of the railway system were limited to those areas where they were located. The Eastern part of the country has a disproportionate number of six out of eight of the Type 1 New Towns and what was the former Eastern Nigeria has one half of the number. The towns became nodes of location of education, health and other community facilities. These amenities were mostly deprived of those areas that had no new towns or existing towns along the railway lines.

5.111 Only recently the new towns are beginning to achieve some regional influences when most of them, such as Port Harcourt, Enugu, Makurdi and Jos became capitals and focal points of their states and surrounding regions. Aba even developed into a regional centre without the status of a state capital. It is linked to Port Harcourt in the Rivers State, Ikot Ekpene in the Cross River State, Umuahia and Owerri in Imo State, while serving at the same time as a nodal centre for the whole of Ngwaland in Imo State.

5.112 The colonial policy on administration, of Indirect Rule, did not give Nigerians any sense of direction and motivation. Where the policy succeeded, such as in Northern Nigeria, power tended to be concentrated in a few hands.

5.113 The urbanization process of the Type 1 New Towns brought the poor too close to the consciousness of poverty. The rich became richer and the poor became

poorer. Social policies should be reinforced by social programmes which would make for equality and institutional stability (Rein, 1978, page 14). What was observed in the Type 1 New Towns was that housing was provided without industries and that limited the opportunities of acquiring new skill, increase in individual income and social mobility. This gap between housing and employment was only bridged after self rule by providing industrial estates. Emene near Enugu, Eleme and Trans-Amadi Industrial layouts near Port Harcourt were such examples. This aspect of weakness in Type 1 New Towns will eventually be one of the aspects on which the assessment of future new towns' achievement will be based.

5.114 As policy is essentially choice-making the Type 1 New Towns development did not function without incurring costs in other areas such as hastening the depopulation of the rural areas. Farming activities were abandoned for possible jobs in the urban centres with the consequences of food shortages in the urban centres, as shown in Section 3.71. In most cases, Type 1 New Towns were not planned to provide enough job opportunities to the migrants, urban criminals, motor park taunters and the homeless were found among those who had migrated and did not secure any gainful employment in the urban centres.

5.115 Racial segregation during the colonial period is being recreated in various forms in land use planning, distribution of social amenities or social groupings. The question is, should this principle govern the distribution of services? William Oliver (Lineberry, 1977, page 11) rightly observed that urban mosaic represents a socio-spatial distribution of countless

groups occupying relatively limited space. Lineberry noted that individuals are not randomly scattered over the metropolitan landscape, is a fact of urban life. In real life, these dichotomies cannot be avoided, even though the answer we seek is typically cast in terms of platonic ideals where all the good things in life are assumed to be mutually reinforcing and where cruel choices can be avoided (Rein, 1978, page 23). Both the private and public sectors contribute to this sorting out of identifiable groups in spatial form. The distribution of wealth, structure of racial and economic discrimination, access to jobs and housing, real estate practices and a host of other variables produce a more or less involuntary shifting of the metropolitan population into distinctive socio-spatial groupings. On the public side, zoning practices, the location of public housing, markets, transportation networks and a host of other government utilities, reinforce, alter or reverse the location decisions of persons and production. The argument is not to explain the forces that make segregation possible, but to question the variability, if any, in the packages of public goods and services allocated to socio-spatial groups within the urban centres. For instance, why should covered drains be built in the G.R.A. and open ones, if any, in the high density residential areas, or why should there be street lighting in some places and not in others? Nigeria inherited apartheid which is encouraged by ethnicity and nurtured by public policy.

5.116 The pattern of service distribution can be verified, for sometimes such differences may be specifically racial or tribal in character and, therefore, should not be ignored. Possibly such disadvantages may relate

to socio-economic attributes of the neighbourhood or with its political power in the city, for instance the diplomatic residential neighbourhood or the presidential area, the society has to accept it as "given".

5.117 The choices among alternative actions, for instance, segregation instead of population mix in residential areas, dependency instead of independence, and so on, involve costs. Costs are not only monetary but social, psychological and political as well. One cannot spend money one does not have. But it is doubtful if given the choice one would prefer disamenity, lack of drains, low level of income, and discrimination in the provision of social services to an affluent neighbourhood in the same urban area. Segregation affects choice. The civil disturbances in 1927 and the 1930s in Northern Nigeria, the Civil War of 1960 and other traumas involving racial and tribal groups in Nigeria and other countries command attention and limited options. Therefore, positive reactions are expected of decision-makers at the New Federal Capital City Abuja.

6 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS
IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT

The chapter examines the roles of the national development plans between 1962 and 1985 - as a mechanism for integrating the national and regional objectives and for spatial allocation of resources. The achievements of the plans have been marginal. Three problems will command our attention in this chapter.

(i) We will gain some understanding of the weaknesses of the plans;

(ii) We shall learn about the areas where the 1981-85 plan has made some significant deviations from the rest; and

(iii) We must understand the political aspects of national development, for planning by itself is inadequate to give us an appreciation of the problem in national politics and history.

6.1 Following the political independence in 1960, Nigeria has undergone a lot of political and socio-economic planning stages. Nigeria did not evolve any plan until 1962. The first national development plan 1962-1968 saw the creation of the fourth region, the Mid-west Region, from the former Western Nigeria; the proliferation of industrial estates all over the four regions of the country with the ultimate aim of encouraging private foreign investors to invest in Nigeria; the construction of Kainji Dam and in the urbanization sphere, New Busa was created. The period of 1966 and 1970 was marked with the country's civil war and during which time the country was divided into twelve states by the government decree on May 27, 1967. The country's second development plan of 1970-1974 ushered in the promotion of intermediate and capital goods industries, thereby enabling Nigeria to export rather than to aim at import substitution. On the political scene efforts were made to reconcile the various groups in the civil war and rehabilitate the displaced persons. The third development plan of 1975-1980 reiterated the planning objectives of the previous plan with particular emphasis on promoting the engineering industry and other intermediate and capital goods industries for both the domestic and overseas markets (Nigeria, 1975 b). The political developments in the country led to the increase in the number of states from twelve to nineteen states in February, 1976. In the urban development programmes, Ajoda new town near Ibadan, Owerri Twin Cities in Imo State and Zuru and Yelya new towns in Sokoto State were designated. Finally, the fourth national development plan was launched in January 1981 for the period 1981-1985. It is difficult to assess the plan, but so far it coincided with the launching of the Green Revolution Programme

aimed at reducing pressure in urban centres, the Federal Government movement to Abuja and the world-wide inflation which has affected the prices of crude oil in the international market. In the cultural aspect the period has been marked by the increase in the number of national and state universities. It is against this background that this chapter will focus on the national development plans in Nigeria.

6.2 The National Plan is meant to provide a guide for resource allocations in all the component states or regions of the country. It differs from the regional plan which is a design or blue-print for the regional allocation of resources. In a loose federation of semi-autonomous states such as Nigeria's, each state has individual and separate socio-economic objectives which are independently pursued subject only to certain well defined constraints. Teriba et al. (Mabogunje, 1977, p. 24) said that such dichotomies might not be necessary, instead an intermediate framework would be adopted represented by a dominant national socio-economic concept which is a function of individual welfare relationships for each particular component state. To achieve this objective there should be a network of relationship between the component tiers of the government. The socio-economic concept would require also a comprehensive survey of the entire territory and a reclassification of the country to fall into subregions of natural resource units, urban-rural centres, depressed and prosperous regions. Unfortunately, there has not been any mechanism set up for establishing such a framework. Only a few programmes in the country have been based on the socio-economic concept. The River Basin Authority programme is one of the few. The advantage of this concept lies on its being dynamic. The region can be smaller or

larger than the administrative region of the country depending on similar characteristics of the subregions. The boundaries of such subregions can change with changes in resource generation and utilization. The problems of unemployment, resettlement and food scarcity can be tackled more sensitively when solutions are comprehensive and not limited to one political region.

6.3 On the other hand the socio-economic planning unit concept carries with it the problem of collecting data, since data collection is usually based on administrative units.

6.4 Given the situation of intense interregional competition prevalent at this time, many of the state and central government economic programmes are conceived and executed in isolation from one another. The National Economic Council (NEC) was established late in 1955 to provide a "forum in which the Federation and the Regions/States might meet to discuss the many economic problems common to each, notwithstanding their separate constitutional functions and such of their development policies as may have consequences reaching beyond their respective constitutional sphere". Judging from empirical evidences especially with the location of industries by various state governments, it is doubtful whether the individual governments reflect the conclusions of the NEC in implementing their state programmes. The preparation of the National Development Plans was the responsibility of the NEC, but now it has been taken over by the Federal Ministry of National Planning. Concerning the comprehensiveness of the Plans, the following questions need to be answered:

- (i) Is there any integration between the national and regional objectives?

- (ii) What planning unit is adopted?
- (iii) Are there specific cases of spatial concern of the plans? and
- (iv) Are there overlapping projects in the states?

The 1962-68 National Development Plan:

6.5 The 1962-68 Plan attempted to fit the regional development plan into the general framework of a National Development Plan. However, the 1962-68 programmes never went beyond the concept of the political regions as the planning unit both for the formulation and execution of national and regional projects, except perhaps in the singular case of the Kainji Dam and New Busa the sitings were governed largely by technical factors. In spite of the recognition and acceptance of common objectives by the various governments, separate programmes were composed of overlapping projects conceived on the basis of the political region as the logical planning unit (Federation of Nigeria, National Development Plan 1962-68, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos, 1962).

The Second Plan 1970-74

6.6 The Plan had little to show that it had adopted a wider concept of the region for the purposes of national planning. The Plan had a set of national and regional/state objectives and goals, but the programmes were conceived largely on the basis of political regions.

The Third National Development Plan 1975-80

6.7 The Plan showed a lot of differences from the preceding ones. Because of its similarity with the

Fourth Development Plan, both plans will be discussed fully below. However, one particular weak point of the Third Development Plan (Federal Ministry of National Planning, 1981-85, p. 8) was its assumption of high growth rate which was not realised in practice (2.5 per cent as against 4 per cent) in Agriculture. There were other exaggerated rates of achievements especially in housing which were not realised.

The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85

6.8 The Fourth Plan was launched by 1 January, 1981, following the extension of the life of the Third National Development Plan by nine months. The extension was necessary to give the new civilian administration time enough to prepare a new Plan. Coincidentally too, the new Administration decided to alter the financial year from April - March to January - December. The important question now is, how does the present plan resemble or differ from the previous ones.

6.9 Similar to the Third National Development Plan, the Fourth Plan aimed at bringing about an improvement in the living conditions of the people. Based on this goal, a number of specific objectives were outlined.

- (a) Increase in the real income of the average citizen;
- (b) More even distribution of income among individuals and socio-economic groups;
- (c) Reduction in the level of unemployment and under-employment;
- (d) Increase in the supply of skilled manpower;

- (e) Reduction of the dependence of the economy on a narrow range of activities;
- (f) Balanced development, that is, the achievement of better balance in the development of the different sectors of the economy and the various geographical areas of the country;
- (g) Increased participation by citizens in the ownership and management of productive enterprises;
- (h) Greater self-reliance - that is, increased dependence on our own resources in seeking to achieve the various objectives of society. This also implies increased efforts to achieve optimum utilization of our human and material resources;
- (i) Development of technology;
- (k) The promotion of a new national orientation conducive to greater discipline, better attitude to work and cleaner environment. For the purpose of illustration of the macro-framework of the Fourth National Development Plan, the following figures are given below:

**FIGURE 6.1: DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
AT CURRENT PRICES 1980-85**

(N'million)

Sector	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Agriculture	5205	5684	6207	6778	7401	8082
Livestock, Forestry and Fishing	3733	4076	4451	4861	5308	5797
Mining and Quarrying	16640	17991	19452	21032	22739	24586
Manufacturing	4043	4973	6117	7523	9254	11382
Utilities	181	208	239	275	317	364
Construction	3482	3875	4313	4801	5343	5947
Transport	2194	2611	3107	3697	4400	5236
Communications	116	133	153	176	203	233
Wholesale and Retail Trade	8543	9995	11695	13683	16009	18730
Housing	2176	2350	2538	2741	2960	3197
Producer of Govt. Services	2908	3431	4049	4778	5638	6653
Other Services	1378	1612	1886	2207	2582	3021
TOTAL	50599	56941	64208	72552	82154	93228

Source: Federal Government of Nigeria. The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, page 11.

**FIGURE 6.2: DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
AT CURRENT PRICES 1980-85**

(Percentage Distribution)

Sector	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Agriculture	10.3	10.0	9.7	9.3	9.0	8.7
Livestock, Forestry and Fishing	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.7	6.5	6.2
Mining and Quarrying	32.9	31.6	30.3	29.0	27.7	26.4
Manufacturing	8.0	8.7	9.5	10.4	11.3	12.2
Utilities	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Construction	6.9	6.8	6.7	6.6	6.5	6.4
Transport	4.3	4.6	4.8	5.1	5.3	5.6
Communications	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Wholesale and Retail Trade	16.9	17.6	18.2	18.9	19.5	20.1
Housing	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.4
Product of Govt. Services	5.7	6.0	6.3	6.6	6.9	7.2
Other services	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Government of Nigeria. The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, page 11.

FIGURE 6.3: DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC CAPITAL EXPENDITURE PROGRAMME

N'million	
Government	Capital Programme
1. Anambra	1,500
2. Bauchi	1,300
3. Bendel	2,200
4. Benue	1,200
5. Borno	1,600
6. Cross River	1,300
7. Gongola	1,300
8. Imo	1,500
9. Kaduna	1,600
10. Kano	2,200
11. Kwara	1,100
12. Lagos	2,000
13. Niger	1,000
14. Ogun	1,000
15. Ondo	1,400
16. Oyo	1,600
17. Plateau	1,100
18. Rivers	1,600
19. Sokoto	1,500
TOTAL ALL STATES	28,000
Federal Capital Territory	2,500
Federal Government	40,000
GRAND TOTAL	70,500

Source: Federal Government of Nigeria: The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, p. 19.

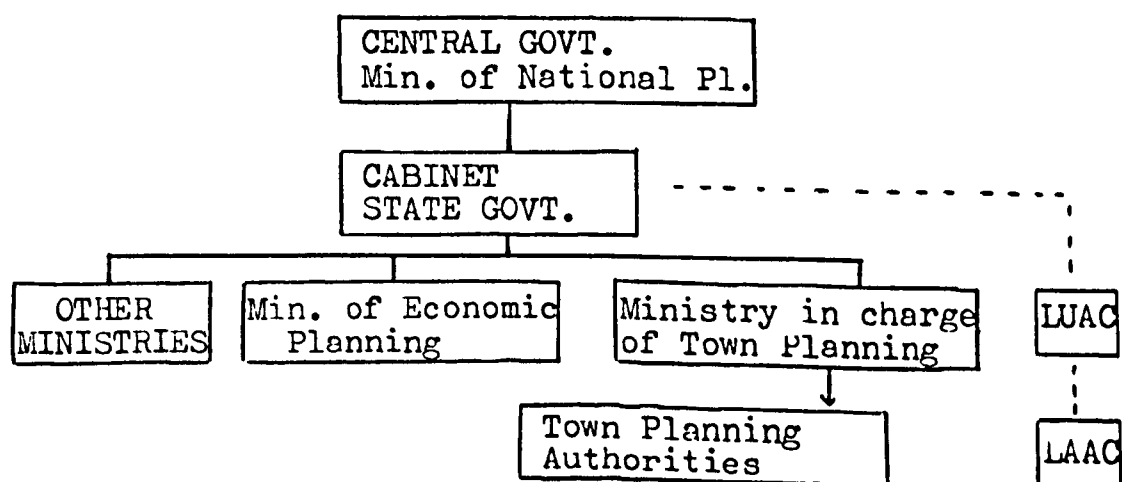
6.10 The Fourth National Development Plan differed from the Third Plan because it was addressed to the consolidation and maintenance of existing facilities so as to prevent the gains from recent development effort from being lost through rapid deterioration of productive assets. The concept of the Plan was more than a mere sectoral planning. It encouraged a certain degree of participation of states, and organised sectors. It recognised the three main types of programmes:

- (a) National programmes conceived at the national level and financed by the Central Government. Such programmes include the Federal Government Secretariates in all State Capitals, the programmes of Federal Ministry of External Affairs, a number of Fire Service Stations and Court Buildings with associated staff quarters. Various ministries and agencies will also establish their own training institutions to meet their specialised training requirements during the Plan period.
- (b) State programmes conceived at the State level by states governments geared to meeting their needs for office and residential accommodation, staff training and development. Allocations have also been made for the establishment of workshops and provision of fire fighting equipment and construction of court buildings with associated staff quarters. These would be financed by grants, foreign loans and internally generated finances from the states. (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1981-85 Fourth Development Plan, p. 87).

- (c) Local Government programmes. All along it had been the responsibility of the various state governments to provide for local government needs. With the passing into law of the new revenue allocation (1981) and providing 10 per cent for the Local Government administration, one would expect that when the local government election is held the local governments would be able to formulate their programmes of actions and finance them through the Federal and State Government grants as well as through monies generated from internal sources.

6.11 Like the previous Development Plans, the Fourth Plan is operated through the existing planning system. This makes the effect of any change by the current plan marginal. For instance, during the Plan making process the Fourth Plan introduced a limited amount of participation (Federal Government of Nigeria. Outline of the Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, page 5) but the existing planning system, as illustrated in Figure 6.4 did not provide for public participation.

FIGURE 6.4: SCHEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL PLANNING SYSTEM



6.12 At the national level (see Figure 6.4) the Ministry of National Planning is concerned with the giving of the guidelines for sectoral and regional resource allocations. Participation by various state governments is limited to discussion on what share of the resources shall go to their states. However, the principle of revenue allocation to states and federal government administrations is determined by the Revenue Allocation Law of 1981. In respect of urban and regional allocation, the Federal Government allows the States to determine where such projects should be economically and socially located, except, of course, the location of the Federal Capital City at Abuja which was the responsibility of the Federal Government, or some specific projects whose locations are governed by technical factors. The present system lacks the coordination of various state programmes which results in overlapping of programmes and lack of integration between the national and regional programmes.

6.13 At the state level, the Ministry of Economic Planning is responsible for formulating policies on economic matters for other ministries, whereas the Town Planning Division deals with physical planning. There is little or no coordination between the two departments also.

6.14 Generally consultation on matters of planning that exist between the various levels of government is limited to the National and State authorities. Planning decisions do not extend beyond these levels. Participation by members of the Communities was not provided for by the planning system.

6.15 Local Government levels: In large urban centres there exist Town Planning Authorities (TPA) whose membership is drawn from the Ministries of Local Government, Lands, Health, Works and the Ministry in charge of planning matters as well as from the local community. The Chairman of the Town Planning Authority who is usually a councillor of the Local Government is appointed through the recommendation of the Secretary of the Local Government. The duties of the members of TPA comprise approval of building plans and development control in their areas of jurisdiction. The TPA is advised on matters of land by the Land Allocation and Advisory Committee (LAAC). Decisions affecting the development of the Local Government Area are usually the responsibility of the State Government. It is not mandatory for the LGA to have development plans and therefore coordination at this level is very difficult to achieve.

6.16 Problems of the National Development Plans: In both the 1975-80 and 1981-85 Plans, attempts were made at the integration of regional with national economic planning. Some of the programmes of both plans were meant to reduce the disparity between urban and rural areas. For example, in Agriculture, seven State Governments, namely, Kaduna, Sokoto, Bauchi, Benue, Plateau, Kwara and Niger, with the assistance of the Federal Government and the World Bank, introduced integrated Agricultural/Rural Development Pilot Programmes (ADP). The projects were located in Funtua, Gusaw, Gombe, Ayangba, Lafia, Ilorin and Bida and involved socio-economic activities such as agriculture, rural road construction, dam construction, water supply, livestock production, and so on. It was aimed at

providing improved services in the form of an integrated package to existing smallholder farming communities with the objective of increasing productivity, raising farmers' incomes and bringing overall socio-economic development to the rural areas. The achievement of the various areas where ADP are located are yet to be assessed.

6.17 In spite of agricultural sector, transportation planning, industrial location, urban development and development of effective institutions capable of delivering major regional or national programmes offer avenues for national and regional economic integration which is possible without having to graft it onto the existing system.

The Basic Planning Unit:

6.18 The basic regional planning unit is the political entity known as the State. There are obvious reasons for this. By the nature of Federalism, the quasi-autonomous states have their individual objectives and they try to evolve programmes and projects to achieve them. Secondly, data for planning purposes are easily collected when the regional planning unit does not differ from the administrative boundary. However, this concept of political regions as the planning unit has in some aspects of the national economy been diluted by socio-economic considerations. Such Federal Government programme as the River Basin Development Authority Programmes were structured to cut across the state boundaries. The Anambra-Imo River Basin projects cut across Anambra and Imo States, so also the Niger River Basin projects are meant to serve Kwara, Niger and the Federal Capital Territory. The transportation and

communication programmes are examples of programmes that cut across state boundaries. The proposed Port Harcourt-Ajaokuta railway line is aimed at facilitating the economic transportation of heavy inputs for the iron and steel projects at Ajaokuta. The Koko Fishing Port development is meant to serve the whole of West and Central Africa as well as the Bonny River which is being dredged to improve the Ogunu Wharf. These projects can hardly be economical if their services are limited to the states where they are located.

6.19 In the past the only regional planning exercise in Nigeria which was never based on political region as the planning unit was in respect of the Niger Delta. 'Niger Delta' was defined as the area consisting of Yenagoa Province, Degema Province, the Ogoni Division of Port Harcourt Province in the Old Eastern Nigeria and the Western Ijaw Division of the former Mid Western Nigeria. The Niger Delta Area was regarded as a special underdeveloped area, the development of which required governmental planning effort cutting across state boundaries (Teriba *et al.* in Mabogunje *et al.* 1977, page 23). The concept of political region as the planning unit increases regional disparities. By 1975 Nigeria comprised twelve states which were at different levels of development and their problems varied greatly. Some of these states, among which include Lagos and Oyo, are highly relatively advanced industrially while others like Bauchi and Borno, were not so highly industrialised. The disparities among these states can be illustrated thus. Although Lagos represented 5.9 per cent of the total population, it accounted for 26.8 per cent of manufacturing industries, 43 per cent of industrial workers, and 65.8 per cent of the value added to the economy from the manufacturing sector. On the contrary,

Borno with 4.9 per cent of the total population of the country, accounted for only 0.8 per cent of industrial establishments, 0.2 per cent of industrial workers and 0.3 per cent of value added to the economy from the manufacturing sector. In between these extremes lie other states (Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1975). The weak point of the Fourth National Development Plan like the previous ones, is that it did not take into account these differences and replaced the stereotype political units with planning regions in regional planning in Nigeria.

Specific Cases:

6.20 The Fourth National Development Plan (1981-85) shows an appreciable level of deviation from the previous ones towards spatial consideration in some of its locations. The Abuja New Capital Project, the Integrated Agricultural/Rural Development Pilot Programmes (ADP in Kaduna, Sokoto, Bauchi, Benue, Plateau, Kwara, and Niger States and the proposed ports at Koko and Ogunu are such specific cases meant for national and international integration. The proposed Petroleum Training Institute at Warri, the hydro-electric power plants at Jebba and Shiroro, and the thermal generating stations based on the residual oil from the Kaduna refinery, the siting of these was governed largely by technical factors.

Overlapping Projects:

6.21 The National Plan objectives are the same as the regional/states objectives especially in respect of industrial location. In spite of the recognition and acceptance of common objectives by the various state

governments and consultation between government and organised private sector, the separate programmes were composed of overlapping projects conceived on the basis of the political region as the logical planning unit. Examples of unnecessary duplications include the textile industries and the establishment of State-owned universities throughout the country. Judging from the programmes of these new universities, they do not show anything different from the existing ones, and in view of the financial constraints of some of the state governments, many of the new universities ought not to be established at the present plan period.

Sectoral Planning:

6.22 The concept of sectoral planning has been a common weak point of all the National Development Plans in Nigeria. The concept is not comprehensive and it treats each sector in isolation from the rest of other sectors. For instance, in the bid to urbanize the country, only a little concern has been taken to safeguard good agricultural lands. Industrial locations have been carried out without regard to health hazards that are consequent to such locations. Emphasis on socio-economic factors is necessary. The plan did not make mention of population distribution in the country. In a country with rapid growth of population (2.5 per cent annually) the Ministry of National Planning, the architect of the plan, should regard population distribution as a major issue. However, it can be argued that through job assignment and allocation of housing in the states, population distribution and redistribution can be realised. Every capital project identified in the National Economic Plan becomes part of regional and urban planning coordinating the programmes of different sectors. At the regional level it becomes shifting people from congested

areas to the developing autonomous regions, such as the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria, and at the local level it means the location of satellite towns or designation of development areas associated with new industries, the transformation of depressed areas and opening up of access routes which will enhance the local economy.

6.23 There is need to create a political environment which is flexible enough to enable the benefits of the plans to reach the various socio-economic groups in the country. With the political independence in 1960, the country maintained the colonial regional set-up comprising three regions, the Northern, Western and Eastern regions. The major complaint against this structure came from the "so-called-minority" areas who alleged that they were being dominated by the larger tribal groups. In Northern Nigeria the Middle Belters wanted to be carved out from the rest of the region; the Benis Ijaws and Ika Obos requested to have a separate state from the Western Region; and the Calabas, Ogoja's and the Rivers (COR) people demanded a region of their own from the Eastern Region.

6.24 The agitation led to the creation of Mid-Western Nigeria (Bendel) in 1963, the twelve states in 1967, and after the Civil War which was partly caused by this fear of domination and partly by the mismanagement of the country by the political leadership, an additional seven states were created in 1976, bringing the total number to nineteen states.

6.25 Also the 1981 new Revenue Allocation Act introduced by implication the 20th state. The 1981 Revenue Allocation Act, Subsection 4 of the Act reads:

"References in Section 1 of this act and in this section state government or states include references to the Federal Capital Territory". With this provision the 35 per cent of this nation's revenue standing on credit for state governments shall be divided among 20 states government with reference to all the formula for dividing such allocation (Nigerian Tribune, 11 December, 1981).

The subsequent appointment of an interim administrator in charge of the Federal Capital Territory also confirms the existence, even though in camera, of the 20th state in the country. It is still expected that with fresh state agitation, 29 more new states may be created.

6.26 In Nigeria, the political environment is responsible for the "change-initiating" mechanisms or processes. The federal government system has implications on the economic, social and physical landscapes of the nation. According to Sada (Mabogunje *et al.* ed., 1977, p. 265) it is assumed that within a federal government system in a developing polity, the primary subunit, which may be a region, or a state, generates regionalization processes, and is therefore, the most effective unit for economic development. The subunits conceive themselves as autonomous and have each an attribute of a semi-closed system.

6.27 Federalism by its nature recognises these characteristics as well as the two levels of government, the centre and the states. These two levels, observed K.C. Wheare, 1978, p. 43, "are each within a space, coordinate and independent". None of them is

particularly concerned about the policies of the other provided such policies are within the limits of the Constitution. Within the parliamentary democracy in Nigeria (1954-66) the creation, the structure and operation of local government were the sole responsibility of the regional/state governments. Local government as a subject was never mentioned in the exclusive or concurrent legislative list in the 1954, 1960 and 1963 Constitutions. Even during the 1976 local government reorganization, the Guidelines for Local Government Reform still stated "the Local Government bodies are created by and derive their powers from the state governments". However, with the presidential system (1979) the status of local government tends to change. The position is not yet clear. But with the different revenue allocation of ten per cent by the Revenue Act, 1981, one can argue that the Federal Nigerian Government recognises the separate identity of the local government and as a third level of the government.

6.28 Where and under what conditions do the various actors interact? Since the present system allows a system within a larger system, one expects some interaction between one system and other systems which form its external environments. These interactions are limited by the semi-closed system assumption as postulated earlier. As a political model, the semi-closed system assumption can, however, be relaxed to accommodate interaction among the leaders and to allow for the input of resources (grants or statutory payments) and directives from the central government. In Nigeria, interaction among leaders can be exemplified through the Council of States where the chief executives of States meet to discuss common problems, through political

parties realignments, for example, the defunct NPN and NPP accord with the realignment of the UPN, GNPP, PRP and NPP, and finally, through development programmes like the large River Basin development programmes. Nevertheless, the semi-closed system assumption is validated by the operation of the Exclusive Principle in the consumption of public goods as well as the barrier effect of state boundaries on the flow of capital and labour. By the Exclusion Principle, a politically defined unit is viewed as a "package" in which public goods (as distinct from private) especially social services are provided such that those outside the borders are excluded from their use (Saba, Mabogunje *et al.*, 1977, ed. p. 269). It is difficult for the Exclusion Principle to be operated perfectly since there is geographical mobility, as well as demand for different levels of skilled labour across the states. Contrary to this view, in so far as tribalism is a disease among Nigerians, the principle would be operative in specific areas as granting land for settlement development and employment and even in educational services when cultural bias impose some limit on the extent to which indigenes from one state can enjoy the facilities in the other. Since Independence in 1960 an important goal has been the strengthening of national unity. This goal finds expression in the effort to determine the most realistic number of states that is compatible with establishing the federal unity of the country on a permanent basis.

6.29 By the creation of new states the powers of former regions have been reduced. The possibility of secession of any of the subunits is doubtful because of the men and material resources such an action would entail. An important addition to the creation of states

in order to evolve national unity is the nationalization of the political parties which makes it possible for Fulani and Hausas from the North, Yorubas from the West and Igbos from the East, among other tribes, to belong to the same political camp. This was not very possible in the old Republic when the Northern People's Congress was for the Northerners, the Action Group was primarily for the Yorubas, and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens was predominantly for the Igbos. On the other hand, states have been created to allay the fears of the minority groups against domination by large groups, but empirical evidence has shown, however, that people's response to the same amount of externalities is not always the same. According to Willink's Minority Report in Nigeria (Sir Henry Willink Commission on Minority Group, 1957) the government's investment per capita was higher in the Midwest (now Bendel State) than in other parts of the former Western Region (Ondo, Ogun and Oyo). Further evidence of the demand of more states from Bendel State and the Cross River State, Rivers State, the minority-motivated states, and in fact from all over the country, supports the above finding. Is the agitation for more states a desire by ambitious politicians to dominate ordinary people or the expression of fear of being dominated? Further research needs to examine the real causes for agitation for new states.

Implications of state autonomy:

6.30 Economic implication: The subunits or states rarely refer to the Central Government for any proposal unless where such proposal involves the Federal Government grant. Applying this concept to the political system, one has to view the investments arising out of the allocation decisions of the state political

leadership as arising from the joint contributions and cooperative efforts of the whole populace, while private investments by individuals represent their private interests in the system. If the benefits arising from the government investments, or in fact by creating states, directly or indirectly or through its impact on the people's private investments are higher than their contributions by way of taxation or other sacrifices, then there is a positive externality; if the benefits are less, an incidence of negative externality would have been created. Since positive externalities are major reward for belonging to a particular political unit, positive externalities are therefore the major source of reinforcing stimuli in the system. Where they are negative, the people would react by making any contribution to the system, as well as calling for their own separate state.

6.31 The efficiency and stability of the subunit system thus depends on the extent of coincidence between the spatial limits of the leadership's identification and the circumference of the unit under him. In a state, if the chief executive has strong attachments to his ward or constituency, he cannot be entrusted with allocation decisions affecting the whole state without bias in favour of his ward or constituency. This has been validated empirically, for example, by location decisions for the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, and the construction of the Onitsha Modern Market, the Golden Guinea Breweries and Ceramic Industries at Umuahia, and the Imo State University at Etiti have been identified as manifestations of self-interest of respective chief executives of their region or state. However, one can argue that since these were treated as single projects,

allocation decision of any of them must invariably favour one group or another to the disadvantage of other groups.

6.32 Social implication: The efficiency of structural reform depends on whether it has made people more democratic. The effects of creating more states and state autonomy are mixed. With the creation of states more people became involved in decision-making and are becoming aware of their rights. The challenge by the House of Representatives and subsequent nullification of the 1981 Revenue Act by the Federal Supreme Court, and the impeachment of the Kaduna State Governor and the Deputy Governor of Kano State are examples of freedom of speech and of criticism. This would not have been tolerated in the Old Republic (1963-1966) or in the Military Regime (1966-1979).

6.33 The State creation was intended to open up opportunities for the country's masses to choose their own representatives. This has not been achieved since people's representatives are still chosen on party platforms. Also difficult to achieve is the idea of equalization of all sections of the country, for all States have opportunity to develop according to their pace and the States that are better endowed undoubtedly will be better developed, as is found among the older States of Lagos, Oyo, Anambra and Kaduna.

6.34 Political implication: Politically the agitation for more States will ever persist. What the State agitators forget is that for a State to be viable it requires a solid economic base. The Federal Government has limited funds to go round. Nigerians,

like the Americans, often draw the conclusion that to talk about cost is illegitimate if one wants to change society (Auton in Morley et al., 1980, ed. p. 184). But contrary to this, the effect of the oil glut in Nigeria from the late 1970s and the delay to pass the Revenue Bill to law exposed the economic weakness of many States in the country. We shall see that no reform is meaningful until questions such as who shall pay, under what conditions, how much, who shall receive the benefits, and over what period of time, are answered. The creation of states is likely to be meaningful when it is based on economic viability rather than on political sentimentality. Furthermore, state creation has the problem of redrawing the political map of the country, in most cases against the interests of the people. Boundary clashes between Imo State and Cross River State and other areas are examples of the consequences which were not anticipated before the States were created. This lends support to the hypothesis (Section 2.4-27) With continued pressures for new States, perhaps, what remains as a unifying factor is the National Capital.

6.35 Physical implication: With the creation of states and selection of state capitals and the local government headquarters in a country where environmental planning has not been fully entrenched and where the machinery for physical planning and administration is rudimentary, the effect of the tremendous population pressure on the urban centres has been chaotic. Houses are built and occupied long before water supply, electricity and roads are provided; sometimes these are never provided. The resultant slum conditions have continued to worsen. For other cases, regional roads are lacking and where they exist they are in a

deplorable situation. To set up Town Planning Authorities and hire personnel to control development is very costly.

6.36 The responsibility of activities under the Town and Country Planning sector falls largely on State and Local Governments. The Federal Government involvement, apart from the specific responsibility over the building of the new Capital City at Abuja, will be limited to providing maps and aerial photographs at suitable scales to facilitate engineering design and the preparation of Master Plans. It will also carry out in-depth studies on the physical environment in order to generate sufficient information for the purpose of setting general environmental standards.

6.37 This condition of partnership between the Federal and State Government, leaves the main burden of executing the Master Plans to the State and Local Governments. The programmes and projects by State Governments in this sector will emphasize the development of urban and rural infrastructures and amenities, such as roads, recreation parks and gardens and the development of new residential, commercial and industrial layouts according to the dictates of adopted Master Plans. Attention will also be given to street, and traffic lighting in order to tackle the worsening traffic chaos in our urban centres (The Federal Ministry of Planning, 1981-85 Fourth Plan, page 81). Some States have gone further to develop new towns. The choice of the capital for new States is as much a matter of political negotiation as the creation of the State itself and not infrequently where there are two or three countervailing groups, the choice devolves on a small, neutral settlement which must then be developed as a new town. State Capitals, such as

Minna (Niger State), Owerri (Imo State) and Akure (Ondo State) are of this type. Some States, in order to provide Local Government headquarters or in trying to balance development in their States, have designated some new towns. For instance, the Rivers State Government designated six sites to be developed as new towns, Sokoto State had designated two sites for the same purpose. New towns are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 10 below.

6.38 The building of new towns either as State Capitals or ordinary new towns, involves huge financial cost. There have been cases of abandonment of Master Plans without implementation. Suleja Master Plan by the Niger State; Arochukwu/Ohafia Master Plan by the Imo State are of that type. Some new towns development has been grounded because of high cost and inflationary pressure, for example, Ajoda New Town near Ibadan.

6.39 The processes to develop States comprehensively is an approach in the right direction, but in the face of world inflation and scarcity of expertise, it might be appropriate to start with areas where resources can match the expenses. The choice of these areas is the task for planners.

6.40 Political changes are an ongoing process in a dynamic society. Past experiences within and outside the society are likely to be the main ingredients to determine future planning actions.

7 SHIFTS IN INDUSTRIAL POLICIES

We are going into specific policy areas. The chapter focuses on the theoretical shifts, from growth pole strategy to even development; and from import substitution to export industries. The past achievements give us the real insight into Nigeria's industrial performance which is a pointer to future industrial policies in the country.

7.1 Concerns over unemployment problems (Section 3.39) and economic dependency of Nigeria made shifts from earlier economic policies necessary. A review of the history of the industrialization in the country shows that two broad regional development theories have been adopted. Not until the early sixties the development theory adopted was essentially that of the growth pole strategy. In its initial conceptualization Growth Pole was defined by Professor Francois Perroux as a set of industries capable of generating dynamic growth in the economy, and strongly interrelated to each other via input-output linkages around a leading industry (Richardson, 1978, pages 164-165). Perroux confined the Growth Pole concept to economic space. But Boudeville, a French economist, translated the Growth Pole into a geographical space by saying that a set of dynamic industries might be spatially clustered, and the clustering linked to locations in an urban area and by focussing on spill-over effects not over the economy as a whole but in the surrounding hinterland. Another broader version of the concept is to drop the original thread of a closely interrelated set of industries, and to allow a Growth Pole to mean simply the geographical clustering of economic activity in general. This latter definition makes it unnecessary to exclude industries which are not linked with the pilot one.

7.2 Though there is a second school of thought which linked growth centre with concentration of development on those parts within the region which have the best growth possibilities, the argument against this idea is that places within a region which had good growth prospects are unlikely to have very high unemployment percentages and are, therefore, probably not scheduled as "Development Areas", (McCrone, 1976, page 209).

7.3 It is under the former theoretical context that the growth pole concept should be seen here.

7.4 During the colonial era, Nigeria concentrated mostly upon raw material export promotion by establishing various plantations, such as palm trees, cocoa, rubber and others, and therefore was vulnerable to the vagaries of world market prices. A shift of orientation to domestic market and emphasis on import substitution was thought necessary. But when one problem is solved another is created. The need for foreign capital to pay for imported goods introduces the problem of multinational companies which were lured to invest by all sorts of incentives like infrastructural development and tax relief of various kinds. Industrial estates were developed, which were generally located in the major urban areas mainly to maximise market access.

7.5 The strings or preconditions might imply freedom to import raw materials from the home countries and a certain percentage of profit to be repatriated home. The result is a dual character of the economy. 'Dual character' of the economy implies that many of the industries established were concerned with producing locally many of the durable consumer goods formerly imported. They were in many cases owned by some foreign firms that used to import the goods and tended to depend on automated or semi-automated machinery. Because they are automated their employment capability is limited and therefore hardly solved the unemployment problems. The raw material needs of these machines were such that they could not be supplied from within the country, for example, barley for beer, with the result that very little interdependence developed between the industrial

and primary production sectors of the economy. This definition does not conflict with the earlier one (Section 4.150). To an investor, whether local or multinational, profit maximization is the goal.

7.6 One of the effective means of maximising productivity is by polarization of economic activities. The then Western Region had a consolidated estate of 1214 hectares at Ikeja near Lagos, and secondary ones at Ibadan and Sapele. The then Eastern Region established its own consolidated estate of 1619 hectares at Port Harcourt and secondary ones at Aba, Onitsha, and Umahia (Aboyade, 1968, pages 275-302). The then Northern Region differed, however, in some respects. Its estates were widely distributed throughout the region, with particular concessions given to the so-called 'special areas' (Nigeria 1962, pages 140-141). By distributing them thus the then Northern Nigeria was the first region to recognise its tribal complexities and to try to move from the growth pole strategy towards the balanced development theory approach (Oyebanji, 1982, p. 362). In the then Northern Region there were a large estate of about 809.4 hectares at Kano, others of varying sizes of 24-40.5 hectares were scattered all over at Kaduna, Zaria, Sokoto, Jos, Jebba, Gusau, Ilorin, Gombe, Bauchi, Nguru, Maiduguri and Makurdi respectively (Aboyade, 1968, pages 295-300).

7.7 As has been noted in Section 6.24 above, within 1962-1968 Plan period the twelve states were created and this singular act facilitated the end of the growth pole approach in the location of industries in Nigeria. This means that some new urban centres became capitals of their respective States or Local Government areas and

as well would require a certain level of manufacturing activity for its basic economic survival. Oyebanje (1982, p. 363) observed that the balkanization of the Nigerian Federal system meant stronger and stronger regional and inter-regional ethnicism and rivalry; factors that no longer could be relegated to the background in the allocation and distribution of industrial and other investments in Nigeria.

7.8 It was not surprising that a concept of balanced development was advanced in the Second, Third and Fourth National Development Plans for Nigeria for the periods 1970-1974, 1975-1980 and 1981-1985 (see Chapter 6 above).

7.9 The concept of balanced development has been christianised variously to mean 'even development', 'equality' or 'egalitarianism'. Martin Rein (1976, page 200) in his study concluded that equality means equal treatment despite resources inequality and to American respondents egalitarianism means that everyone is treated the same regardless of what he has. The above definitions emphasize fair treatment despite existing inequality. Conservatives uphold these definitions. Similarly balanced development means fairness in the distribution of social amenities (mainly income, health, educational and transportational facilities). In this sense balanced development is essential even the ultimate value consideration. To the radicals this is a laudable approach if it be implemented because everywhere in the world there are proletarian nations within a more prosperous universe, poverty afflicted groups within richer societies, poorer areas close to better developed ones and the deprived poor among the richer people. The central concern, according to Martin Rein (1976, page 144) in social

policy is to establish priorities, reconciling the goals of economic efficiency, freedom of choice and equality. The arguments for a redistribution of social resources are based on a reaction against market imperfections. It is believed that some people or areas have better advantages than others and therefore competition is uneven. Nature is also not so bountiful to provide everything to everywhere and to those areas that are not so provided they run the risk of suffering some economic disadvantages.

7.10 Some empirical evidences show the consequences of utter disregard of economic efficiency. The failure of the groundnut project at Mokwa in the Niger State and the oil palm mills in parts of former Eastern Nigeria show that unless locations are based on the goals of economic efficiency the gains are marginal. Economic efficiency is likely to be achieved when the locational variables - capital, labour, raw materials and market - are easily accessible. Where a project location is politically motivated without economic consideration, where that support is withdrawn, the project faces the problem of being abandoned.

7.11 The argument for spatial even development is based on the sense that government projects once constructed are likely to exercise powerful and continuing influences upon locational choices made in the private sector of urban economy. Webber (Faludi, 1978, ed. page 97) pressed this view further by saying that these choices might contribute to changes in the social - psychic - economic - political environments within which people live, and they might, therefore, bear at least indirect influences upon their welfare.

7.12 In view of the above argument, the Federal Government has remained guided by this political ideology as exemplified by the location of the Cement Industry at Sokoto, the paper mill at Jebba, the rolling mills at Oshogbo, Jos and Katsina, the integrated steel mills at Ajaokuta and Aladja, the car assembly plant at Kaduna and Federal Universities to almost all the State Capitals.

7.13 The same balanced development strategy which has been adopted by the Federal Government was then simply adopted by the various states. The location of various campuses for the Imo State University at Ekiti, Umuahia, Aba and Orlu and equally the location of various campuses of the Bendel State University to various centres in the State are examples of balanced development strategy. Consequently the balanced development strategy has become the rule in manufacturing as in other investments all over Nigeria. Surely the political and ethnic forces in regional policies are so strong in Nigeria that they should not be disregarded. Hence efficiency has been compromised with equity and with spatial balance, both of which are socially based.

Effects of the Shifts:

7.14 Figure 7.1 illustrates over-concentration of industrial activities in a few centres. Lagos tops all others with a location quotient of 13.50 followed by Mid-Western State with 2.53, Rivers 2.29 and North-Central 1.03. Over-concentration is one of the weak points of the growth pole policy. There was the implication for costs of economic activities. The diseconomies now being generated in Nigeria's major cities, particularly Lagos, Ibadan and Port Harcourt, because of congestion and inadequate and inefficient infrastructural services, most probably contribute to the

FIGURE 7.1: DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
AMONG THE STATES, 1958-62
 (Effect of Growth Pole Policy)

States Pre-1976	Percentage of Total Population of Nigeria	Percentage of total Manufacturing Employment	Location Quotient (Col. 2 + Col. 1)
Kwara	4.3	3.5	0.81
North-Western	10.3	1.7	0.17
Kano	10.4	8.1	0.78
North Central	7.3	7.5	1.03
Benue-Plateau	7.2	2.1	0.29
North-Eastern	14.0	0.8	0.06
Lagos	2.6	35.1	13.50
Western	17.0	8.2	0.48
Mid-Western	4.5	11.7	2.53
East-Central	11.2	11.2	1.00
South-Eastern	8.3	3.7	0.45
Rivers	2.8	6.4	2.29

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1967, Industrial Directory, 1970.

Note: Industries owned by the Western State, but located in Lagos State are counted for Lagos State.

Manufacturing employment was calculated by weighting the number of establishments with the mid-values of employment range given in the Industrial Directory.

FIGURE 7.2: SPATIAL CHANGES IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN NIGERIA 1968-78
(Effects of Balanced Development Policy)

State	Percentage Employed		Employment Changes 1968-78			
	1968	1978	Per cent Change	Per cent Growth Rate	Deviat- ion from National Growth rate (%)	Net Gain/ Loss (Number)
Anambra	5.42	2.94	-2.48	59.23	-252	2924
Bauchi	0.70	0.01	-0.69	-94.19	-287	-600
Bendel	14.81	5.20	-9.61	-71.18	-358	398
Benue	0.55	0.27	-0.28	45.91	-147	238
Borno	0.69	0.29	-0.40	22.05	-171	138
Cross River	4.13	6.00	1.87	326.02	133	12268
Gongola	0.02	0.00	-0.02	- 1.00	-194	- 17
Imo	3.83	5.05	1.22	286.63	93	10006
Kaduna	7.03	5.82	-1.21	142.91	- 50	9152
Kano	11.72	11.03	-0.69	176.14	- 17	18801
Kwara	5.22	3.64	-1.58	104.18	- 89	4958
Lagos	30.15	46.50	16.35	352.09	159	96730
Niger	0.04	0.24	0.20	1788.24	1595	608
Ogun	1.22	1.88	0.28	53.25	-140	590
Ondo	1.60	0.64	-0.58	244.63	51	3574
Oyo	4.57	1.22	-3.35	-21.51	-215	-895
Plateau	1.29	1.86	0.57	323.55	130	3792
Rivers	4.73	6.33	1.60	292.73	100	12605
Sokoto	2.30	1.07	-1.23	36.40	-157	763

Source: Oyebanji, Oluwole J. 1982 (Nigeria's Industrial Directories of 1970, 1975 and 1980 respectively).

rising costs of production, thereby reducing the level of economic welfare otherwise accruable from economic development.

7.15 In contrast, Figure 7.2 illustrates a shift from the policy of growth pole strategy to balanced development after the First National Development Plan period (1962-1968). According to the Figure, in the 1968-'78 period only three States, viz. Bauchi, Gongola and Oyo experienced absolute net loss in manufacturing employment (see column 5 of Figure 7.2). The greatest absolute net gain was experienced by Lagos, with about 87,000 additional manufacturing workforce. Other states with between 10,000 and 20,000 additional jobs were Cross River, Imo, Kano and Rivers. However, the highest growth rate (1788 per cent) at the period was scored by Niger State. This can be explained by the fact that Niger had a negligible manufacturing employment at the base year. Four states, Bauchi, Bendel, Gongola and Oyo experienced negative growth rates, while the rest experienced positive growth rates ranging from Borno with 22 per cent to Lagos with 352 per cent.

7.16 The states which experienced the greatest decline of more than 100 per cent below the national growth rate include Anambra, Bauchi, Bendel, Benue, Borno, Gongola, Ogun and Sokoto respectively. What is not clear from the data at our disposal is whether a gain or loss in the workforce has any repercussion in the financial contribution of the respective industrial sub-sector. It is necessary to note that a change from semi-automatic machinery to fully automatic one is capable of cutting down the number of workforce without affecting adversely the productivity of the industry. Such a reduction in

workforce may on the other hand have a net positive contribution financially on the economy. States whose industrial machinery is mostly semi-automatic as against antiquated ones might account for low workforce, but high productivity.

7.17 In conclusion, the change of policy in the Nigerian industrial sector has generally made a positive contribution in solving the problem of unemployment as well as changing the country's role among industrialised countries. A net gain of over 177,000 jobs was made in ten years (1968-1978). These had in no small measure provided relief to the problem of unemployment.

Similarly, the growth of manufacturing industry has contributed to Gross Domestic Product from about 4 per cent in 1958 to about 8 per cent in 1975 (Oyebanji, 1982, page 374). The country's goal in promoting intermediate and capital goods industries for export has made marginal success. Most of these firms in Nigeria are owned by the multinational enterprises and their influence in this sub-sector is detrimental to the realization of the national goal.

7.18 Their influence is perhaps best illustrated in the publication by the U.S. Senate of the implications of multinational firms for world-wide trade and investment and for trade and labour in the U.S. According to the report, the U.S. had obtained significant overall benefits in the late 1960s from the world-wide operations of the U.S. based multinational enterprises. In terms of overall basic balance of payments, such firms had improved their position by \$2.8 billion in 1966-70.

7.19 The report concludes:

"The most consistent of the conclusions is that the U.S. based transnational enterprises in their transactions with the U.S. exert a uniformly large negative impact on the current accounts of balances of payments of the host countries. Conversely, of course, they have a favourable impact on the corresponding account of the U.S. balance of payments"(Mabogunje ed. 1977, pp. 163-4).

The dilemma becomes more complicated when it is realised that few developing countries can industrialise without allowing the multinational companies to invest in their countries because of poverty. It becomes an evil they have to accommodate. In any case, a sensory approach is necessary. 'Sensory' approach here implies a re-examination of the existing working agencies, their motives, their personnel, their modes of operation, those who benefit and those who lose, and then tailor the policies to fit in order to provide a solution to massive rural-urban migration and unemployment.

7.20 The critical points from the above analysis include:

(i) The relevance of the industrial sector's contribution to employment (using the 1968-78 figure of 177,000 jobs as an indicator) to future manufacturing employment policies either for the whole country or in new development areas like the F.C.T.

(ii) The technology induced problem whereby industries in future will employ fewer people than were possible for such capacities of industries because of automation of industries.

(iii) The problem of multinational companies in the national industrial sector and how to counteract it.

8 SHIFTS IN THE AGRICULTURAL STRATEGY

The focus is on the changes in agriculture to off-set the food shortage in the country. The two principal strategies for the change are farm settlement and green revolution. The constraints to changes are identified to include surplus manpower, inadequate implements and administration. Putting together the propensity to modernise agriculture, produce enough food for urban population and absorb surplus manpower, we shall identify a strategy that will take into account these constraints in an urban - rural environment.

8.1 The major problem of the uncontrolled rural-urban migration is the drain of the farm hands from and the subsequent effect on food production in rural areas and food supply to urban centres whose basic economic activities mostly constitute secondary and tertiary functions.

8.2 After Independence, and with the realization of the problem, the various regional governments considered a shift from the "no policy" on food production as necessary for the solution of the food problem in the country, and therefore began various programmes, one of which was called the "Farm Settlement Scheme". The Military Administration in the 1970s considered it so important as to merit the term the "Operation Feed the Nation", whereas the NPN Government (1979-1983) called it the "Green Revolution Programme".

8.3 The short term approach to solve this problem, which has been that of massive importation of food to supplement the one produced locally, has not succeeded to bring down the prices of food supply in the country (Section 3.71 above).

8.4 The long term measures have to do with all such agricultural programmes as Farm Settlement Schemes, Operation Feed the Nation, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Large River Basin Development Schemes, National Accelerated Food Production Programmes, Large Scale Food Farms, Seed Multiplication Schemes, Live Stock Multiplication Centres, National Accelerated Fish Production Companies, Joint Venture Agricultural Enterprises, Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme, Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank, Tree Planting Companies, National Agricultural Shows, World Bank

Agricultural Projects, the Green Revolution and a host of these has evolved since the post civil war years in general, and the second half of the 1970s in particular. The concepts, achievements and failures of each of these programmes can be known when separate studies are made. Generally, the main objective is to provide a long term solution to the perennial food shortage and declining agricultural productivity in the country. The only differences are in terms of scale and coverage. For illustrative purposes, attention will be focussed on two of these programmes (1) the Farm Settlement Scheme; and (2) The Green Revolution.

The Farm Settlement Scheme:

8.5 It was an awareness of the need for a change in the land tenure system by the Government of Nigeria that brought about the idea of farm settlements in Nigeria (Oluyede, 1978, page 93). The farm settlements in both the former Western Nigeria and Eastern Nigeria were modelled from similar schemes in Israel and were launched in the 1960s. In Eastern Nigeria there were six farm settlements, as shown in Figure 8.1. Because of war damage, all these farm settlements were in various stages of disrepair and the governments of both Anambra and Imo States (formerly part of the Eastern Region) have passed motions in their Legislatures to reactivate existing ones (the New Nigerian, 28th October and 16th November, 1981).

The objectives of setting up farm settlements included:

- (a) To control the influx of people from the rural to urban centres;

- (b) To offer employment to the Youth and able-bodied School Leavers who were interested in Agriculture as a career;
- (c) To develop large scale farming and large Agricultural industries in areas concerned;
- (d) To encourage and maximise food production in different areas where the farms were located; and
- (e) To make the State bouyant in palm oil, rubber and food.

8.6 The typical Farm Settlements in Imo State are Iloma Farm Settlements North and South located in Isuikwuato/Okigwe and Ikwuawo/Umuahia Local Government Areas. The two Farm Settlements were established in the early 1960s as shown in Figure 8.1, with the following specifications. There are presently 250 settlers, each settler has 3.2 hectares of oil palm plantation, 1 hectare of food farm plot, 0.2 hectares of home-lot and 7.6 hectares of rubber plantation. The latter has been given to the Agricultural Development Corporation to manage. About 436 hectare plot is left as surplus land on the farm. The total land area is 3200 hectares or 8000 acres. North Illonna Farm Settlement is 6000 acres and South Ullonna Farm Settlement is 2000 acres. At present only 1936 hectares of the land is occupied by the Farm Settlement. Out of this 800 is occupied by palm trees, 400 hectares have been given to ADC, leaving a contiguous area of about 736 hectares for food production. The land is ideal for yams, cassava, maize production and has enough swampy areas for both swamp and upland rice production.

FIGURE 8.1: SOME INFORMATION ON FARM SETTLEMENTS
IN EASTERN NIGERIA, 1966

Settlement	Date Started	Type of Crops	Total hectarage	Hectarage Planted by Dec. 1966	No. of Settlers by Dec. 1966
Boki	16 Nov. 1966	Oil Palm & Citrus	4670.6	213.9	240
Uzo Uwani	24 Mar. 1965	Rice	4274.4	250.5	190
Igbarriam	1 Nov. 1962	Oil Palm & Citrus	2654.8	718.3	350
Erei	23 Oct. 1964	Oil Palm	4202.8	541.5	360
Ulonna South	9 Apr. 1964	Oil Palm & Rubber	816.7	361.0	240
Ulonna North	23 Jan. 1965	Oil Palm & Rubber	2339.2	252.1	120
Ohaji	15 Nov. 1962	Oil Palm & Rubber	6041.8	831.0	360
			25000.3	3168.3	1860

Source: Ajaegbu, H.I. (Mabogunje et al. (ed.) 1977, page 156).

8.7 The Government expects the settlers to sell their produce to the Farm Settlement Cooperative Society and a certain percentage of the revenue would be paid to the Government in lieu of the loan advanced to the Farmers while the rest would be given to them.

8.8 In spite of the disruption suffered by the Scheme during the Civil War, it was able to meet some of the objectives for which it was established, such as reducing the influx of people to urban centres, by keeping them where they worked with similar amenities as in the urban centres, by providing employment to the ordinary citizens, developing large scale farming and helping to minimize food shortages. However, its achievement in increasing palm oil was marginal for at present Nigeria is a net importer of palm oil.

8.9 A serious study of this programme will reveal that a Farm Settlement Scheme satisfies clearly the objectives of both the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) and Green Revolution with the major aims of maximising food production, poultry production, gardening, mechanization where possible, adequate supervision through scientific and modern agricultural practices. Its particular advantage was that it offers employment to low income people and keeps them in the rural areas where they are productive, unlike the OFN whose emphasis was on individual cultivation of food materials and the Green Revolution which concentrates on big-term farmers and companies.

The Green Revolution

8.10 With the coming into power in October, 1979, the President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, among other things announced the programme of Green Revolution as his agricultural policy. Yusufu D. Pam did not see the Green Revolution as a programme which commenced with the transition from Military to Civil Rule on October 1st 1979, in Nigeria (Nigerian Standard, 6th November, 1981).

He saw it as a package programme consisting of all the agricultural efforts to boost food production in Nigeria since the 1970s. What is the Green Revolution?

8.11 Green Revolution has been expressed differently by various authorities. According to the North London Haslemere Group, the Green Revolution has never been a social revolution it was a strategy for the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production by the application of a technological package within the existing system. Tina Wallace, a Briton, sees it as a desperate bid by policy makers to meet the growing demand for food of urban population by means of national accelerated food production programmes, large scale irrigation schemes, grain production on national farms, budgetary concessions to large commercial farmers, foreign investors and integrated rural development projects. The Special Adviser (Political) to the Government of Kaduna State (Peoples Redemption Party) - Lamis Ibrahim Katsina - in a press release dated April 29th 1981, described the Green Revolution as a "political gimmick, contract award cover and commission-taking from trans-national companies by Nigerian Agents who introduce such companies to the Federal Government". While President Shagari at the 1981 Convocation Ceremony of Bayero University defined the revolution as a strategy for standing up to "the challenge of improving the standard of living of our teeming millions of rural and urban poor..... by seeking change constructively, peacefully and within the ambit of our Constitution".

8.12 These views can be reduced to an articulated definition which sees the subject matter as a technocratic strategy of agricultural transformation which possesses a solution for all the problems connected to the agricultural sector and holds out the promise in that

respect to minimize and subsequently lead to an early elimination of rural and urban food shortages and poverty, as well as bring back to prominence the fading traditional image of agriculture as the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. With varying cultures and geographical conditions, this programme seeks to achieve these goals through a series of different programmes, operations and schemes or projects involving a complementary package of technological innovations, the bureaucratization of agriculture, the introduction of new high-yielding seed varieties, farming techniques, cropping patterns and the alteration of people's tastes and preferences.

8.13 Objectives of Green Revolution:

- (i) Like the Farm Settlement Scheme, the Green Revolution seeks the attainment of self-reliance and self-sufficiency in basic food requirements, and the subsequent promotion of our domestic stability and the avoidance of threats to our national sovereignty arising from excessive dependence on others for basic food requirements;
- (ii) It aims at the return of agriculture to its pre-eminent position as a major earner of foreign exchange, source of employment and a contributor to the Gross Domestic Product and/or Gross National Product (GNP);
- (iii) It aims at the promotion of forward and backward linkages between agriculture and industry and the subsequent promotion of the latter by the former; and

- (iv) The achievement of fair and reasonable levels and distribution of income among food producers and the stabilization of their nutritional standards (The Federal Ministry of Planning, the Fourth National Development Plan 1981-1985 in outline p. 19-20).

8.14 The Green Revolution has been based on the policy of trying to put the country on the path to attain the basic national objective of self-sufficiency in food production. How far has the programme achieved its objectives?

8.15 It is pertinent to note from the outset that the Green Revolution as conceived with the transition from the Military to Civil Rule on October 1st 1979, is yet too young to measure its nationwide achievements and failures. It suffices here to think of seeming contradictions.

8.16 The Green Revolution seeks to make for self-reliance and self-sufficiency in food requirements and hence by-pass external threats to our national sovereignty. It is therefore, easy to conclude that the objective of self-reliance and self-sufficiency is yet to be realised, whereas the increased fiscal expenditure of N928M. between 1981 and 1985 does not convey any hope of success of the Green Revolution Programme. On the question of avoiding external threats to our national sovereignty, the revolution as a matter of strategy, paradoxically by-passes the nation's enormous human and material capital to rely instead on technological, chemical and financial inputs (tractors, combines, expertise, fertilizers, Euro-American Loan and so on), that can only be imported from foreign commodity and capital markets.

8.17 Yusufu D. Pam asserted that this position represents a flagrant violation of the principle of economy or optimization which dictates that when choosing between two production methods having different inputs combination the method to be chosen should be that which either minimises cost of production or maximises social benefits derived. Contrary to this view, one can argue that the Revolution, if successful, will be able to create jobs for other classes of workers, distributors of farming outputs than the tillers and mowers of the farms.

8.18 The Green Revolution claims the will to restore agriculture to its pedestal position as a major earner of foreign exchange, source of employment and contributor to GDP and GNP. The Green Revolution Programme is likely to aggravate Nigeria's dependence on Western economies. The import bill of agricultural inputs has been skyrocketing alongside the food import bill in spite of official assurances that the successes of the revolution will counter-balance the food crisis. The contribution to GNP is likely to be negative, given the large extent of foreign involvement in it necessarily entails a mass repatriation of factor incomes.

8.19 The Green Revolution is aimed at ensuring abundant supply of raw materials for Nigeria's agro-allied industries. This contention runs counter to the present policy emphasis on our local consumption needs not having been adequately met.

8.20 Finally, the Green Revolution hopes to achieve fair and reasonable levels and distribution of incomes among food producers as well as stabilize their nutritional standards. Contrary to such official aspirations, the

Green Revolution through its focus on selected farmers who provide a channel for the dissemination of technology on the trickle down philosophy actually promotes income inequality among Nigerians and on the global scale, widens the gap between the developed and the undeveloped countries.

8.21 Even ex-President Robert McNamara of the World Bank (the Chief Sponsor of Green Revolution) confessed to a correspondent of the Guardian newspaper that "the Bank's hope that its strategy of development will lead to prosperity, seeping down to the poorer strata, has failed, the rich have grown richer, the poor poorer in a classic scenario of bank-aided development". Green Revolution has already failed in countries like India, Brazil, Pakistan, Turkey and so on, where it had earlier been tried. Series of works have already been compiled on this failure; among them is "Agribusiness in the Americas", a detailed and scholarly work by Roger Burbach and Patricia Flynn, who having viewed the 'Green Revolution Myth' with respect to the Latin American case, concluded that food shortages are relative and caused by the market forces of capitalism which initiate and accelerate maldistribution in the world economy by organizing "the world like an executive restaurant those who produce the food are not allowed to enter" (Nigerian Standard, November 6th, 1981). Contrary to Roger Burbach et al.'s view, food shortage has been reported both in the East and West in the communistic as well as capitalistic nations. The point to note here is when demand is greater than supply there is bound to be scarcity. This scarcity of food is more persistent in poorer regions than in richer ones, much more felt by a poor person than a rich one.

8.22 With the Green Revolution it looks as though the last hope to restore food supply to normal condition is about to be achieved. In view of the above criticisms and persistent shortage of food as manifested by high cost of food materials, it becomes necessary to re-examine the process of achieving the goals. Three main questions remain to be answered:

- (a) What should be done by the surplus manpower in the urban areas?
- (b) Are the old implements - hoes and knives - capable of raising agricultural productivity in the present circumstances? and
- (c) What is wrong with the administration of these programmes?

8.23 Surplus Manpower: Efforts shall be made to achieve labour intensive increase in agricultural productivity and accompanying stimulus to rural economies which will slow down or discourage rural to urban migration prevalent in many of our large cities today. These have been done at Mali, Mexico, Bangladesh, Colombo and the Philippines. The Farm Settlement Scheme was a good starting point in Nigeria. Facilities like good water supply, electricity and health establishments should be provided in rural areas and alternative means of livelihood than the present mode of farming introduced; the hope for a reduction in the influx of people to the cities will become real.

8.24 Inadequate implements: With the growing population and social awareness hoes and knives cease to be the proper implements for agriculture. In spite of that they

are functionally inadequate, they help to sap energy. Local farmers should be made to shift from traditional low yielding farm systems to more highly productive science-based types, for example, the use of irrigation system, improved implements and fertilizer.

8.25 Administration: In the meeting of the National Committee on Green Revolution presided over by Dr. Bukar Shaib, it recommended that the benefits of the proposed Government inputs into the Green Revolution Programme should go directly to the peasant farmer. When making such statements which are easily carried by the national press, effort should be made to ask how can the inputs go to the peasants? There should be a link between the National Committee and State's, State Committee and the Local Government Committee, and Local Government Committee with Town Committee. Where these links are not established, it becomes difficult to enforce the National Committee's recommendation. The Institutional alternative to Ministries is Local Committees which should have a sense of commitment.

8.26 Following the analysis it is possible to consider the following policy issues in relation to the F.C.T.: (i) the existing population though small (Chapter 11) are in the main agricultural and will not see government interventions in agriculture completely strange; (ii) the incoming population to the Territory will be those whose literacy level is expected to be higher than the existing population's, therefore, their ability to absorb changes from traditional to modern agricultural practice is expected to be higher; (iii) the present Central Government strategy in agriculture (Green Revolution) is capital intensive and will not combat the problem of unemployment especially where manufacturing sector is

also non-labour intensive; (iv) the farm settlement strategy is both modern (that is, it employs improved technology) and labour intensive, and is a possible strategy to reconcile food shortage and unemployment in urban and rural areas; and (v) the land area of the Federal Capital Territory is large that only a part will be used for urban development. The rest will be turned to agriculture if the shift in agriculture will have any significance to the development of urban centres in the F.C.T.

9 SHIFTS IN LAND POLICIES

This chapter brings the evolutionary processes of the land tenureships in Nigeria to the stage it is at present and in which urban and rural developments are entrenched. The focus is on various Land Acts since the national independence which include, the Land Tenure Law of 1962, the State Lands (Compensation) Decree 1968, the Land Acquisition Act of 1976 and the Land Use Decree of 1978. In spite of the weaknesses of the 1978 Land Act, it has become operational throughout Nigeria.

9.1 Faced with the problems of acquiring land for public use (Section 3.65) the Regional and Central Governments took various measures to ameliorate the cost of acquiring land for public purposes prior to the 1978 Land Use Decree.

9.2 First among these measures was the Land Tenure Law of 1962 which was passed by the Government of Northern Nigeria. The purpose of the law as declared in the preamble was in part to define the "rights and obligations" of the Government and the people in respect to Lands in Northern Nigeria. The law did not mention "Crown Lands", the term which in theory was discontinued probably because all the lands in Northern Nigeria have come under the public ownership or Crown. The provisions of the law applied to all rights of occupancy held or granted on or after the date of the commencement of the law whether or not application was made for any such right of occupancy before that date under the provisions of any written law replaced by this one. But it must be noted in Section 2 that not all lands of Northern Nigeria were included in the provisions of the legislation. The lands not included were:

- (i) Land granted to a non-native or any interest therein granted to a non-native before 25th February 1916, or before 4th February 1927, in the Saruana Province provided that the title so acquired had been proved to the satisfaction of the Governor before 31st December, 1930.
- (ii) All lands on which the Governor has rights or the Niger Company or its successors in title has rights, or over the land specified or referred to in the agreements or instruments of the Niger Lands Transfer Ordinance.

- (iii) Land or interest there in the Saruana Province in which before 1st March, 1916, a native had acquired or was in the process of acquiring a valid title (Sections 4, 48 (a) and (b) and section 49).

9.3 Until 1962, lands inherited by the Government from the Royal Niger Company were also not included but such lands had with effect from 5th December, 1962, been brought within the provisions of the law.

9.4 With the exception of the lands mentioned above, the law defined the rights of the State over all lands of Northern Nigeria, whether occupied or unoccupied with full powers of control, disposition and administration for the use and common benefit of the natives. The 'native' is defined to mean a person whose father was a member of any tribe indigenous to Northern Nigeria. The Government has power to make grants of occupancy rights over unoccupied lands without reference to anybody; 'Right of occupancy' means a title to the use and occupation and includes a customary right of occupancy and a statutory right of occupancy (Sections 5 and 6 (1) b). The Government has the right also to revoke any occupancy rights under certain conditions, such as when any native holding the right of occupancy alienates his right of occupancy or any part thereof to a non-native by sale, assignment, mortgage, transfer of possession, sub-lease, bequest or otherwise without first having obtained the consent of the Government (Sections 27 and 34 (b)).

LIMITATIONS:

9.5 As has been seen above, these constitute the real essence of land ownership in the Northern States before the Land Use Decree of 1978. The ownership of the State was assured (Section 5) since under the Law no individual family or community could own land; all they could have was a right of occupancy and use of it (Sections 10 and 12). The state ownership of land was also reaffirmed when on revocation of the customary right of occupancy, no compensation on land would be paid to the holder (Section 20 (2)). It is the responsibility of the State Government to revoke a right of occupancy in the event of the Federal Government making requisition for land and making the purpose known to the State Government (Section 34 (4)). Not until 1976, the Public Lands Acquisition Act had no application to the lands in Northern Nigeria other than the few non-native lands referred to above. Compensation was made on improvements on land by the holder of right of occupancy, not on land (Sections 17 (2) and 18 (2)).

9.6 The Statute did not abrogate occupancy rights pre-existing under the customary right. On the contrary, such rights were recognised by the Statute (The Land Tenure Law, 1962) as stated in the preamble:

".... that the existing customary rights of natives of Northern Nigeria to use and enjoy the land and the natural fruits thereof in sufficient quantity to them to provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families be assured, protected and preserved".

9.7 However, it should be noted that before 1962, no title to the occupation and use of land could be valid without the consent of the Government (both to native and non-native). One can then infer that no rights of occupancy pre-existing under the customary law were valid unless approved by the Government. Nwabueze (1972, p. 238) observed that rights of occupancy were not subject to rent and moreover the security of the customary rights had been maintained by leaving settlements of land disputes in the hands of the native authorities and their courts. Moreover, the fact that some lands were exempted by the law shows that there was no uniform policy. It is important to conclude, therefore, that great as the Land Tenure Law, 1962, seemed, its ability to regularise the use of land in Northern Nigeria was in doubt. Secondly, in the Federal Government effort to unify the existing regional land laws in the country, especially as they relate to land acquisition, the Public Lands Acquisition (Miscellaneous Provisions) Decree 1976 No. 33 was promulgated. The objective of the Decree was to provide a new basis for the assessment of compensation in respect of lands compulsorily acquired for public purposes of the Federation or of a State.

9.8 The Decree provides in Section 2 (1) that the whole area of the Federation be divided into zones as set out in Appendix 9-A and the maximum compensation payable in respect of land in each zone (excluding compensation payable in respect of the building or structure thereon). In Section 4 it provides as follows: "4 (2) where the land is an undeveloped land compensation payable shall be limited to the actual cost of the land together with interest at the bank rate calculated from the date of

the purchase of land up to the date of the notice to acquire the land, subject to a maximum of 10 years, or the existing use value of the land, whichever is the greater", and "4 - (4) where the land is a developed land compensation - (a) in respect of the land, shall be assessed on the same principles as in subsection (2) above, and (b) in respect of the building or structure on the land, shall be limited to the current replacement cost of the building or structure".

"5 - (1) In cases where any estate or interest in any area which has been mainly developed for residential purposes is acquired compulsorily the Government may at its discretion offer, and the owner of any estate or interest may accept, in lieu of compensation payable in accordance with the provisions of this Decree, resettlement in any place or area other than the area acquired by way of a reasonable alternative accommodation"; and "5 - (3) "Where an owner accepts resettlement his right to compensation shall be deemed to have been fully satisfied and no further compensation shall be payable to such owner".

9.9 In computing compensation payable.... account shall be taken of any estate or interest in respect of the "8 - (a) Land resumed, for an amount equal to the rent paid by the lessee during the year in which the land was resumed; (b) Building, installation or improvement thereon, for the amount of the actual cost of the building, installation or improvement.... ; and (c) Crops on the land apart from any building, installation or improvement thereon, for an amount equal to the value as prescribed and determined by the appropriate officer". Section 10 provides that where there arose any dispute as to the amount of compensation calculated in accordance with the provisions of section 8, such dispute should be referred

to a lands tribunal. Each state was required to institute a lands tribunal or tribunal with the powers of the High Court of a State in its original jurisdiction (Section 14 (1)).

9.10 The State Lands (Compensation) Decree 1968 was repealed, but the Public Lands Acquisition Act and the State Lands Acts should have effect subject to the Decree of 1976.

9.11 The promulgation of the 1976 Public Lands Acquisition (Miscellaneous Provision) Decree in the first instance recognised that Land belonged to individuals or groups of individuals. The major departure of the Public Lands Acquisition (Miscellaneous Provision) Decree 1976 from the Land Tenure Law, 1962, of Northern Nigeria was its inclusion of the value of land as well as the developments thereon as an element of compensation.

9.12 The payment of a full market value of both land and developments on land, however, increased the problem of compensation the government had to bear for acquiring land for public purposes. This problem either obstructed or delayed development; it was its realization that was central in the minds of the government when promulgating the Land Use Decree of 1978.

Land Use Decree No. 6 of 1978:

9.13 With the synthesis of the background of various land tenure systems in Nigeria, we are no doubt in a position confident enough to put the following questions: (a) What is the present system? (b) What law determines it? (c) What are the provisions of the law? and (d) What are the implications of the law?

9.14 Given the above review, we come to the understanding that in the Northern States the predominant land tenure system was the public ownership (see Section 5.67) and the administration of which rested with the Government; in the Southern States there was a mixture of state and communal cum individual ownerships working side by side (see section 5.86). The role of the Government in land matters in the Southern States was limited to Crown or State lands and the use of the Public Lands Acquisition Acts to acquire lands meant for public purposes. These varying systems were nevertheless determined by the pre-existing systems before the advent of the British in Nigeria.

9.15 In defining the law setting up the present land tenure system in Nigeria, Chief Ekemike in his book "Understanding the Nigerian Land Use Decree" (1978, page 5) defined the law with what it was not. He said the Decree is not, a revolutionary law; a socialist law or a first step to socialism; a design to impoverish natural rulers; a design to further impoverish the poor; a final silencing of agitation against neglect by persons and communities in the oil producing areas; a ramification of the northern "domination" or "conquest" of the South or vice versa, nor a reaction of the Government against the Report of the Land Use Panel headed by the renowned Mr. Justice Chike Idigbe. In conclusion, Ekemike said "the decree is simply a land reform law which now makes it possible for a Nigerian to know that in order that he may acquire a legal right to land anywhere in Nigeria..... it would be by either a customary right of occupancy or a statutory right of occupancy".

9.16 The Daily Star, 4th July, 1977, page 3, in its editorial stated: "Maybe by the time we have gone through its (the Panel's) submission, we would have discovered that the greatest single achievement of the panel is that it assembled enough evidence to show that it was best to let things be. The effort would not have been wasted as it will serve to warn future governments of the federation NEVER (SIC) again to attempt a merger of the customs and traditions of our different peoples".

9.17 In view of different opinions about Land Use Decree it seems better to leave it for individual judgements. What the Decree is up to?

9.18 The main objective of the Decree as stated in the preamble to the Decree is: "it is in the public interest that the rights of all Nigerians to the land of Nigeria be asserted and preserved by law", and "that the rights of all Nigerians to use and the natural fruits thereof in sufficient quantity to enable them to provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families should be assured, protected and preserved". The Land Use Decree was incorporated into the Nigerian Constitution by the Supreme Military Council in October 1979, before handing over the governing of this country to the civilian administration. With this entrenchment, it can only be repealed by a two thirds majority of the votes in the State and National Assemblies. This shows a total acquiescence of the objectives and provisions of the Decree. Before re-examining the objectives of this Decree, it is necessary to outline some of its provisions.

9.19 General Provisions:

- (i) As from 29th March, 1978, all the land comprising the territory of each State in

Nigeria is vested in the Governor of that State who shall hold it in trust and administer it for the benefit of all Nigerians (the word Governor is used synonymously with the Military Governor).

- (ii) In the urban areas all lands shall be controlled and managed by the Governor, while local governments have to control and manage all lands in their areas of authority which are not designated as urban areas.
- (iii) In each State there shall be established a Land Use and Allocation Committee with the responsibility (a) of advising the Governor on any issue connected with the management of urban land and with the resettlement of people who are displaced from the land they occupy in the wake of its acquisition for public purposes, and (b) of determining of disputes as to the amount of compensation which shall be paid under the Decree for improvements on land. The membership of the Committee shall consist of not less than two persons who qualify and who had held the public service for five years after qualifications either as estate surveyors, or land officers and a legal practitioner.
- (iv) In the rural areas the Local Government shall be responsible for the management of land. A Land Allocation and Advisory Committee is to be appointed by the Governor to advise the Local Government on the management of rural land.

- (v) The Governor is empowered by the Land Use Decree, by order published in the State Gazette, to designate the parts of the area of the territory of the State an urban area.
- (vi) All pre-existing or future land laws in any State of the country shall remain valid with such modifications as would bring those laws in conformity with the provisions of the Decree.

9.20 Principles of Land Tenure, Powers of the Governor and Local Government and Rights of Occupiers:

- (i) In any area (urban or rural) of the State, the Governor has the power to (a) grant a statutory right of occupancy to land, to any person or organization and for any purpose; (b) fix, demand and occasionally revise rent for such land, and (c) impose penal rent for failure to develop or effect improvements on the land allocated.
- (ii) Apart from failure to develop or effect improvements, which will attract penal rent, any holder of a statutory right of occupancy, who sells, mortgages, transfers, subleases, bequeaths or alienates the right of occupancy, will be subjected to penal rent, unless he obtained the prior consent of the Governor.
- (iii) In granting a statutory right of occupancy, the Governor shall specify its duration, prescribe the terms or conditions under which it is being granted and (should he deem it necessary) waive some of the terms where the

holder of the right will find it very difficult to comply with them.

- (iv) When a statutory right of occupancy is granted in respect of any land, all the existing rights over the land concerned are cancelled except the right to compensation for improvements made prior to the granting of the statutory right.
- (v) In the rural areas, the Local Government has the power to grant a customary right of occupancy to any person or organization for the use of land in the Local Government Area for agricultural, residential and other uses, except that the consent of the Governor must be obtained for a grant of customary right involving agricultural land exceeding 500 hectares, or grazing land exceeding 500 hectares.
- (vi) The Local Government has power to occupy and use, for public benefit, any land, within their areas of authority, provided that such land is not within the area defined as urban. Also, they may not use and occupy any land which is the subject of a statutory right of occupancy; nor may they enter any area compulsorily acquired by the Government of the Federation or the State concerned; nor may they occupy any land that is the subject of any laws relating to minerals or mineral oils.
- (vii) The Local Governments have power to revoke any customary right of occupancy on any land which they wish to enter and occupy for public

benefit. However, both the holder and the occupier, according to their respective interests, of any customary right of occupancy, will be entitled to compensation when their rights are revoked. The Decree provides for compensation for the existing improvements on such land if the revocation is on land used for agriculture, the local government will provide the holder of the customary right of occupancy another land for the same purpose. The local government has exclusive rights to land it so requires against all persons, except the Governor.

- (viii) It shall be illegal for the Governor to grant a statutory right of occupancy, or to consent to its transfer, to any person under the age of 21 years, except to the legal guardian or trustee of such a person. However, the person under age can inherit a statutory right of occupancy, whether or not he has a trustee or guardian, on condition that he shall have the obligations and liabilities related to this right.
- (ix) It is legal for the Governor to issue a certificate of occupancy, as evidence of right of occupancy, (b) when a person is entitled to hold a statutory right of occupancy (as for example, if the land he occupies later falls within an urban area), and (c) when the holder of a customary right applies in the correct manner for a conversion to a statutory right.

- (x) The statutory right of occupancy, granted by the Governor, must be for a definite period of time and may contain terms of a contract between the Governor and the holder, provided that such terms conform with the provisions of the Decree.
- (xi) The Decree on Land Use provides that when any person is granted a statutory right of occupancy, or is in occupation of land, under a customary right of occupancy, and applies for a certificate in the prescribed manner, the Governor will issue such a person with a certificate signed by him or his appointee. This applies also to any person who is entitled to a statutory right of occupancy. Any person given such certificate will have to pay the prescribed fee, if any.
- (xii) Both the land for which a statutory right of occupancy has been granted and any improvements that have been effected on it shall be open to the entry and inspection of either the Governor or his official representative at any reasonable hour during the daytime.
- (xiii) Licence could be granted to any person by the Governor to remove or extract stone, gravel, clay, sand or any other material, which may be needed for building or the manufacture of building materials, as long as such land is not held under a statutory right of occupancy by any person, and that such land has not been given out under the Minerals Act.
- (xiv) Such licence if granted will be for an approved period and the area will not exceed 400 hectares. The holder of such a license has

no right to transfer it without the approval of the Governor and any purported transfer without the Governor's approval will not be valid. The Governor may cancel any such licence if the holder fails to comply with any of the conditions of the licence.

(xv) The Decree compels the holder of a statutory right of occupancy to maintain, to the satisfaction of the Governor or his approved agent, the defined boundaries or other boundaries of the land he is holding. If he fails to do so, the Governor or his approved agent will write him to define his boundaries within a specified time, failing which he will be made to pay the expenses incurred by the Governor or his authorised agent, for defining such boundaries.

(xvi) The holder of a statutory right of occupancy has the sole right to and absolute possession of all the improvements on the land and may, subject to the prior approval of the Governor, transfer, assign or mortgage any improvements on the land for which he holds a certificate of occupancy.

9.21 Rents:

(i) The Decree provides that in fixing a rent for the first time or in revising it later, the Governor shall take into account the current rent charged in the area in which the land is located. But such rent should not be influenced by the value acquired by the land as a result of a large amount of money spent on its development by the previous occupier.

- (ii) Where in the public interest it is necessary the Governor may grant a statutory right of occupancy free of rent or at a reduced rent, although the Governor later may decide to charge rent for the land.
- (iii) The acceptance of rent by the Governor or his representative in connection with any piece of land does not restore the right of occupancy on land, if the conditions stated in the certificate of occupancy have been violated by the occupier.
- (iv) When a certificate of occupancy issued for the purpose of developing a land to which it refers and the holder fails to effect the development, it is lawful for the Governor to fix a penal rent with effect from the time of such breach of the agreement or any time after the breach, such a penal rent shall be payable to twelve months, starting from the date the breach is committed. The Governor may also revise the penal rent to be paid at the end of the twelve months and at the end of every subsequent twelve months if the breach of agreement still continues. The penal rent or any revision of it shall be paid by the occupier in addition to the normal rent on the land contained in the certificate of occupancy provided that (a) the first penal rent to be fixed shall not be greater than the original rent, and (b) any revised penal rent shall not be more than double the size of the penal rent charged for the twelve months, preceding the date of the revision.

- (v) The holder of a certificate of occupancy shall be informed in writing when the Governor fixed or revises a penal rent, and the amount of rent due and about the period covered by the penal rent. However, payment of penal rent or revised penal rent, cannot stop the Governor from revoking the right of occupancy, if he does not want to continue to fix subsequent penal rents. But it is not lawful for the Governor to revoke the statutory right of occupancy within the period for which a penal rent has been paid.
- (vi) Where the holder of a statutory right of occupancy transfers his interest or any part of it to another person without the consent of the Governor, the Governor may, in place of revoking the right of occupancy, demand from the holder an additional (penal) rent for each day of the land, or parts of the land and any buildings or other structures erected on the land are occupied or sublet to any person other than the holder of the certificate of occupancy. The holder shall pay such additional penal rent on demand by the Governor. But such payment, the Decree states, shall not stop the Governor from using the powers given to him by the Decree.

9.22 Alienation and Surrender of Rights of Occupancy:

- (i) It is not lawful to transfer a customary right of occupancy or part of it to another person by assignment, mortgage or sublease except with approval of the Governor.

- (ii) The Decree prohibits the transfer or sale of a statutory right of occupancy granted by the Governor by the holder to another person without the prior consent and approval of the Governor. In giving his consent to an assignment, mortgage or sublease, the Governor may require the holder of the statutory right of occupancy to submit an agreement in respect of such assignment or mortgage to him for endorsement.
- (iii) When the holder of a customary right of occupancy dies, the customary law prevailing in the place where the land situates applies for the purpose of transfer of the right, as long as no other law (customary or non-customary) is applicable. In the case of a statutory right of occupancy, the passing of such right shall be determined by the customary law of the deceased occupier at the time of his death.
- (iv) On the death of the holder of the right of occupancy, where the transfer of the right of occupancy is based on non-customary law, a deed or will or any other document shall be used to establish any right over land unless the deed or will makes for the simple transfer of the whole of the holder's right of occupation over the entire land.
- (v) Any other transfer not provided for in the Decree shall be null and void; and
- (vi) A right of occupancy may be surrendered to the Governor who may accept it on the basis of any conditions he himself may specify.

9.23 Revocation of Rights of Occupancy and Compensation:

- (i) The Governor is empowered to revoke the right of occupancy in the overall interest of the public.
- (ii) Revocation of a statutory right of occupancy shall be made (a) if the holder sells, leases, or transfers or hands over his right of occupancy to any other person, (b) if the Federal, State or Local Government wants to make use of the land in the interest of the public, (c) if the land is to be used for mining or the laying of oil pipelines.
- (iii) Revocation of a customary right of occupancy shall be made (a) if the State or Local Government needs the land for public purposes, (b) when the land is required for mining or the laying of oil pipelines, or (c) if the land is needed for the extraction of building materials.
- (iv) In addition the Governor can revoke a statutory right of occupancy on the following grounds (a) if the owner fails to pay either the rent or fees stipulated to be paid by the Governor, (b) breaks any of the terms of agreement under which the land was given to him, (c) if the owner refuses to accept any portion of land given to him.
- (v) A right of occupancy must be revoked in a formal manner, and by an official duly authorised by the Government to do same. The holder of the right of occupancy must be

duly notified of the cancellation, and his rights shall cease either immediately he receives such notice or with effect from any date that may be specified in the notice.

- (vi) Where a piece of land is to be used in the public interest, compensation will be paid to both the people who have the right of occupancy and those who are in actual possession of the land if these are different. In the case of land taken over for mining purposes or laying of oil pipelines, compensation will be paid according to the provisions of the Mining Acts.
- (vii) If it is the community that is entitled to compensation, the Governor may direct that the payment be made (a) to the community, (b) to the chief or leader of the community who will dispose of the money according to the customary laws of the community, or (c) into a community fund set up for the interest of the entire community.
- (viii) Compensation for land taken in overall public interest is classified as follows (a) for land; the amount will be equal to the rent, if any, paid by the occupier during the year in which the right of occupancy is revoked, (b) for buildings, mechanical installations and other associated improvements; the amount will be the replacement cost of these establishments, as assessed by the appropriate official, and will take into account the rate of depreciation as well as entitlements due to the holder for delays in paying him the compensation and for

any improvements on the land in the nature of reclamation works; and (c) for crops, the amount will be equal to their value as determined and prescribed by the appropriate official.

- (ix) Where the right of occupancy for a piece of land has been revoked but that particular piece of land is part of a larger area of land, compensation will be calculated for only the section whose certificate of occupancy has been revoked.
- (x) Any dispute over the amount of compensation to be paid shall be referred to the Land Use and Allocation Committee.
- (xi) The Land Use Decree of 1978 has cancelled the provisions of the Public Lands Acquisition (Miscellaneous Provisions) Decree of 1976 except, however, in cases of land compulsorily acquired before 29th March, 1978.
- (xii) The revocation of the right of occupancy to the land allocated by the Governor does not cancel any debt owed to the government by the holder of the statutory right of occupancy.
- (xiii) If the right of occupancy is revoked over a land, the Governor or the Local Government, as the case may be, may use its discretion to resettle the affected person in an alternative accommodation instead of paying him compensation. Where the value of an alternative accommodation is higher than any monetary compensation which should have been paid to the displaced person, the difference can be treated as a loan to be repaid to the government by the person concerned in a prescribed manner.

- (xiv) Preference to resettlement cancels the person's right for further compensation.

Urban delimitation:

9.24 The Land Use Decree, 1978, clearly provided for a formal designation of certain parts of the State territory as urban areas to appear in the State Orders or Gazette notice. Section 3 of the Décreé reads: "Subject to such general conditions as may be specified in that behalf by the National Council of States, the Military Governor may for the purposes of this Decree by order published in the State Gazette designate the parts of the area of the territory of the State constituting land in an urban area".

9.25 The designation of certain areas as urban land is a very important component of the implementation of the Decree. In Imo State by the order published in 1978 (I.S.L.N. No. 2 of 1979) six areas were designated as urban areas, Aba, Afikpo, Oguta, Okigwe, Orlu, Owerri and Umuahia. In the Niger State urban areas are classified into A and B Zones. Those in Zone A include Minna, Bida, Kontagora, and Suleja and Zone B includes Agaie, Lapai, Kutigi, Kagara and Rijau. Differences among the States relate to number of urban areas designated and in statuses of various urban areas as recognised by the State Government.

9.26 Operating under the same order some other settlements are being declared planning areas. Planning areas are defined as those areas in the Local Government Areas where planning control is meant to be enforced in order to guide development in the area. Imo State provides the example of planning areas. However, the Decree

failed to specify the criteria for designating an area an urban centre or a planning area, whichever was implied. Since this was not done, it is left for the individual operators of the provision of the Decree to apply whatever bases for their choice.

9.27 One first step in the delimitation exercise should be the study of the spatial organization of the existing urban centres or key settlements and from such picture areas that are enjoying and those that are suffering will emerge. A sociologist would look for those behaviour attributes other than spatial, such as superficiality, anonymity and impersonal relationship. An institutionalist would look for existing institutional arrangements (see Section 9.19 (iii) (iv) which will encourage emergence of urbanism. Geographers on the other hand would look for spatial contents of urbanization and the locational setting of occupancy than in modes of living behaviour per se. See for example Mabogunje, 1968, Anderson, 1959, and Northan, 1975.

9.28 John Ayton rightly observed that settlement planning policies may be seen as the process of adjustment of the historic settlement pattern in response to technological, economic and social change. (JRTPI Vol. 66, No. 4 1980, page 98). For the purpose of designating existing settlements as urban centres or planning areas selective policies will be adopted because of lack of resources to go round. Selective settlement policies may be defined in relation to the size of population, the provision of employment, housing and services and facilities. All these may be taken into consideration when formulating the policies and considering these elements separately.

9.29 Population: The use of standard population sizes to delimit urban areas has run into difficulty that the United Nations thinks it is not worth the trouble attempting to distinguish urban from rural areas on the basis of population size and recommends rather that settlements should be grouped as follows: population of 500,000 or more; 100,000 to 500,000; 25,000 to 100,000; 10,000 to 25,000; 5,000 to 10,000; 2,000 to 5,000; 1,000 to 2,000; 500 to 1000; under 500 and non-clustered population. It is worthless to set up population thresholds even in Nigeria. However, settlements with few hundreds cannot support even primary school, health and commercial services which look for support population measured in thousands. Even though a demand for an Urban Status or a planning area is highly politicised, selective settlement policies should be adopted to minimise dissipation of scarce resources, and to enable the centres to be economically viable.

9.30 Employment: The existence of employment opportunities is a fundamental factor underlying social and economic change in rural areas. It is difficult to imagine any form of employment capable enough to provide jobs on a scale to which agriculture supported rural communities in the past. Direct action by the Government to provide local jobs such as establishment of farm settlements cannot be spread around a large number of settlements because of physical as well as financial constraints; similarly, designation of settlements as Urban or planning areas based on available employment opportunities need to be selective. This does not mean, however, that choice of new Urban centres should be limited to areas of great agricultural potential. Other elements need to be considered too.

9.31 Services: The existence of services - schools, colleges, hospitals, commercial services and transportation facilities encourage growth in areas where they are available. However, non-existence of public sector services is likely to be attributed to the neglect of such an area by the Government. A droit, the provision of services on the other hand is related to population. Planning decision to promote an area to urban status should acknowledge these difficulties and it seems sensible to identify foci for "fixed point" services, although political intervention sometimes overrides "planning" in their locations.

9.32 Housing: The level of clustering of housing on any significant scale in rural areas is usually influenced by the presence of 'supporting' facilities such as utility services and roads. Where these supporting facilities are not available, it imposes personal costs on individual households, or costs on the provision of public services. A few buildings at the market square or few utility services may not induce growth.

9.33 Albeit, it seems reasonable when selecting settlements or areas for designation of urban centres to consider any or all the above four elements in order to avoid dissipation of scarce resources as well as wasting valuable agricultural lands for unviable urban development. Declaration of urban areas or planning areas without being based on solid criteria has been seen as unsystematic because many public officers have used their influences to cause their villages which do not satisfy any of the requirements to be declared planning areas. This unselective declaration of planning areas does not only entail on public finance and resources, but subjects planning to unpopular influences.

9.34 The extent the Land Use Decree fulfils its purpose: The first problem as noticed above was the duality of English and customary law in Northern and Southern Nigeria respectively (see Sections 9.2 and 9.11). Even within the same State the duality of systems existed between the urban areas and the rural areas. The existence within the same country or the same State of two systems of law of differing origin, nature and temperament is undesirable in itself. It inevitably creates a certain amount of complexity in the legal and administrative systems. The duality of the two systems even on the same piece of land introduced problems regarding their co-existence. The variation in the customs of the different communities is also a positive demerit, since it serves to complicate the problem of ascertainment and to minimise the value of systematic application by the modern courts. Land holding in rural areas was governed by customary laws just as it was in the pre-colonial days. The land law in those rural areas presented little problem.

9.35 The Land Use Decree by its promulgation unified these various systems into one. Theoretically it is easy now to operate the law anywhere in the country without complication. But practically it has not been easy as evidenced by a lot of land cases and clashes that still go on in the country. Probably the problem of the present land law is its failure to reflect the existing social practices, especially in the Southern and Middle Belt States of the country.

9.36 The second achievement was on rent. Under the customary law rents were determined by the type of tenancy. The various types of tenancies included kola

tenancy, gratuitous tenancies, service tenancies, cash tenancies, share tenancies and tenancies in perpetuity. In outline, kola tenancy evolved when the landlord wanted a fixed tribute from the grantee. That might involve, for example, fifty kola nuts to be given to the grantor annually by the grantee as an acknowledgement of the grantor's title. The tribute, of course, might include other farm products such as yams, tobacco, millet and ears of corn. The gratuitous tenancy was usually for a season or a very short term. The grantee pays no rent or consideration of any type either in the form of personal service or cash. The service tenancy was granted by the grantor on the understanding that the grantee must render labour service either once a week or fortnightly in consideration of the grant made to him. Tenancies of this type abounded in Yorubaland and Igboland. The cash tenancy was one of the changes in customary law relating to tenancies brought about as a result of modern economic conditions in introduction of cash payment in many parts of Nigeria in consideration for granting land. The share tenancy was usually in respect of farmland. At the time of grant, the grantor stipulates that the grantee would get a share of the produce or crop grown on the land granted at the end of harvest season. Finally, was the tenancy in perpetuity. Theoretically tenancy in perpetuity lasts during the lifetime of the parties, but in actual fact the tenant usually passes his interest to his successors or heirs, subject to, of course, the same conditions as the original grant.

9.37 These different tenure related rents were complex because they varied from one community to another, from one generation to another and one grantor to another.

In the practice of ordinary law they were bound to present complex situations especially to law administrators and practitioners who are non-natives of the area. The Land Use Decree (Section 16) has provided not only the basis of determining rents but whose responsibility it is to determine them. This unified system reduces the problems traditionally associated with transfer of land from one person to another.

Limitations of the Decree:

9.38 It is important to note that while many critics have condemned one aspect of the Decree or another, only a few have come out with outright condemnation of the Decree. They are of the opinion that the Land Use Decree may not accomplish anything. Since 1978 when the Decree was promulgated there are still shady transferences of land from one person to another without first obtaining the approval of the Governor. Wealthy and powerful people are still acquiring more lands than the Decree allowed. Instead of solving problems on equal right to land, it has created more. For example, every Nigerian at least above 21 years of age was entitled to a plot of land of 5000 square metres in an Urban area. What is practised by the Governments is to allocate land to those who can afford to develop it. On 4th February, 1982, the Benue State Government revoked the right of occupancy of 500 plots of land because their owners failed to develop them. Who are able to develop the lands? They are the old landlords in the town or recently wealthy land speculators who can bribe their way to get the land. The social justice is relegated to the background. H.O. Davis strongly condemned the Decree when he said. "The Land Use Decree is an answer to no ascertainable problem. It looks simply like an impetuous brainwave.

The implementation is sure to bring in its trail a succession of new problems for a country already overladen with endless problems of growing pains. One would wish to appeal to the Government to suspend this Decree and accommodate free and open discussion and debate throughout the country. Nigeria is already too great a nation in the world of today to allow ill-conceived and half-baked legislation to stultify its stature" (1978, page 7).

9.39 There is a question whether what we have now as defined by the provisions is really a land use decree. Why is the use of land subsumed under allocation or distribution of land rather being directly, explicitly and elaborately addressed. If the Federal Government had intended that the emphasis be on land allocation or tenureship, then the title of the decree is a misnomer and could have been rather Land Tenure Decree or Land Allocation Decree. Since the report of the Panel on Land Use was not made public, it is difficult to apportion the blame to the members of the committee or to the zealous officials who saw in the Land Use Decree an opportunity of self aggrandisement.

9.40 Lately we have run into a controversy of whether the Land Use Decree is alive or dead. In a suit instituted against the Oyo State Commissioner for Lands and Housing, Akinyele North Local Government and the Attorney General of Oyo State by J.M. Aina and Company, the Akinyele North Local Government had allegedly destroyed the Plaintiff's wall fence, while the Oyo State Government expressed an intention to acquire his land (Daily Sketch, May 28, 1982).

9.41 In his Judgement, the Oyo State Chief Judge, Justice Emmanuel O. Fakayode stated thus:

Firstly, the Decree has not been modified "to bring it into conformity with the 1979 Constitution". Hence he concluded that since the Decree refers to Military Governors, it cannot be operated by Civilian State Governors. It is significant to note that Section 50 of the Land Use Decree defines "Military Governor" as meaning the Military Governor of the State concerned. Fakayode observed that the Land Use Decree, therefore, must be regarded as a series of commands issued by the then Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to his Military Governors. The Land Use Decree is, therefore, patently not meant to be administered by our present State Governors who have been democratically elected into office. Even though there is a need to modify it, yet he contended in the second place that this cannot be done because it is part of the Constitution, and as such, it can only be amended by complying with the provisions of Section 9 (2) of the Constitution. Thirdly, he held firmly that the Decree is not an existing law. "If it were an existing law", he argued, "the words 'Military Governor' would to-day have to be modified to read 'The Governor of a State' or 'State Governor' ".

9.42 On the contrary, the former Chief Justice of the Federation, Mr. Justice Darnley Alexander (New Nigerian July 8, 1978) said that the controversial Land Use Act, 1978, is alive. In his address to a three-day workshop on the "Land Use Act" (5th - 7th May, 1982) he pointed out that although there had been conflicting judgements delivered by the High Court as regards the existence or non-existence of the Act, the opinion of the Supreme Court should be final.

He said:

"It is quite obvious from the start that the change from a military administration to a civilian one is so fundamental that legislation drafted and enacted within the context of a chain of commands might well need to be reviewed in the light of prevailing circumstances and current requirements".

This is an acceptable option.

9.43 Furthermore, the Lagos State Commissioner for Economic Planning and Land Matters, Alhaji G.O. Oshieye, said his government saw the Act "as one of the best legacies of the military era, because it seeks to correct social injustice".

9.44 The Daily Sketch (May 27, 1982) rightly pointed out in respect to Section 274 which the respected Chief Judge appealed to buttress his ruling that the Decree is not an existing law cannot help him. It refutes his contention. Sub-section 6 of the section states quite categorically that the Decree would continue to have effect as a Federal enactment; that is as an Act of the National Assembly. "Without prejudice to Sub-section (5) of this section the enactments mentioned in the said Sub-section shall hereafter continue to have effect as Federal enactments and as if they related to matters included in the exclusive legislative list set out in Part 1 of the Second Schedule to this constitution".

The enactments in Sub-section (5) are:

- (a) the National Youth Service Corps Decree 1973;
- (b) the Public Complaints Decree 1975;
- (c) the Nigerian Security Organization Decree 1976;
- (d) the Land Use Decree 1978.

Sub-section 5 states further:

"and the provisions of these enactments shall continue to apply and have full effect in accordance with their tenor and to the like extent as any other provisions forming part of this constitution and shall not be altered or repealed except in accordance with the provisions of Section (2) of this Constitution".

9.45 It is important to note that the succeeding civilian governments have been carrying out this injunction of applying these Decrees as Acts of the National Assembly. To say, therefore, that any of them is not an existing law is to violate Section 274 of the Constitution.

9.46 We saw an irreconcilable contradiction in the Chief Judge's argument by saying in one breath that the Decree is not an existing law and arguing in the same breath that it is part of the Constitution, it can only be repealed in accordance with the provisions of Section 9 (2). Now that the Chief Judge, Mr. Justice E. Fakayode, has declared it dead, he has treated it as an existing law in the first place. The question now is whether his Court has the jurisdiction to invalidate the law.

9.47 On the contrary, the Chief Judge erred by violating Section 274 which states that only provisions of Section 9 (2) can be employed to repeal it.

9.48 We are seriously concerned when statements as this come from Judges of the High Court. If not, in a society where freedom of speech and expression is entrenched into the Constitution, it becomes unreasonable to castigate one who exercises this freedom.

9.49 Critique of the Land Use Decree 1978:

To recapitulate the objectives of the Land Use Decree Number 6,1978, include:

- (a) "it is in the public interest that the rights of all Nigerians to the land of Nigeria be asserted and preserved by law";
- (b) "that the rights of all Nigerians to use and enjoy land in Nigeria and the natural fruits thereof in sufficient quantity to enable them to provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families should be assured, protected and preserved".

Putting it differently, the Decree asserts the legal right of every Nigerian to land and that right be assured, protected and preserved. How far do the provisions of the Decree bring about the realization of these objectives? Considering the operating word "rights", first, whose "rights" need to be asserted and preserved - the individual land owner's or the public rights?

9.50 Individual Nigerian: The role of the land law may be readily appreciated if viewed from the point of view of the requirements of the ordinary land owner. The basic need of the ordinary land owner is security for his rights, and the protection of his ownership and his enjoyment of the land. The Land Use Decree, 1978, has tried to provide these conditions through the grant of the Certificate of Occupancy (see Section 5 - 1 (a) and Section 6 - 1 (a) of the Land Use Decree). But the value of land does not lie solely in the physical use of the land the owner can make of it. It lies more in its quality as a marketable commodity. Nwabueze (1972,

page 601) rightly observed that land is desired more as an investment which has a ready and imperishable exchange value which may be readily realised whenever the owner requires liquid cash to meet the needs of his business or family. This exchange value may be realised by the sale, mortgage or letting of the land. Contrary to this expectation, the Land Use Decree (Sections 28 - 2 (a) and - 3 (d)) made it illegal to do any of these things (sale, mortgage and letting) without the consent or approval of the Governor. For the land owner to wait until the Governor's approval is secured involves time element, the personal pride of the applicant and his patience may desert him during the prelude he had to wait, and the need for which the sale of land would have resolved starts to weigh on him. This aspect of the Land Use Decree alienates the traditional owner of the land and does not provide him with the assurance for which the Land Use Decree was promulgated.

9.51 Public rights: In a complex society such as ours, comprising persons with conflicting needs, the protection required by the individual land owner cannot be given in absolute terms; it needs to be balanced against the interests of the society as a whole. Speaking on public interest, Penn (1961, pp. 102-103) draws a sharp distinction between public interest and public authority or government. "Governmental authorities often come to believe that their actions are the only ones invested with public interest. This is true everywhere..... Fortunately there are always groups or agencies to challenge such arrogance often even within the government itself. In those countries with one-man control of government or with a dictatorship of a few,

and with restrictions on freedom of speech and press, it is much more serious to consider government authority and public interest one and the same. Public interest, it seems to me, should be the view of the public - of the people. Actions of individuals are often in the public interest, sometimes even when they conflict with governmental policies..... What does it take to define and determine what is in the public interest? Three things: I think people must have an opportunity to express their desires, the right to get together in groups and arrive at decision, and some bargaining power to put the group decisions into effect". Where Penn's three point considerations are acceptable as I think they should the public interest content of any act of revocation of the right of occupancy or a purely compulsory land acquisition by the Government can be determined when individual influences are isolated from issues involving public interest. For example, the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) led government of Imo State in 1981 revoked the right of occupancy granted to one Dr. Basil Ukaegbu for land in which the latter was building a Technical University at Imerienwe in Owerri Local Government Area, on the pretext that Ukaegbu had no approval to establish a university. Viewing it from known facts, Dr. B. Ukaegbu alleged that the government's action was a reprisal because in 1979 he contested the gubernatorial seat against Mr. S.O. Mbakwe, who is both the leader of the NPP and the Governor of Imo State. When the case was tried in court, it was found out that Dr. B. Ukaegbu's action conflicted with the government policy for establishing universities, but who will deny him of the fact that his action of establishing a university had a public interest content? Another example was when the Federal Government's land acquisition at Igbini was challenged by the Lagos State Unity Party

of Nigeria (UPN) controlled government. The government statement issued from the Publicity Department of the Governor's office in Ikeja said that the State Government "completely rejects the purported acquisition". (New Nigeria, 27th July, 1981). In this case the Federal Government was acquiring land in order to provide housing for the people of the State, but the State Government was reserving it for its own purpose perhaps. In this there should be a case of isolating public interest from public authority.

9.52 However, the requirements of land by the Federal, State or Local Government merely for public purposes as in Section 28 of the Decree, does not seem to be a sufficient explanation, definition or indication of what the Federal Government that promulgated the Decree wants Nigerians to believe as its conception of what is in the public interest. In Section 9.20 (xiii) of this Chapter, it is difficult to accept that "the requirement of the land for the extraction of building materials" should be construed as a matter of overriding public interest". The Decree seems to fall short of expectation for failing to provide equally for the reclamation of such land so destroyed by extracting building materials to the public or individual use.

9.53 The case of the Lagos State Government and the Federal Government over the Igbini land as reported in the New Nigeria, seems to show further that the Decree did not go far enough at least in trying to solve the problems for which the Decree was meant. Among these problems, as stated by the former Head of State, General Obasanjo, was "Lack of immediate availability of land for use when required by all concerned created major obstacles to economic development and national progress".

The only benefactors of the decree are the State and Local Governments on whom the lands are entrusted, but the condition remains almost the same for the Federal Government and the local communities whose efforts in self help projects have contributed greatly to the development of rural areas.

9.54 The impression that the traditional landowner should be left free to use his land as he likes should give way to a new attitude more dynamic and more socially orientated, namely that the Land Use Decree should have assumed a greater regulatory control over the use of land (as its title connotes) in order to ensure better sanitation and health conditions and safety, the proper maintenance of proper architectural standards and beauty, improved husbandry and greater productivity for the whole community. The need for ensuring a proper and adequate economic use of land is of especial importance in agricultural economies and its impact is showing itself in various agricultural resettlement schemes (Section 8.9). In fact, various conferences and discussions on the Land Use Decree had the view that the land law should have concerned itself more with this aspect of its function than with the rules of law defining the rights of the owner.

9.55 Provisions: The Land Use Decree provides for the creation of two related institutional bodies to operate at two levels of the implementation part of the Decree, the State and the Local Government Area. These were the Land Use and Allocation Committee (LUAC) and the Land Allocation and Advisory Committee (LAAC) respectively. This aspect of the provision makes the Land Use Decree, 1978, unique from all the previous Land Laws in the country. It is unique because the

Federal Government did not want to leave the implementation of the Decree with the existing ministries.

Furthermore, the Federal Government authorised personal state-wide tours of the Military Governors to explain the provisions of the Decree in order to popularise it.

Land Use and Allocation Committee:

9.56 In appointing members of this committee, the Governors drew as if by consensus from outside the civil service - except as regards the Chief Land Officer of the State or his closest equivalent who was appointed as member by virtue of his office.

9.57 In his book "Nigerian Land Policy" (1980, pp. 25-26) Igbozuruike gave a break-down of the membership of the Land Use and Allocation Committee in Imo State appointed on 8 May, 1978 -

Businessmen/Community Leaders.....	2
Clergyman.....	1
Chief Land Officer (of the State).....	1
Estate Surveyor and Valuer.....	1
Lawyer	1
Retired Civil Servant	1
University Lecturers (geography, language) ...	2

9.58 The membership of Imo State LUAC compares with that of Anambra State. There were ten in number and comprised the following categories of persons:

Architect	1
Assistant Surveyor General (of the State)	1
Chief Land Officer (of the State)	1
Estate Surveyor	1
Lawyer	1

Lecturer (geology)	1
Traditional Rulers (Chiefs)	2
Retired Civil Servants	2

9.59 By way of contrast, Oyo State had the highest number of persons in the membership of its LUAC. The occupational distribution of the membership also varied from those of Imo and Anambra States. The Oyo State LUAC membership was made up of the following:

Business Group Leaders	3
Estate Surveyor	1
Journalist	1
Lawyer	1
Lecturers (agricultural economics; town planning, estate management).....	2
Local Government Council Chairmen	4
Town Planner	1
Traditional Rulers	4
Women's Representative	1

9.60 The structures of membership varied from one State to another and may vary from one tenure of office to another. The duties of the LUACs are specified by the Decree (Section 2 (2)). From the constituents of the memberships one will take for granted that role expectations from the LUAC are as high as its duties are great. No doubt one of the Governors stated in the swearing-in ceremony. "There is little doubt that the work of the Committee is not an enviable one, more so as it is being called upon to handle issues that have far-reaching implications in the lives of the entire populace of the State the task before you is one that will try not only your abilities and ingenuity but also your patience and the humanity in you time is of the

essence in the discharge of your duties there is the urgent need on your part to ensure complete understanding and uniform application of the provisions of the Decree. This in itself will necessitate useful and meaningful consultations and dialogues with your counterparts in other States of the Federation I must warn, if only to restate the obvious, that you must remember that the eyes of the entire civilized world are on you. You must not let us down".
(Lawal, 1978).

9.61 There may be a few extra expectations peculiar to a State or so, but in all the above expectations may be reasonably generalised to all the twenty LUAC's in the country, the twentieth one being for the Federal Capital Territory whose membership is drawn from all the States of the Federation. In addition to the above expectations in Anambra State, the Governor had stated during the swearing-in ceremony that the State's LUAC members must declare their landed properties on assumption of office and should not allocate any land to themselves or to their families or relations without his express consent. From the above expectations, it can be argued that too much was expected from the LUACs. For instance, in Imo State plot allocations at New Owerri in 1981 a Committee of three was appointed by the Governor to short-list the applicants. The amended list was later sent to the Governor who made the final selection before passing the list to the State LUAC to inform the benefactors. The question is whether the appointment of the three member committee was necessary if the LUAC's role was that of allocation? A second aspect of ambiguity in defining the role of the LUAC is that application forms for land allocation are to be collected directly from the Ministry of Lands or its Zonal Offices as the case may be, and

completed forms are to be returned through the same channel. Where does the role of LUAC begin and end, one may ask? The only function of the State LUAC which smacks of executive power is that which requires it to determine disputes on compensation for unexhausted improvements on lands affected by revocation. Even then this is a difficult assignment which is outside the reach of lay land administrators. Decisions of lay land administrators will suffer immensely at the Court which is presided over by a High Court Judge assisted by Estate Surveyors or Land Officers. Since the Committee's role is advisory, it is meaningless to expect much innovation from its creation for its advice will be drowned by the political stream of the time. From evidences at our disposal, the LUAC does not allocate land.

The Land Allocation Advisory Committees:

9.62 Just as the LUAC is established to advise the Governor on urban land and deal with other specified issues on State level, so also the LAAC in each Local Government Area of the State. The membership of this Committee shall be approved by the Governor, after consultation with the local government. The size of the membership has been highly variable, not only between States but among different Local Government Areas in the same State. Igbozurike (1980, p. 28) observed that of the eight Local Government Areas in Rivers State, four (Degema, Sagbama, Ikwere/Etche and Brass) had four LAAC members each, one LGA (Yenagoa) had six members, while each of the remaining three (Bori, Bonny and Ahoada) had eight members. At the other extreme, no LGA in Anambra or Imo State had fewer than seven members with the majority having between eight and ten. Other States in the country generally fall between these extremes.

9.63 However, the size of each LAAC is not so important as its role performance. One needs to understand that it is in LGAs that the relationship between the farmer and his land is more of a spiritual than of a socio-economic one. The ordinary man sees the land as something that belongs to both his past, present and future generations, and alienation of his right of land affects not only him but his past and future generations. For the rural landowner, land serves as a sanctuary for his dead ancestors and in some other areas, in Igboland for instance, the land is honoured as a god - the god of earth. Viewing this relationship that exists between the farmer and his land, Igbozurike (1978, page 1) wrote "Of all his material and, often enough, not-so-material assets, land ranks second only to the possession of children". It is not astonishing therefore to see how difficult it will be to introduce external control on the use of land in rural areas. The second problem is the absence of the resident land officers or town planners in Local Government Areas to advise the members of the LAAC on the requirements of the Land Use Decree. In most cases the membership of the LAAC is drawn from local Councillors and retired civil servants who may not bother themselves reading the Land Use Decree or other land laws. Viewed differently, the appointment to such Committees sometimes offers the members the avenue for corrupt practices such as using their positions to influence officers that are involved in processing allocations for Certificates of Occupancy.

9.64 The achievement of the Land Use Decree, especially in rural areas, is doubtful. Information at our disposal shows that lands are still transferred from one person to another or being developed without prior approval from the Governor. Statistics are hard to obtain in areas like this because of their sensitive nature. In view of the

continued resistance to this Decree, it is doubtful whether enough information about the requirements of the Decree has been made available to the rural people or is it a manifestation of the ordinary man's resistance to a law he regards alien to his culture and tradition. No doubt, in order to beat the law, massive developments are carried on in rural areas where law enforcement is minimal without a customary right of occupancy.

9.65 These institutions (the LUAC and LAAC) can only work efficiently when a maximum opportunity is afforded to them. These may include provision of technical staff such as surveyors, land officers, cartographers and town planners. To obtain the services of these professionals, the Land Use Committees have relied on the cognitive Ministries whose heads of department saw in the whole thing as relinquishing their responsibilities to the Land Use and Allocation Committee or the Secretary to the Committee. Even where the Ministries are willing to provide these services to the Land Committees, it is observed that such a situation transfers to the new institutions all the weaknesses of bureaucracy - red-tapism, reluctant to take initiative, etc. to the functional institutions.

CONCLUSIONS:

9.66 Prior to Nigerian Independence two major types of land ownership existed: These included the Crown lands and native lands. The Crown lands were derived partly from the lands transferred from the Royal Niger Company and partly from lands subsequently acquired by the Government through the Public Lands Acquisition Acts and vested in the Governor of the State in trust of the Majesty or the State.

9.67 It was on such lands that the English land laws were applicable. The second type of land constituted what was called the 'native' land; it was in the administration of which there existed differences between Northern and Southern Nigeria. The land tenureship in each Region was determined on the basis of the pre-existing situations. In the North of Nigeria, which is Moslem dominated, there was no freehold title, but only a right of occupancy based on the policy of right of conquest of the North by the British, but that was not the case in the South where freehold title prevailed.

9.68 The interest of the local people in both areas (North and South) was protected by legislation. In Northern Nigeria the Land Tenure Law of 1962 unified the land tenureship with certain exceptions (see Section 9.2) into public ownership. Compensation for compulsorily acquired lands was based on the value at the date of revocation of the right of occupancy on the unexhausted improvements and for the inconveniences caused by the disturbances. In spite of the law, it was noted that the right of occupancy was not subject to rent and the security of the customary rights had been maintained by leaving settlements of land disputes in the hands of the native authorities and their courts. Therefore, the Land Tenure Law, 1962, failed to regularise the ownership and use of land in the Northern States of Nigeria.

9.69 In Eastern and Western Nigeria the laws were concerned primarily with protecting the native lands from being acquired by aliens (see Section 5.86 above) rather than regularising the tenure systems. This open system of land administration allowed the application

of English type of legal system in urban areas and the 'native' customary laws in non-urban lands. The complexity of applying two laws from different origins, nature and temperament in the same country and even in the same State was realised. Faced with the problems of land acquisition of multi-varied land tenureships and administration, the Federal Government promulgated the Public Lands Acquisition (Miscellaneous Provisions) Decree 1976, whose objective was to provide a new basis for the assessment of compensation in respect of lands compulsorily acquired for the public purposes of the Federation or of the State. The scope of the 1976 Decree was limited and the burden of high cost of compensation was seen by the Government as not worth bearing. Hence in 1978 a new Decree, the Land Use Decree, most profound, easily the most controversial and possibly most explosive, was promulgated by the Military Government. Such a law could have caused the fall of monarchy and the entrenchment of republicanism. But the Decree is still functioning.

9.70 The Land Use Decree introduced far reaching changes in land tenureship. With the present law all land in each State of Nigeria is held in trust and administered by the Governor of the State for the use and benefit of all Nigerians. Much as the Decree is criticised, it made, among others, two important provisions: its creation of institutional mechanisms (see Section 9.55 above) for land administration and the delimitation of urban lands. If the Land Use and Allocation Committees and the Land Allocation Advisory Committees are not efficient, the cause is due to the limited scope of operation, inadequate personnel and external interference. The most significant contribution of the Land Use Act has been the possibility of State and Federal Government to acquire land without having to pay full compensation for such lands.

10 SHIFTS IN POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION
STRATEGY

The chapter deals with population redistribution. The government intervention had taken the form of funding housing programmes throughout the country, legislation, development of housing estates and of new towns. Though the new towns have different objectives to achieve, their common goal is that of helping to redistribute population in the nation's space.

10.1 Theoretically, the Government intervention in population redistribution in Nigeria has also been guided by the growth pole and even-development theories (Chapter 7). Both theories have relied mostly on the Government Housing Programmes and to some extent on New Towns Development. The basic difference of both theoretical models is that while the growth pole approach aimed at concentration of whatever developmental investments on few centres, the even development or dispersion aims at spreading development evenly to all parts of the country. It has been adopted in some other countries. In Israel, for example, the policy relied on rural settlements and development towns (Shachar, 1971, p.364).

10.2 In housing, the Governments in Nigeria wanted to tackle effectively the problems of acute shortage in the total housing stock, the high cost of construction, poor quality of structure and design of dwelling units and inadequacy of infrastructural services, lack of access to housing finance and the practical difficulties in obtaining land for housing. (FRN, The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, page 78).

10.3 While many Governments embark upon the development of urban centres, few have formulated a comprehensive urbanization policy either on the state level or national scale. A comprehensive policy would entail considering economic, social, political and spatial aspects of urbanization process. It is lack of the national urbanization policy that most of the urban developments create more problems than they were able to solve.

The Shift in Housing Strategy:

10.4 Government activities in housing during the Colonial period were limited to the construction of staff housing at Government Reservation Areas (GRAs) in the regional and district headquarters. Areas outside the GRA were neglected.

10.5 But after Independence and the First National Development Plan Period (1962-1968) the Federal Government of Nigeria made some effort at improving the housing situation in the country, but compared with other subsectors, housing was given a low priority in the development plan. Housing was grouped with town and country planning and the funds allocated to it were very small. The Government efforts were concentrated on the Regional Capitals like Enugu, Kaduna, Ibadan and Benin City - where quarters for Senior Staff were built. This period coincided with the period of growth pole policy when polarization of socio-economic activities was preferred.

10.6 The Government intervention in housing during the Second National Development Plan Period (1970-74) did not differ greatly in spite of the critical housing situation in some parts of the country, especially with the war affected areas. Housing was still grouped with town and country planning and financial allocation for housing was as follows:

- (a) Expansion of the Nigerian Building Society N1.4M.
- (b) Staff quarters in Lagos N1.4M, and
- (c) Transit blocks of flats in Lagos NO.160M.

The States' allocations at the same period are illustrated in Figure 10.1 below.

10.7 Out of the 12 States then 3 made no allocation for housing. This should not be understood that there were no housing problems in those States, rather it explained the level of priority accorded to housing at the time by respective state governments. During the period, however, three things occurred which were not part of the plan and which indeed altered the Government commitment to providing housing for the masses. Firstly, in 1972 the Federal Government made a grant of N6.0M to the Nigerian Building Society, thus increasing the lending capacity of that Institution. Secondly, in 1973 the Federal Government allocated N500.0M for the construction of 59,000 housing units throughout the country and set up the Federal Housing Authority to handle the implementation of the Federal Government housing programmes. This period coincided with the end of the growth pole policy in Nigeria and the beginning of the policy of even development in the Federal Government involvement in the provision of houses for the masses in the country.

10.8 On the other hand, to ease the problem of high rental the Federal Military Government promulgated a number of edicts.

Rent Control Measures:

10.9 In 1973 the Control of Rents Edict, Edict Number 4 of 1973 was promulgated in the East Central State. This had its counterparts in other eleven states of the country then. In that edict it tried to stipulate the maximum rental a tenant ought to pay for a room. The execution of the Edict ran into difficulty because in trying to

FIGURE 10.1: FISCAL OUTLAY ON HOUSING BY STATE
GOVERNMENT DURING 2nd NATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1970-74)

State		Outlay for Housing (N Million)
Benue/Plateau	Nil	-
East Central	Housing Development	NO.3M
Kano	Nil	Nil
Kwara	Housing for Officials	NO.6M
Lagos	Housing & Town Planning	N1.0M
Midwest	Housing Scheme	N1.04M
North Central	Survey and Housing	N1.2M
North Eastern	Housing Scheme	NO.7M
North Western	Nil	Nil
Rivers	Housing Scheme	N1.0M
South Eastern	Housing Scheme	N2.8M
Western	Town Planning and Housing	N1.9M

Source: Second National Development Plan 1970-74
Federal Ministry of Economic Planning and
Reconstruction, 1970.

control rental it treated all houses similarly without taking into account their locational costs and values.

10.10 In 1977 the Rent Control and Recovery of Premises Edict (Owerri) was promulgated. This was similar to the Edict to control the Rent of Residential Premises (Rent Tribunal) 1976, of Lagos State. The Rent Control and Recovery of Premises Edict repealed the 1973 Edict. The change it introduced was to divide the State into Zones A, B, C and D for the purposes of fixing standard rents for various categories of residential accommodation in high, medium and low density areas of the State (Section 2 (3)). Among the provisions made by the Edict were:

- (a) that it shall be unlawful for a landlord to accept rent which is in excess of the standard rent prescribed for the type of accommodation (see Appendix 10-A for standard rents) Section 6 (1).
- (b) that all landlords of premises in the zones listed in Appendix 10-B and in the First Schedule of the Edict shall issue prescribed Rent Books in addition to receipts to their tenants. The rent books shall be in the custody of the tenants and necessary entries shall be made by the landlord therein when rents are paid by the tenants (Section 33 (1) and (2)).
- (c) that it is unlawful for any landlord to demand and receive or any tenant to offer advance rent in excess of three months in the case of an individual tenant; and twelve months in the case of commercial or institutional tenants (Section 37 (6)).

10.11 In view of the housing situation in the country and implication of the Edict, the following questions are important: Was there any standard rent? With a survey conducted at Aba, Owerri and Umuahia in 1980 by the author, rental for single rooms in high to medium density areas were between N20.00 and N25.00 instead of the N10.00 and N8.00 for standard room measuring not more than 14 sq. metres with good finishing, shared kitchen and sanitary conveniences (water system in water closet and bath) and electric connected; and one with earth closet, water connected to the premises from the water main and electric connected, respectively. Residential flats or bungalows of three bedrooms and two bedrooms cost N120.00 - N180.00 and N90.00 - N100.00 respectively instead of N70.00 and N50.00 in zone A. It showed that landlords accepted rentals in excess of the standard rents and would be guilty of an offence and liable after summary conviction to a fine equal to twice the amount so received as such loan or premium (Section 37 (5)). Were the Rent Books kept? About 100 per cent of those interviewed accepted that receipts were made to them; about 65 per cent of the tenants did not know about the Rent Books; 30 per cent who knew demanded, but no Rent Books were issued to them; only 5 per cent agreed that Rent Books were given to them but added that the recording was irregular. On the question of advance payment, the finding showed that landlords demanded rentals onwards six months from individual tenants and three years and above from commercial and institutional tenants. The problem of one year's advance rental of about N1,800.00 was especially felt by young university graduates who had no savings to pay such a huge sum of money and would find it rather difficult to either squat or live in shanty towns. The continued demand of advance payments by landlords and the payment of which by some well-to-do

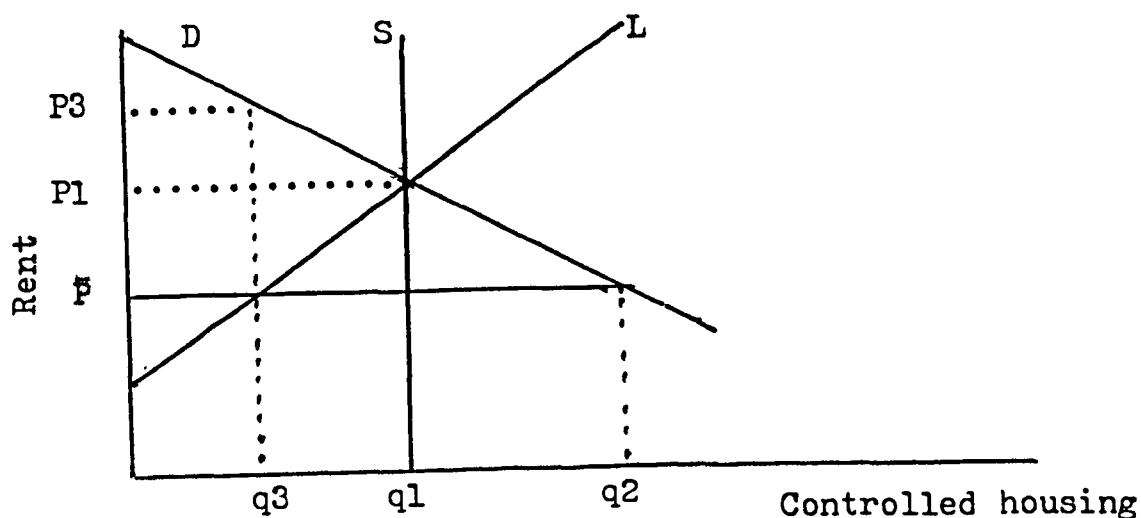
tenants meant flouting the provision of the Edict Subsection 37 (2 (a)) of Rent Control and Recovery of Premises Edict of 1977.

10.12 Uncompromising tenants were refused accommodation or forcefully ejected by the landlords. An example of this was in Port Harcourt where the government allowed the force of the law to descend on the defaulting landlords. The statement reads:

"The Rivers State Government said it had acquired, with immediate effect two buildings whose landlords were alleged to have forcibly and illegally ejected their tenants. Mr. E.J. Igoniwari, the Commissioner for Housing and Environment for the State, said that the affected buildings were at No. 65 Bishop Johnson Street and No. 90 Bonney Street in Port Harcourt. The statement condemned using illegal means such as removing roofs of houses to eject tenants". (Nigerian Tribune, November 24, 1981).

Such a situation as this occurs when a tenant rejected the landlord's attempt to increase the rental. In most cases the tenants were compelled to compromise because of shortage of housing. Some of the major drawbacks of rent controls may be illustrated in Figure 10.2 below.

FIGURE 10.2: RENT CONTROLS



D is the demand curve for rent-controlled housing. S is short-run and L is long-run supply curve. The free-market equilibrium rent and quantity of such housing is P_1 and q_1 respectively. Assume that the authorities control rents by restricting their level to P . Households would like to occupy q_2 units of controlled housing, but only q_1 units exist. The immediate effect is a housing shortage, reflected in the excess demand ($q_2 - q_1$). The benefits of rent control are shared only among those lucky enough to be in controlled housing. Other would-be renters are shut out of controlled housing and must survive as best as they can in the open market or erect themselves shanties.

10.13 In the long run, the situation becomes worse. The quantity of controlled housing declines from q_1 to q_3 as disappointed landlords withdraw houses from the

market, abandon them or as a result of increased demand relative to existing stock. Given the demand curve D and the reduced stock q_3 tenants would be willing to pay a much higher rent - a 'shadow' rent P_3 (Richardson, 1978, page 356) than even the long-run equilibrium rent P_1 . The gap between this shadow rent and the controlled rent is so wide that excluded tenants may be compelled to offer bribes or pay months in advance. As long as there is a shortage of housing relative to demand, rent control measures can hardly succeed in Nigeria.

10.14 The Third Plan (1975-80) showed a marked shift in the Government intervention in the Housing Programme. During this period housing was treated as a separate sector from town and country planning. A sum of N2.5M was allocated to housing for the production of 202,000 units, mostly for low and middle income families. Figure 10.3 illustrates the Capital Programme of Investment in Housing in the Public Sector (1975-80).

10.15 Besides these measures the Nigerian Building Society was transformed into a Federal Mortgage Bank with the initial capital of N150M. Provision was made for the preparation of Master Plans for the improvement of the physical layout of the Nigerian towns. A separate Ministry of Housing and Environment was created and each of the 19 States set up a Housing Corporation. A Rent Panel was set up to examine the problem of high rental in the country (Rent Control Edict - Section 10.10 above).

10.16 The implementation of the Housing Programme, however, did not match the plan proposal. Only 12.1 per cent of this number was actually realised by September, 1979, less than one year to the end of the plan period

FIGURE 10.3: CAPITAL PROGRAMME OF INVESTMENT IN
HOUSING IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR
1975-80

State	Total Expenditure (N'M)
Anambra	9,500
Bauchi	3,500
Bendel	45,000
Benue	5,000
Borno	5,000
Cross River	15,000
Gongola	3,000
Imo	15,000
Kaduna	13,000
Kano	23,860
Kwara	3,500
Lagos	16,000
Niger	15,000
Ogun	10,000
Ondo	10,000
Oyo	10,000
Plateau	10,000
Rivers	10,000
Sokoto	10,000

Source: Third National Development Plan, pages 418-423.

(Okpala, 1982, page 82). The realised proportion by the Federal Public Subsector was 18.8 per cent and the States Subsector was only 10.1 per cent. In physical housing units all these amounted to 24,397 housing units out of the planned 202,000 units.

10.17 The achievement of the States as shown in Figure 10.4 was dismal. Few States, however, have made some achievement to combat housing shortage in their respective States. An example of such States was Lagos, as illustrated by the Report on its housing programme.

10.18 The Nigerian Statesman of March 5th, 1981, reported how several thousands of residents of Lagos lived in plank-made hovels as the best alternative to staying under bridges and in uncompleted buildings. A situation where two families lived together in a one room apartment, in such high density areas of the Federal Capital as Isale Eko, Badiya, Bariga, Ajegunle, Maroko and Mushin. When the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) government took office in 1979 it announced its intention to build 50,000 low-cost housing units every year, mostly in the metropolitan area of Lagos, and called for application. The report stated that on February 18th, 1980, more than 3,000 people trooped to the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) to apply. The crowd rose to 4,000 the following day. The huge number of people who trooped to apply for housing showed the degree of housing shortage in Lagos alone.

10.19 After two years of the announcement, the Lagos State Government were able to deliver 1,860 low-income housing units to the people of Lagos State, distributed

FIGURE 10.4: NATIONAL HOUSING PROGRAMME 1975-1980: PROPORTION ACTUALLY REALISED

Agencies	Housing Units Targets for 1975-1980	Housing Units completed as at				Percentage of completion as at			
		4th Qtr. 1978	1st Qtr. 1979	2nd Qtr. 1979	3rd Qtr. 1979	4th Qtr. 1978	1st Qtr. 1979	2nd Qtr. 1979	3rd Qtr. 1979
Federal Housing Authority	46,000	8,511	8,511	8,616	8,616	18.5	18.5	18.5	18.8
All State Housing Corporation	156,000	11,066	12,753 ¹	12,753 ²	15,781 ³	7.1	8.2	8.2	10.1
TOTAL	202,000	19,577	21,264	21,369	24,397	9.7	10.5	10.6	12.1

- NOTE: 1. Data not available for Benue and Gongola State.
 2. No Data for Benue State.
 3. Data as at June for Anambra, Bendel, Borno, Kaduna, Niger and Plateau States.

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria: Annual Reports and Accounts for year ended 31st December, 1979 (page 23).

to the most needy areas of Iponri, Anikantamo, Abesan/Agege, Isolo and Ije. Even though this number did not compare favourably with the proposed 50,000 housing units per year and the number of applications as shown by the newspaper's report of March 5th, 1981, it was better than the four years achievement of 576 housing units completed in September, 1979, an average of 144 units a year (Nigerian Tribune, November 16th, 1981). Other States in the country have made some limited progress towards this direction, but the Lagos State achievement comparatively has been tremendous. The secret of Lagos State's achievement had depended on keeping the construction cost down by negotiating with suppliers of building materials directly. Undoubtedly, the use of middlemen for every bit of public housing programmes puts prices of materials up, and money meant for two units of building is likely to be expended on one.

10.20 During the Fourth National Plan Period (1981-85) the Government planned to construct 200,000 housing units. The Federal Government proposed to build 2,000 units in each State annually for the next five years. The Federal Housing Authority is expected to build 143,000 Low-Cost Housing Units across the country. Staff were to be provided with quarters as well as housing loans to build their own houses. Site and service had to be provided whereby serviced plots will be made available to individuals for the purpose of building their own houses. Urban development in which the Federal and State Government are in cooperation with the World Bank was allocated a sum of N22.7M during the period (FRN, Fourth Development Plan 1981-85, page 79).

10.21 The Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment was recreated and it became the implementing agency for the Federal Housing Authority Programme. The Ministry so far has formulated and published a National Housing Policy. Figure 10.5 shows the amount of money voted by the Federal Government to housing programmes during the Plan period.

10.22 The Private Sector had been an active partner in the provision of housing in Nigeria. Lack of statistics prevents putting a value to its contribution to the housing market, but from available information, the Government effort presently complements the Private Sector in increasing the housing stock.

10.23 It has been identified so far that urban population explosion mostly caused by rural-urban migration, explains to some extent why the rapidly increasing housing stock fails to meet the housing demand of the masses. Another obscure but strong cause has been identified by Okpala (1982, page 82). A high percentage (about 80 per cent) of urban housing stock in Nigeria were of the "rooming-housing" form, as opposed to the flat (apartment) form or house form. With this form most households occupied two rooms - a bedroom and a living room. A standard bungalow of 8 to 10 rooms housed about four households or families. But since early 1970s, there had been a significant shift in the form and design of housing construction from the predominantly rooming form or design to flat (apartment) and single family house forms. There are two sources of increasing the number of flats (i) through conversion of existing houses to flatlets, and (ii) by design and direct construction of new flats of three to four rooms excluding kitchen and toilets. Consequently a house that would otherwise house four to five families only

FIGURE 10.5: AMOUNT VOTED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO HOUSING PROGRAMMES DURING THE FOURTH NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1981-85

		Estimated Total Cost N
Federal Housing Units	Providing Housing Units, 2000 units per State	N600,000
Development of Site and Services	Provide for Serviced land total number of plots per state 5,000	N1100,000
Federal Government Quarters in State	Construction of suitable quarters	N200,000
Staff Housing Scheme	Granting of loans to some specific Civil Servants to build houses, N40,000 per person	N175,000
Industrial Complex Layout at once	Provision of master plan and infrastructure at Industrial site	N170,000
Building of Housing Units	Development of Housing units in 19 States 143,000 per state	N200,000
Mortgage operation	Expansion of mortgage services - emphasis on medium/low income groups	N300,000
	Grand Total	N1,592,000

housed two and the rest of the households join the queue of those in housing demand.

10.24 The reasons for the shift have been attributed to the general improvements in income and quality of living of a large number of Nigerians and the economic factor of rent induced landlords to shift to the apartment and house forms because these attracted higher income and probably the highly cultured are likely to handle the houses more carefully than the lower income people who would otherwise opt for single rooms or two-room accommodation.

10.25 The apartment housing or single-family house forms in the 1970s arose from the demands for such houses by foreign Contracting and Consultancy firms for their expatriate and indigenous professional staff working in the various Government construction and other development programmes during the period.

10.26 The housing estates have been used as a mechanism for expanding existing towns both in traditional urban centres and Type 1 New Towns, and also to provide accommodation for top civil servants who have been transferred to the newly created local government areas. The housing estates per se manifest similar characteristics. Among these include:

- (i) Their failure to provide basic facilities initially, such as roads, water supply, electricity and other services. The Gbagada Housing Estate of Lagos was planned to provide site and services. The major criticism of the plan was its failure to provide basic amenities such as tarred all-weather roads even though it has collected premia from allottees. Water

failed to flow in the Miang Road Estate in Jos six months after the water pipes were laid. In Niger State at the housing estate in Suleja, access roads and water supply were not ready one year after the houses were completed and painted.

- (ii) In some cases employment areas were not provided in the housing estates. This does not only create problem of journey to work but traffic congestion at peak periods is a common feature along the roads linking them and employment areas. There is frequently traffic congestion involving settlers of Owode Housing Estate located along Ibadan - Abeokuta Road who had to commute daily to Ibadan City for work. In Elekohia Housing Estate in Port Harcourt other facilities were provided but no industries. The residents had to travel to Port Harcourt City to find industrial employment.

10.27 The lack of employment areas in the housing estates creates the impression that residential and industrial land uses were incompatible. But are they? People need not travel out in order to find gainful employment. Nursing mothers require places of work close to their homes so that they will be able to earn something to increase the family income without jeopardising their domestic responsibilities. Lack of comprehensive urban policy is likely responsible for the failure to include certain levels of economic activities in the housing estates. Basic economic goals like achieving and maintaining a high rate of economic growth were not their prime motives. The planners gave a much stronger emphasis to social values than economic efficiency.

Social planning dealt mainly with anticipated demand for public services in education, health and welfare, but not with broader aspects of cultural adaptation and social integration.

10.28 Some of the earlier projects such as housing, transportation, commerce and industry were implemented by various governmental departments. These spatial planning authorities were seldom endowed with executive powers. Hardly had any of the departments any co-ordinating power over others. The result will be over provision or under-provision of certain elements of urban land uses.

(iii) Lastly, it is necessary to ask for the philosophy of planning these housing estates. Is it to provide houses for the emergent Nigerian elites, the masses or the handicapped? The allocation of the Federal Housing Units in these estate is usually done by balloting when the applicants had shown evidence of residing in the area in which the housing estate is situated, had a reasonably steady employment, produced evidence of having paid tax for the preceding three years and had completed application forms. The Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment acts as the landlord for the collection of house rents and maintenance of the houses.

10.29 On the contrary most of the housing units built by the State Governments, after the allocations to top government officials, the rest are sold to the public and it is only the well-to-do including the very top civil servants who can afford to buy them. In Bendel State all the plots in the Igbudu Scheme at Warri were

sold to developers and the houses at Ugbowo Housing Estate opposite the University of Benin were sold to the public. In Anambra State, houses at Riverside Estate were sold in cash. The public houses in the Trans-Ekulu Estate were allocated by ballot but the State Government in most cases sold the houses to the occupiers after the allocation had been made. Similarly in the Aladimma Housing Estate at Owerri, some of the houses were allocated to the public by ballot. Later the houses were sold in cash. Some of the original allottees (the low income occupiers) who were unable to buy the houses, had to surrender them or alternatively became tenants to the newly emerged landlords.

10.30 The even development or dispersal strategy was evolved in the public housing programmes without a definitive principle of spatial location. Each State Government decided on how it wanted to distribute the housing largesse from the Federal Government. In 1976/77 the Lagos State Government, after allocating some of the housing units to specific areas for specific purposes, shared out the remaining 4,000 units, comprising the Federal and State shares, geographically in the State thus Amuwo-Odofin Extension Lagos, 2,000 units, Ijaiye Lagos, 1,000 units, Ikorodu 500 units, Badagry 250 units and Epe 250 units.

10.31 In Oyo State after the creation of the Housing Estates at Owode along Ibadan-Abeokuta Road (250 units), at the University town of Ile Ife; and at Oshogbo, other housing programmes were spread over Ife, Oyo, Ogbomosho, Ilesha, Ede, Iseyin, Iwo, Orangun, Kishi, Ijebu-Ijesha, Ikirun, Shaki and Eruwa. In the Rivers State, after the creation of the Elekohia Housing Estate in Port Harcourt with a total of 857 dwelling units, the

Federal Housing Programmes were implemented in Degema (200 units), Ahoda (500 units) and Brass (200 units).

10.32 Besides the Maing Road Estate in Jos, 280 dwelling units made up of 40 units each were built in each of the administrative headquarters of Akwanga, Lafia, Keffi, Nassarawa, Pankshin, Langtang and Shendam. Later 40 additional units were added to each of the towns and 66 units each located to the following towns - Awe, Manga, Bassa, Dongi, Barakin, Ladi and Wase. Similar approach was adopted in most of the States.

The New Towns in Nigeria, 1960-1980:

10.33 The existing urban centres have been characterised by rapid growth of population and over population. In 1975 the urban population was 21 per cent, but in 1980 it rose to 27 per cent of the total population of the country. In view of this situation, they lack adequate infrastructure and other facilities necessary to cope with such population increases, slum, traffic congestion, lack of environmental control and many fail to provide such an environment conducive to the efficient operation of the government (Chapter 3).

10.34 Any change from the existing situation would aim at trying to solve these problems. A theoretical change from the growth pole concept to even development or dispersal would entail the change from an urban system dominated by a single national primate city or regional primate cities to one with a more even distribution of cities of various sizes.

10.35 The new towns created during the colonial period in Nigeria have been differentiated from the ones created

after Independence (Section 5.42 above). The new towns created after Independence are designated Type 2 New Towns. As in any other country, new towns are created for various reasons:

- (a) Compared with the colonial period resource development was a goal of new town development. It was very important for mineral development. Enugu, Jos and Bukuru, all Type 1 New Towns, were developed for mining of coal in the case of the first, and of tin in the case of the last two. Recently the petroleum exploration has led to the development of Ughelli in the delta area of Bendel State, whereas Bacita in Kwara State is a product of modern agricultural colonization based on joint-stock company.
- (b) The development of the cement factory in Ewekoro in Oyo State led to the development of the town. Similarly, Ajaokuta new town was created because of the Iron and Steel industry there.
- (c) New towns have been developed because of administrative effectiveness or convenience. This reason is particularly important in areas with no former administrative foci or where such a centre is located in inaccessible locations. The town like Idanre in Ondo State today had to be relocated and replanned from its former site on the top of a hill.
- (d) A matter of social justice could arise where an old settled urban community or rural village is to be displaced because of some major national need, such as the creation of man-made

lake for purposes of generating hydro-electricity for the entire country, or a community may be displaced owing to the acquisition of their land for major urban development. New Bussa which replaced the old town of Bussa which disappeared under the waters of Kainji Lake in 1967, was an example of the former. For the latter example, New Wuse and New Bwari were created to resettle people from Wuse and Bwari respectively in the FCT whose lands were appropriated for the development of the F.C.C. Abuja in 1980 and who opted for resettlement elsewhere.

- (e) A new town can be created as an 'overspill' of the existing city. This type of new town is important when the cost of a continued growth of a city begins to outweigh the benefit. The Festac and Satellite New Towns around Lagos are overspill new towns. Ajoda new town was developed as a counter-magnet to the metropolitan city of Ibadan in Oyo State.
- (f) Finally, new towns have been established for strengthening of national unity. Perhaps the best example of the new towns development for this purpose in Nigeria is that of the New Federal Capital City, Abuja, which is located somewhere equidistant from all parts of the country and at a place where none of the major tribes in Nigeria can claim dominance. For more details read part 3 of the Thesis.

10.36 In a regional scale, the creation of New States and the choice of capitals for new states demand a more central place for the location of a state capital.

The major criterion for the choice of location of such capitals is centrality as well as a matter of political negotiation. The choice sometimes devolves on small, neutral settlements which must then be developed as new towns. State capitals such as Minna in Niger State, Owerri in Imo State and Akure in Ondo State are such examples. Such new towns have sizeable population before their designation. The list has not exhausted all the new towns in Nigeria but a complete list will show that all belong to one or the other of categories of new towns outlined above. The towns, no doubt, have been developed to serve various purposes, but it is pertinent to note that all have served one common goal which is a goal of population redistribution. For new towns to be successful, they have to meet certain goals. The slow development of many of these new towns for varied reasons places a major constraint on their plans evaluation based on their defined objectives. Therefore the question here is how do the Type 2 New Towns meet the goal of population redistribution.

10.37 There is a close link between population changes and the changes in economic activities. Human migration is known to occur largely in response to differential levels in economic activity between the 'exporting' and 'importing' areas. People tend to leave areas of low, declining or uncongenial job opportunities and move to areas where opportunities exist for more, better paid and more pleasant employment. The number of jobs implied by the number of workers in the population projections should be of about the same magnitude and vice versa (McLoughlin, 1973, page 207). Major changes in population act as shocks to the system and the chain of possible repercussions on economic activity, housing demands, traffic flows and others.

10.38 The discussion will be centred on the relationship between population and employment and housing. Examples are drawn from New Bussa, Ajoda and Owerri new towns.

New Bussa - as a fulfilment of social justice:

10.39 The construction of the Niger Dam has resulted in the creation of an artificial lake - Kainji Lake - which is 136.79 km long and 24.14 km wide at the widest point. This lake caused the inundation of an area about 1243.52 sq. km which was formerly inhabited mainly by fishermen, herdsman and farmers. The lake covers over 13% of the surface area of the country. This area when compared with the total land area of the country seems insignificant. But it occupies the sites of about 207 villages, thus displacing well over 44,000 persons. The resettlement of such a number of people gave rise to the founding of a new town - New Bussa.

10.40 Resettlement, therefore, involves the people resettled, their adjustment to their new environment and the problems encountered both by the Authorities and the people. Similarly, the Government established a temporary organization known as "The Niger Dams Resettlement Authority". The Authority was charged with the responsibility of resettlement.

10.41 It is not easy to force people out of their original homes and resettle them in a new and strange environment. The task of resettlement was enormous. This stemmed from the fact that the inhabitants were from different Emirates, living in various scattered villages with varying abilities of appreciation for and understanding of the need for a dam. So intensive

campaigns were launched, aimed at educating and enlightening the villagers about the Kainji Lake Project. They were appealed to through their Emirs, and community leaders to cooperate with the Authority. Throughout the period cordial relationship was maintained and the people's confidence built up on the benefits to be derived from creating the lake.

10.42 The Resettlement Scheme involved three Emirates and it had been discovered that out of 207 villages, only 141 new ones were built by the Authority. In an interview with the Emir of Borgu, His Highness Alhaji Musa Mohammed III, on March 21, 1972, he confirmed his authority over his Emirate (Daily Times of March 29, 1972, page 4). This is true traditionally, but with the new dimensions being assumed by the new settlements, especially New Bussa, there seems to be a deviation from the purely traditional practice to a more liberal approach of appointing a sole Administrator for Borgu Emirate under the Local Government Regulation of the State - Kwara - which invests all Local Government Administration in the Administrators of the Division.

10.43 However, like any other Emirate under the present civilian administration the Emir will still play his traditional role as "father" of his people.

10.44 The New Bussa and the Kainji Dam form a major, modern case of national relocation and of a major project comparable to Abuja. The impact of the Niger Dam project upon the evolution of the electricity industry has been considerable. While as late as 1959 the only transmission network in existence or planned, was purely local, the corollary of the Niger projects was the creation of 330 kv. However, the distances separating urban centres

in the Northern half of the country have put the economic feasibility of a considerable extension of the grid in these areas into the distant future.

10.45 New Bussa was well laid out and neatly built, but its problem is how the inhabitants will obtain a living. The hydro-electric power station employs a limited number of workers. In addition, the activities at the Dam site are highly technical, so that experts are drawn from other parts of the country as well as from abroad. The major concern is with the local labour force.

10.46 Unlike Bussa, the inundated town, the new town is several kilometres away from the Niger and yet the people are primarily fishing folk. The soils around New Bussa are also considered to be rather poor for farming and the spectre of a ghost town hangs over this settlement. The relationship between settlement and employment possibility was not seriously considered in New Bussa.

Ajoda - as a counter magnet new town:

10.47 Ajoda New Town is located about 16 kilometres east of the city of Ibadan on the Ibadan-Ife Road. The new town was designated in 1976 by the then Military Governor of Oyo State. The conception and launching of this development were so rapid that it has been said that the town was created by the Military Governor literally by the use of a magic wand, in a manner reminiscent of the order 'Let there be a new town, and there was a new town' (Okpala, 1979, page 63).

10.48 The purposes of the new town were to regulate the growth of Ibadan City, either by decongesting it or by acting as an anti-magnet to incoming population. Secondly, to improve the physical environment of the Ibadan region, and finally, to build a model town of which Oyo State could be proud.

10.49 Ajoda has a planned population of 250,000 but there was no target date for the realization of this target size. To achieve the goal of dispersion, there is need to create employment opportunities elsewhere. Ajoda plan proposed 10 per cent of the entire area for industrial use. In addition, it was believed that many of the residents would find employment in the nearby Leyland Truck Assembly Plant and in the new Ibadan Airport on the opposite side of the Ibadan-Ife Road. Two employment areas can hardly provide enough employment for a labour force of a population of 250,000. Apart from the limited employment opportunities there is no guarantee that only the inhabitants of the new town will work there. Ajoda new town can only maintain its growth or achieve its objective of 'regulating the growth of Ibadan' by providing alternative job opportunities other than those available in the city of Ibadan.

10.50 The implementation of the housing programme at Ajoda adopted an optimum mix between public and private housing. Okpala (1979, page 65) noted a process of "in-fill development" between Ibadan and the new settlement. The Oyo State Property Development Corporation planned a housing estate some five kilometres from Ibadan, on the same new Ibadan-Ife Road, as Ajoda. The housing estate is about ten kilometres from Ajoda new town. However, 1.6 kilometre around Ajoda had been declared a 'development free zone' by the New Town

Corporation, but there is the fear that in-fill development is likely to extend from Ibadan to this 1.6 kilometre boundary at least, and may eventually break the boundary to coalesce with the new town. If this happens, it will cause a serious problem for it will undermine the objective of regulating the growth of Ibadan City, improving the physical environment of Ibadan region and may worsen the traffic congestion in Ibadan area. Such a serious traffic congestion will involve cost for providing additional road network and other infrastructural services.

Owerri Twin City - an administrative capital:

10.51 With the designation of Owerri (about half way along Onitsha - Aba Road) as a State Capital of the newly created Imo State, some 8000 Civil Servants were transferred from the former Eastern State Capital at Enugu. The arrival of these Civil Servants created a need for housing. Housing shortages in Owerri itself forced many civil servants to settle in the neighbouring villages without urban amenities.

10.52 Looking for planning and management advice, the Government called in the Swiss Group, C. Fingerhuth and Partners, who quickly pointed out that the dynamic growth created by the transfer of Government should not be tackled by sectional improvements (that is, the provision of a housing estate), but called for the preparation of a comprehensive Master Plan (Galantay, 1978, page 373). In 1977, the Master Plan for Owerri Twin City was approved by the Government of Imo State. The Planners' objectives include:

- (a) The city has to function. That entailed relating work places and housing;
- (b) The city has to be economic. The operational objectives were expressed as ensuring economic balance between various land uses and their location, effective and efficient use of all available resources, minimisation of consumption of scarce natural resources and keeping down construction and operation cost of a dwelling house low;
- (c) The city has to be beautiful; that entailed preserving the natural environment values; and
- (d) The city must be able to grow.

10.53 In 1976, Owerri had a population of 76,000 people. In order to meet both the current and future demand of population the new Owerri was planned for 268,000 by the year 2000. Figure 10.6 illustrates the estimated population growth for Owerri Twin City 1976-1996.

10.54 Between the base year of 1977 and 1981, the population increase was estimated to be 15 per cent annually; between 1982 and 1986, 8 per cent was chosen; 5 per cent was estimated between 1987 and 1991, and 3 per cent was chosen between 1992 and 1996.

10.55 Though the planners of Owerri were faced with an uphill task to obtain reliable demographic data because there were none, one would argue that an arbitrary choice of growth rates was a crude method of population forecast. However, it provided a guideline for phasing the development of the new town.

FIGURE 10.6: ESTIMATED POPULATION GROWTH FOR OWERRI TWIN CITY 1976-1996

Period	Estimated Population of Owerri Urban	Natural Increase Persons %	Migration Persons %	Compound Growth Persons	Average Yearly Growth Rate %
1976	75,000				
1977-1981	-	12,000 3.0	45,000 11.0	57,000	15
1981	132,000				
1982-1986					
1986	183,500	17,000 2.5	34,200 5.0	51,000	8
1987-1991		24,200 2.5	23,300 2.5	47,500	5
1991	231,000				
1992-1996		24,000 2.0	18,000 1.0	47,500	3
1996	268,000				

NOTE: (1) Rate of Growth at the beginning of the first year of the five years time period.

Source: Fingerhuth, 1977, page 82.

10.56 For a city with such projected population, the creation of job opportunities became an urgent matter for the city administrators. This was important, especially with the rapid and largely spontaneous immigration into Owerri as from 1976. Therefore, Owerri Master Plan proposed 4.2 per cent of the plan area for industry. This would provide 21,000 work-places in 1996. 40,000 people will be absorbed by public service sector, whereas 16,000 work places are to be provided in the areas of public buildings and public institutions. There were no separate estimates of labour force for commerce and agriculture. However, the two subsectors and others not specifically allotted values were covered by a total of 90,000 possible jobs to be created in the year 1996. Figure 10.7 shows a comparison between Owerri and Ajoda plans, which are self explanatory.

10.57 By the year 1976, the only public manufacturing firm at Owerri was the Modern Shoe Industry. The firm has all along been an ailing one and could not offer any employment relief. The situation of the public sector in the industrial subsector of Owerri had not improved very much by the beginning of 1983. The employment sector in Owerri new town depends on the Government services. In 1976 it accounted for 33 per cent of the total labour force as against 5 per cent average for the whole country, yet the future provision of job opportunities was based on the concept of the "Multiplier Effect of the Basic Government Employment". The concept assumes that initial government employment induces an expansion of the consumer goods market and increases the building capacity due to a multiplier effect. The absorption of the existing social, commercial and industrial capacities in such a fast growing city would obviously draw new commercial activities and industrial development to Owerri. Assuming the

FIGURE 10.7: AJODA AND OWERRI LAND USE PLANS COMPARED

Land Use	Ajoda New Town % of Total Area	Owerri Twin City % of Total Area
Residential	48.0	32.7
Industrial	10.0	4.2
Commerce	5.5	2.8
Government Centre)		
Other Government)	-	7.6
Institutions)		
Public Buildings	-	23.9
Open Spaces	10.0	6.7
Other Public Uses	10.0	8.5
Farm Land	-	3.6
Transportation	14.8)	
Railway Property &)		
Station)	0.46)	10.1
	(100) 98.76	100.0

Sources: (a) Ajoda New Town: The Beginning: First Annual Report of the Ajoda New Town Corporation. Percentage as stated in the report do not total 100.

(b) Fingerluth, 1977, master Plan for Owerri Twin City.

hypothesis materialises, it is still seen as a failure of the plan to provide a small area for industrial location (4.2 per cent for Owerri, compared with 10 per cent for Ajoda). In his study of Strathclyde new towns, Adams et al. (1979, page 8) discovered that it was in manufacturing that the job creation success of the new towns had been most marked. The new towns continued generally to add manufacturing jobs at a time when manufacturing was shrinking rapidly in the region as a whole. Both East Kilbride and Irvine had been steady in manufacturing employment in the post 1974 period, and Cumbernauld had generally recovered from the heavy blows administered by the 1971 recession. This was not usually the same situation in the Strathclyde region. This special attraction, new towns generally have, for industrial investment can only be enhanced by generous provision of industrial land and infrastructure.

10.58 The residential area in Owerri new town is composed of environmental areas. An environmental area is divided into a variety of lot sizes appropriate to different income groups to avoid segregation into large single-income areas. This is an important deviation from Type 1 New Town residential layouts while providing acceptable standard for future new towns.

10.59 The plan proposed private housing through self-help effort. Nevertheless, Fingerhuth (1977) revealed that 25 per cent of all the households would be able to afford a contractor-built house. To provide accommodation for the remaining 75 per cent of all the households, a sort of subsidy or technical aid from the government might be required.

10.60 The relative success or failure of an existing private development at Owerri was well known to the planners. Fingerluth (1977, pages 112-113) noted that development of Ikenegbu layout (a private development) which was planned in 1959, seemed to be especially difficult. So even reliance on the 25 per cent of the households to provide a contractor-built house seems to be unrealistic, neither does it sound practicable to expect a household without the knowledge of building technology to build, even a part of a house acceptable in the 20th century cities. Unless, of course, the standards are drastically reduced, the result would be a proliferation of shanties and a degraded environment. There is evidence of failure already at Owerri New Town.

10.61 Similar to Ajoda, the authorities at Owerri had allowed extensions of the town along all the gateways leading to the city. In the North, the small town of Orji has been expanding with or without plan; in the South, along Owerri - Port Harcourt Road, erection of illegal houses has been going on for some time; in the East, along Owerri - Naze Road, illegal developments have been allowed, and in the West, along Owerri - Akwa Kuma/Ubomiri Road, in-fill developments have been taking place. The environment is already degraded and traffic congestion is increasing as many people move in or out of the down-town areas for work, shopping or leisure. As a result of these 'nestling' developments, infrastructural services are being over-stretched and the cost of maintaining them is very high.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION:

10.62 Housing estates and new towns provide a mechanism for distributing population as well as adding to the housing stock. Type 2 New Towns have contributed to eliminate one of the weaknesses of the existing urban centres. Zoning based on races has been discontinued in the designing of recent new towns. However, class differentiation re-enforced by planning principles of density control is still recreated. Onokerhoraye (Planning and Administration, 1977, page 74) warned that an urbanization policy in Nigeria should ensure that, henceforth, all cities are centres for national integration and not places for promoting inter-ethnic suspicion and conflict through spatial segregation based on ethnic origin.

10.63 The new towns - New Bussa, Ajoda and Owerri - provide examples of the Federal and State Governments' intervention in population redistribution. Their successes or failures, no doubt, could provide a basis for assessing future new towns in Nigeria.

10.64 Nigeria has been historically divided by ethnic and cultural differences and loyalties, which have led to competition, hatred and different regional policies even within the contemporary Republic. The culmination of these differences which persisted after Independence was the 1966 military coup, followed by the massacre of Igbos in many parts of Nigeria, the secession of the former Eastern Nigeria, a destructive civil war concluded by military rule that lasted for 13 years until 1979.

10.65 Various efforts have been made by the Federal Government to pacify the country, starting first with the creation of States to reduce the excessive powers of the few regions created under the British colonial administration, so incapacitating the former Eastern Nigeria (Biafra) and strengthening the control of the Federal Government of Nigeria over the States. Secondly, a new Constitution for Nigeria was drawn up and a new Capital City designated outside the territory of the major ethnic groups, so that the new civilian government could start on neutral ground with a new determination to reconcile ethnic differences in the country. Finally, national rather than ethnic political parties were founded to bring all social and economic groups together.

10.66 Still, Nigerian society is characterised by ethnic, socio-economic, cultural and religious differences. The economy is still divided between urban and rural sectors. Economic and political power is still dominated by very few people. Appointments and rewards still follow this institutional framework. The question is whether it is fair to judge physical planning (though plans have existed in various forms prior to the Capital Plans for Abuja) or the inherited institutional framework of the Nigerian society for any failure of Abuja to contribute to the goal of national unity. This underlies the uncertainties against which the Capital Plans will be assessed.