THE APPLICABILITY OF WESTERN URBAN THEORIES TO AFRICAN CITIES: A CASE STUDY OF LAGOS, NIGERIA

DISSERTATION

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By

Philip Oyebowale Sijuwade, B. A., M. A.

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The purpose of this study is to determine the applicability of western urban theories to African cities, especially to Lagos, Nigeria. The study surveys urban land use patterns, migration and migrants' adjustment in cities, social relationships in cities, and urban stratification. The investigation's thesis is that western urban theories in these four areas of urban ecology may not be entirely applicable to the study of African cities. Theories of land use patterns are discussed from the classical and the cultural, or voluntaristic, viewpoints; and the other three areas are examined from the perspective of broad western urban theories.

The data relating to land use patterns in Lagos largely fail to support the theoretical propositions of the classical school because those propositions were developed within the western industrial scene, whereas African cities remain virtually unindustrialized. Above all, African cities have a unique structure that cannot be explained through the classical ecological approach.
Cultural theories, however, are more relevant to the understanding of African cities. Many characteristics of these cities have cultural and symbolic significance which is pertinent to the cultural school orientation.

Western theories relating to migration are partially applicable to African cities, but deviations appear in such areas as the existence of a compensating migratory countercurrent, migrants' locations of initial settlement, and adjustment procedures and problems. Social relationships in Lagos are predominantly on the primary level, with strong attachment to kinship and ethnic groups. Lagos' urban stratification is based on ethnicity. The indices of income, education, and occupation, which possess major significance in western cities, also exist, but they are secondary in importance to ethnicity.

If a theory on the city is to have cross-cultural applicability, it must take societal differences into consideration; a feature of the city within one cultural area cannot be taken as a feature of all cities. In other words, general urban theories should be derived from cross-cultural research.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most impressive phenomena of the twentieth century has been the growth of cities. At no point in human history have people shown such a strong inclination to agglomerate in large numbers in a few centers. In 1800, for example, only 2.4 per cent of the world's population lived in cities of 20,000 or more people; by 1980, the proportion had risen to 39 per cent. Equally impressive is the proportion of the population living in cities of more than 100,000. In 1800, the percentage was 1.6; by 1980, the figure had risen to 27 per cent (10, p. 433).

It is true that this phenomenal growth in the number of city dwellers was taking place during a period in which world population was rapidly increasing. However, the remarkable fact is that the rate of urban growth was so many times greater than the rate of growth of the total world population. Thus, while the world population increased from 8.36 million in 1900 to about 4.4 billion in 1980, a 500 per cent increase, the world urban population in cities with a population of over 100,000 increased from 15.6 million to about 313.7 million, an increase of over 2,000 per cent (10, p. 445).
This rapid rate of urbanization has not been universal. Table I gives the estimated percentage of urban population for major world regions in 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. From these statistics it can be seen that Africa has a lower proportion of its population (26 per cent) in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants than has any other region. Also, Africa has a lower proportion of its population (19 per cent) in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants.

African cities, at least the principal cities in each country, are the centers of modernization on the continent. They are the intellectual and social capitals, the seats of government, the main focus of political activity of all sorts, and the economic capitals of their respective countries. An example of such cities in Africa is Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria. Lagos contains no more than 5 per cent of Nigeria's population, but it accounts for about 56 per cent of Nigeria's telephones, 20 per cent of its daily newspapers, 92 per cent of its periodicals, 70 per cent of its total imports and exports, and 42 per cent of its industrial output. In 1972, Lagos claimed 38 per cent of all vehicle licenses and 37 per cent of the country's hospitals. The capital has the heaviest concentration of skilled manpower in the country; the best communication, roads, and labor facilities; and the highest-paid workers (2, p. 32).
TABLE I


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage of the Population in Localities of 20,000 and More Inhabitants</th>
<th>Population in Localities of 100,000 and More Inhabitants as a Percentage of:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>20 25 31 39</td>
<td>13 16 21 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>10 13 18 26</td>
<td>5 8 14 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>13 17 20 27</td>
<td>8 11 14 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>25 32 38 61</td>
<td>16 25 34 42</td>
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<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>50 57 64 74</td>
<td>29 28 25 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (except USSR)</td>
<td>38 41 48 69</td>
<td>21 24 29 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>28 36 43 62</td>
<td>18 24 31 40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>42 50 60 71</td>
<td>41 43 47 54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reviewing the pattern of urban concentration in Africa in 1970, Zelinsky and Twartha note that, if a population size of 5,000 or more were to be used to define urban settlement, Nigeria, although accounting for only 25 percent of the total population of Africa, has nearly 35 percent of the continent's urban population (21, p. 151). This unusual concentration of population in cities poses a significant challenge to an understanding of urbanization in a developing nation like Nigeria.

The recent and ongoing process of urbanization in developing nations continues to attract attention. It has aroused the concern of government of many countries which find the swelling of urban areas to be creating new problems (1, p. 327). It also continues to tax the skill of many scholars who feel compelled to uncover the underlying reasons for this phenomenon and hope to arrive at some general theories which in turn can help in formulating policies. One basic issue of debate is whether the process of urbanization that has occurred in Europe and North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the same as the one now taking place in developing countries.

Deciding this issue is not a mere academic exercise. If the answer is in the affirmative—that is, that the process is essentially the same—it stands to reason that models based on the developed nations can be used profitably
in the study of African cities. On the other hand, if the process is different, developing nations such as Nigeria may have to fashion a new approach in solving their own problems. Reissman (16) and Berry (3) are two scholars who, among others, clearly illustrate these two opposing schools of thought. Reissman says, "It is the assumption that the history of the west from the nineteenth century onward is being reiterated in the underdeveloped countries today" (16, p. 158). Berry, on the other hand, rejects the position that Reissman takes. He states:

The view that urbanization is a universal process, a consequence of modernization that involves the same sequence of events in different countries and that produces progressive convergence of forms is rejected. Nor do I subscribe to the view that there may be several culturally specific processes, but that they are producing convergent results because of underlying technological imperatives of modernization and industrialization. I feel very strongly that we are dealing with several fundamentally different processes that have arisen out of different world regions, transcending only superficial similarities (3, p. xii).

This study addresses the issue of the applicability of western urban theories to African cities, using Lagos, Nigeria as the focus of the investigation. The study is limited to theories of urban land use patterns, the impersonal and segmental relations that characterize urban life, migration and migrants' adjustment in cities, and urban stratification. Several generalized theories about these factors posited by experts representing different schools of thought have been developed, and it is part of
the main concern of this study to determine how well these theories fit Lagos, Nigeria.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the applicability of western urban theories to Lagos, Nigeria in the following four areas.

1. Urban land use patterns.
2. The impersonal and segmental relations of urban life.
3. Migration and migrants' adjustment in cities.
4. Urban stratification.

The general question of the study was "Which of the following propositions contained in the western urban theories are applicable to Lagos, Nigeria?" The propositions are grouped according to the four areas described above.

1. Propositions pertaining to urban land use patterns.
   A. Cities develop in a concentric zonation, adapting to the same land use pattern at each zone.
   B. There is one central business district in a city.
   C. The central business district has a dominating influence in determining both the initial land use patterns and the subsequent land use patterns throughout the city.
D. Members of the upper classes live far away from the center of the city.

E. Functional segregation and specialization of land use patterns are found in cities.

F. The poor live in areas of transition, slum, and the fringes of the city, and most criminals tend to live in these areas.

G. Cities develop "natural areas."

H. Cities develop in sectors, with development radiating through the main routes outside the city and keeping to the same land use at each route.

I. Cities develop in multiple nuclei.

J. In addition to economic factors, socio-cultural values, sentiments, and symbols influence the location of individuals and institutions in the cities.

2. Proposition pertaining to the impersonal and segmental relations that characterize urban life.

   Large numbers account for individual variability; the relative absence of intimate personal acquaintanceship; the segmentation of human relations which are largely anonymous, superficial, and transitory; and associated characteristics.
3. Propositions pertaining to migration and migrants' adjustment in cities.
   A. Migration from rural to urban areas is selective.
   B. Generally, migrants settle initially at the inner city.
   C. Cultural and language differences as well as employment problems affect the adjustment of migrants in cities adversely.
   D. Intervening opportunities and distance of travel influence migrants' destination.
   E. Multiple motives account for migration.
   F. Each main current of migration produces a compensatory counter-current.

4. Propositions pertaining to urban stratification.
   A. Urban stratification is generally based on the criteria of ethnicity, education, income, occupation, residence, and family.
   B. Residential segregation is present in cities according to classes.

Background and Significance of the Study

One of the most striking features of Africa, with focus on Nigeria, is the growth of urban centers, a growth that is accompanied by many economic and social problems. It is true that a few centers of note have existed for
hundreds of years in Africa generally and in Nigeria specifically, but in recent years some of the older centers have grown from villages to cities.

Unlike western cities, African cities have characteristics that are derived from indigenous cultures, as well as from colonial cultures and politics (2, p. 129; 10, p. 18). Some of the cultural influences are revealed by even a brief survey of a Nigerian urban center.

The fact that scholars have often taken particular characteristics of the modern urban west as the characteristics of cities generally has highlighted the necessity for this investigation. Stephen L. Elkin says, "Scholars whose concern with urban . . . phenomena has been nurtured in the study of cities are likely to be tempted to utilize approaches developed in the American context for analysis of non-American cases" (6, p. 16).

This study is significant because it shows whether differences exist and what these differences, if any, are between western industrial cities and the Nigerian city of Lagos. Knowledge of these differences is crucial to the understanding of cities in the two areas.

The study should be of interest to Americans, particularly to scholars in the fields of sociology, education, political science, and urban planning, because it will help them to identify cross-cultural variations or similarities between African and American cities.
Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms have been formulated and defined:

1. Classical ecological theory--denotes one of the major approaches to ecological analysis of the city, which emphasizes competition as the central factor that determines spatial organization of the city. It seeks explanation of urban land use in non-social conditions and relies upon biotic or physical premises.

2. Extended family--refers to a kinship group sharing a common residence and including a married couple, two or more of their married children, relatives, and their children's children.

3. Natural areas--refers to homogeneous units within the heterogeneous urban milieu. There are several ways by which this segregation might be explained, but the classical ecologists relied on the competitive struggle for land as their key explanatory variable.

4. Theory of socio-cultural school--views social and cultural variables as the chief factors influencing the spatial organization of cities.

5. Urban ecology--concerns the interrelationships among individuals in their spatial setting as they manifest themselves in the city.
Delimitation of the Study

The present study was delimited to the city of Lagos, Nigeria. Lagos was chosen for the study because of its position as the largest city in Africa, its rich historical background, its rapid rate of growth, and its expanding economic, political, and social importance (2, p. 4). The issues involved were also complex, and the manner in which they could most effectively be pursued was to focus on one city that seemed relatively representative of a modern city in Africa, hence the choice of Lagos.

Review of Related Literature

The field of urban sociology was recognized early within the formal discipline of sociology in the United States. Rural sociology developed somewhat earlier as a specialized field than did urban sociology. The 1916 meetings of the American Sociological Society were devoted to the field of rural sociology, but it was not until 1925 that the Society similarly devoted an annual meeting to urban sociology. The papers from the 1925 annual meeting were published under the editorship of Ernest W. Burgess, under the general title of The Urban Community, published in 1926. Prior to this in 1925, Park, Burgess, and McKenzie published a volume, The City, a collection of essays which they had published separately in the previous decade. These essays attested to the establishment of a
field of urban sociology during this period (14, p. 64). The major outlines of the field from 1915 to 1935 were laid down by students of Park and Burgess at the University of Chicago. Their general approach to urban study is perhaps best summarized either in Park's early 1929 essay on "The City as a Sociological Laboratory" (12) or in the later essay of Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," published in 1938 (20).

During the first half of the present century, the sociology department at the University of Chicago (later known as the Chicago School of Sociology) pioneered in literally using the city as a sociological laboratory, analyzing Chicago ghettos, the Gold Coast, and gangs in an effort to understand the effect of urbanization on social interaction, social organization, and culture. The term "Chicago School" came to denote not only a specific group of scholars and theories, but also an empirical orientation to the study of urban life.

The urban theorists, Park, Burgess, Wirth, McKenzie, and others, all of the Chicago School of Sociology, were greatly influenced by Durkheim, who regarded social morphology as one of the major branches of sociology (4, p. 105). The field was to be devoted to two major inquiries: (1) the study of the environmental basis of social organization, and (2) the study of population phenomena, especially size, density, and spatial organization.
This was supported by George Simmel's idea of number in relation to complexity of social relations. Park, the founder of the Chicago School, identified the subject matter of human ecology as "what Durkheim and his school called the morphological aspect of society" (12, p. 88). He viewed the city as involved in the vital processes of the peoples who compose it; it is a product of nature. To him, the city is both a spatial pattern and a moral order. Transportation and communication, tramways and telephones, newspapers and advertising, steel construction and elevators—all things, in fact, which tend to bring about at once a greater mobility of the population and a greater concentration of it in the urban areas—are primary factors in the land use organization of the city (12, pp. 96-101).

Implicitly or explicitly, Park denied the relevance of social values or culture but relied instead upon biotic or physical premises; human ecology was interpreted as the investigation of what was seen as impersonal competition that determines man's adaptation to space (13, p. 32). He perceived a set of biotic conditions underlying and supposedly prescribing the content and form of man's social activities.

Wirth took the position that competition for space in cities is such that each area generally tends to be put to the use which yields the greatest economic return (20, p. 49). Place of work tends to become dissociated
from place of residence, for the proximity of industrial and commercial establishment makes an area both economically and socially undesirable for residential purposes. Density, land values, rentals and accessibility, health, prestige, aesthetic consideration, and absence of nuisances such as noise and smoke determine the desirability of areas of the city as places of settlement for different sections of the population. Wirth contended that place and nature of work, income, social status, preference, and prejudice are among the significant factors in accordance with which urban population is selected and distributed into more or less distinct settlements.

The studies in urban sociology at the University of Chicago were not, however, the only source of sociological interest in the study of urban life during this period. The community studies such as those by the Lynds of "Middletown" in 1929 (9); the systematic treatment of rural and urban sociology by Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin in 1930 (17); and the Columbia University dissertation of Adner Weber as early as 1899 (19) were a few of the other main schools of thought leading to the firm establishment of urban sociology as a field in sociology by 1930 (15, p. 87).

The intellectual origins of students of sociology included familiarity with men like Tonnies, Simmel, Durkheim, and Weber. It seemed reasonable to postulate,
however, that the major impetus to urban study in sociology was the rapid industrialization of Europe and the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Urban ecology developed both as a specialized field of study and as an aspect of rural and urban sociologies. Park (13) and McKenzie (11) were largely responsible for the study of human ecology. The contributions of both Hawley (8) and Quinn (15) were based on several decades of research findings, and that of Hawley was significant in the development of urban ecology as a theory of "community structure" (14, p. 169).

Park and McKenzie, however, focused observation on the process of ecological organization in an attempt to understand how cities assume the kind of structure they have and how particular functional aspects of cities might be explained (11, p. 129; 12, p. 171). Cultural factors were ignored in their work, and controversy continues over the relative influence of cultural variables vis-à-vis symbiotic variables in intra-urban area differentiation generated by the empirical work of Firey (7).

Sources of Data

This study was based on an analysis of the literature concerning western and African cities, selected according to its relevance to this dissertation. This included materials available through the Library of Congress; the
United Nations; the libraries of United States universities and colleges; the Nigerian Ministries of Urban and Regional Development, Health, Education, and Social Welfare; the Nigerian Department of Statistics and Census Office; and Nigerian universities and colleges. A detailed description of the criteria for the sources of data is as follows.

1. That leading and well-established journals which are accepted by professionals and professional organizations of sociology, anthropology, history, political science, and education should be used. The data and articles should be carefully screened for academic and scholarly credibility.

2. That books which were written by prominent scholars in their own fields and published by recognized university presses or well-established commercial presses should be used.

3. That newspapers and periodicals which were official organs of national governments and which thus were able to express the official opinions of those governments should be used.

The criteria for the selection of data also required that there be, ideally, no conflicting evidence in the great majority of the data collected, but that if discrepancies were found in the data, the following criterion
would be used to resolve them: the consistency of the majority of the data would be selected over the inconsistency of some data.

Methodology

The methodological approach used in this research was analytical in character. Two basic steps were attempted to answer the basic research question stated for this study. First, a developmental or historical method was used to trace the growth of cities both in the west and in Africa, with emphasis on the growth of Lagos. Special attention was paid to the four specified areas under study, namely, land use patterns, migration and migrants' adjustment, social relationships in cities, and urban stratification. The second step in the analysis employed a comparative method and was based upon findings discovered in the first step. The growth and development of Lagos were compared specifically with the models of urban growth developed by western urban theorists to determine their applicability to Lagos.

The following is a description of the criteria used for testing the applicability of the theories. Analysis consisted of the systematic identification and description of the western urban theory propositions, the description of the development and social life of Lagos, and a comparison of the two. Specific points and areas of agreement
or disagreement between the theoretical propositions and the situation in the city of Lagos were identified.

Each theory was studied to determine the nature of its propositions for urban development and social life. As stated earlier, the four areas with which the study was concerned were (1) urban land use patterns, (2) the impersonal and segmental relations that characterize urban life, (3) migration and migrants' adjustment in the city, and (4) urban stratification. If a theory's propositions concerning western cities corresponded to the situation of Lagos, that theory was considered to be applicable to Lagos.

Summary

The preceding paragraphs provided an introduction to the study, a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the general research question of the study, the definition of major terms, a review of related literature, the delimitation of the study, a brief description of the background and significance of the study, and the methodology of the study.

The review of the literature surveyed the history and theoretical background of urban sociology with some emphasis on the subsection pertinent to the present research--human ecology--which was reviewed from the point
of view of two opposed schools of thought, the classical school and the cultural school.

The second chapter of the study treats various theories concerning land use patterns, migration, social relationships in the western urban scene, and urban stratification.

Chapter III examines African cities in theoretical perspective. This perspective centers around the geographical and historical facts about African cities. Chapter IV deals with Lagos, Nigeria as the case study. Lagos is treated from the perspectives of the four topics discussed in Chapter II.

Chapter V evaluates and synthesizes the advantages and limitations of the western urban theories for the study of African cities in general and of Lagos in particular. It gives recommendations for an approach to understanding African cities and provides the summary and conclusion of the study. A general bibliography is appended to the paper.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


12. Park, Robert, "The City as a Sociological Laboratory," An Experiment on Social Science Research, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929.


CHAPTER II

THEORIES OF THE CITY

In this chapter, theories of the city are treated as they relate to the following areas: (1) urban land use patterns from two schools of thought—the classical ecological school and the socio-cultural school, (2) migration and migrant adjustment in western cities, (3) social relationships in western cities, and (4) western urban stratification. These areas do not constitute an exhaustive survey of all the theories on the city because an attempt was made in this study to limit the scope of the theories to these four areas for thorough treatment. The data generated from these various aspects of the city and city life will form the basis for the determination of the applicability of the theories to African cities by matching them and analyzing them with the data on African cities in the same areas.

Urban Land Use Patterns

Classical Ecological School of Urban Land Use

Are there uniformities in the ecological patterning of cities, and, if so, what is the nature of such patterns? If such uniformities exist, can they be presented in the form of principles or generalizations? A number of urban
ecologists have attempted to go beyond mere descriptions to the formulation of a set of theories concerning the ecological pattern of the city. In their efforts to formulate systematic principles, they are aware of the fact that scientific theories are generalizations which may not fit all the details of each individual city. Theoretical constructs concerning ecological structure postulate a kind of ideal type which may not actually exist in all details but which may approximately describe the recurring patterning of cities. If the theoretical construct departs too far from what actually exists, its validity is open to question or at least has limited applicability. A theory may have validity without having a universal application, however, if it was designed to apply only to cities of a certain country or region or to cities of a particular type, provided it is accurately descriptive of the spatial configurations that actually exist (25, p. 126).

The classical ecological school seeks an explanation of urban land use in non-social conditions and relies upon biological or physical premises (44, p. 2). This school of thought is both the product and theoretical stance of the Chicago School and is variously referred to as an economically based theory or as the classical ecological school. A few scholars of this school are Robert Park (26), Ernest W. Burgess (5), Homer Hoyt (16, 17),
Chauncey Harris and Edward Ullman (13), Robert McKenzie (21), and Harvey Zorbaugh (46).

One of the fundamental assumptions made by Park, Burgess, and McKenzie is that human society consists of two levels of organization: the biotic and the social. The biotic level is not unique to human beings but is found wherever living things share a common habitat. The most important feature of the biotic level is that it is characterized by close-knit patterns of interdependence among its cohabitants and is therefore essentially communal in character (10, p. 161). Because this level of organization is common to all forms of life, one of Park's basic aims was to determine the applicability of principles of plant and animal ecology to the study of human communities. In contrast, the social level exists only among human beings and involves relationships that only human beings are capable of creating and sustaining (26, p. 28).

Park denies the relevance of social values or culture, relying instead upon biotic or physical premises: human ecology is interpreted as the investigation of what is seen as impersonal competition that determines man's adaptation to space (26, p. 32). Park perceives a set of biotic conditions underlying and supposedly prescribing the content and form of man's social activities. A specific concern of the classical ecologists centers upon the competitive results they refer to as dominance. They insist
that the competitive economic strength—or dominance—of each endeavor prescribes the location of man and his activities. To them, competition is sub-social in nature (10, p. 156).

Three theories of the classical ecological school have been particularly interesting to sociologists. The first is the concentric zone theory of urban growth, formulated many years ago by Burgess; the second is the sector theory of city growth, developed later by Hoyt; and the third is Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei theory. Each theory is, in a sense, an ideal construct, a set of generalizations. Burgess is particularly explicit in noting that his concentric zone theory has no reference to any particular city but is an abstraction representing a kind of generalized ecological profile of cities, presumably American communities. Each of the theories is concerned with ecological change and with the spatial patterns that have emerged from these changes, and each was developed on the basis of knowledge concerning the ecology and growth of American cities (10, p. 159).

**Burgess's concentric zone theory.**—Writing in the early 1920s, chiefly on the basis of the then-unfolding knowledge of the structure of the city of Chicago, Burgess suggested that urban expansion causes a modern city to assume a pattern of concentric zones, each characterized by a typical land use. These zones, according to
Burgess, are idealized concepts; no city conforms absolutely to his scheme. Physical barriers such as rivers, lakes, hills, and gulches tend to distort the zonal pattern of a community. Lines of transportation, such as railroads and highways, divide the zones into smaller sections (5, pp. 51-52). The zones, and the forces that supposedly lead to their emergence, are as follows:

1. Zone I consists of the central business district and is found in every city of moderate to large size. According to Burgess, there is a central business district in the city and this is where "we expect to find the department stores, the sky-scaper office buildings, the railroad stations, the great hotels, the theaters, the art museum, and the city hall" (5, p. 52). This area inevitably becomes the hub of economic, political, and cultural activities for the city and its hinterland. The central business district is a product of centralization and, on occasion, becomes the victim of decentralization. Centralization is partly attributable to competition among various commercial interests for favorable locations and numerous customers (10, p. 161).

2. Zone II is the zone surrounding the central business district. It is designated by Burgess as the zone of transition because, being in the immediate path of business and industrial expansion, it has an ephemeral character. Unlike the business district, which is a
non-residential area for the most part, the zone of transi-
tion tends to be heavily populated by the lower-income
classes, by old world immigrants and rural migrants,
by unconventional folk, and by social outcasts such as
criminals and prostitutes.

3. The third zone delineated by Burgess, that of in-
dependent workingmen's homes, is chiefly residential in
character. As such, this zone is inhabited predominantly
by factory and shop workers whose homes are smaller,
older, and of frame construction (5, p. 56). Burgess
also suggests that, quite often, the inhabitants of
Zone III moved from the zone of transition. They are,
in effect, people who have escaped from the slums. At
the same time, these persons, or their sons and daughters,
frequently aspire to residence in Zone IV with its
restricted residential areas and its apartment house
regions (5, p. 57).

4. The fourth ring is called the zone of better
residences. It is a broad area populated mainly by
professional people, owners of small businesses, the
managerial group, clerical forces, and the like. In
this area, there are hotels and apartment houses and
detached residences with spacious yards and gardens.

5. The fifth zone, the commuter's zone, is the
final one delineated by Burgess. The inner side of this
zone is bounded by the zone of better residences, but
its outer periphery may be quite amorphous. Within the commuter's zone are found a variety of small hamlets, towns, and suburban areas that are not legally integrated with the central city but are nonetheless dependent on it for goods, services, and jobs. These satellite communities are "in the main, dormitory suburbs, because the majority of men residing there spend the day at work in the loop (central business district), returning only for the night" (10, p. 164). At the same time, the characteristics of these satellite communities are varied; they range all the way from quiet, upper-class "bungalow" districts to gaudy entertainment centers. With the appearance of these satellite communities, the city has indeed become metropolitan in character. The upper class tends to reside here (5, p. 58).

Many of the same processes that account for the emergence of Zones I, II, and III help account for Zones IV and V. The latter zones are also a product of competition, for in them dwell the winners in the competitive struggle for land (17, p. 49). The fact that the desirable land near the outskirts of the city is controlled by middle- and upper-class groups explains why less advantaged members of the urban population are frequently crowded into slums and ghettos--no other locations are made available to them. Furthermore, the recent suburbanization of American cities can be traced to the combined effects of
decentralization, segregation, invasion, and succession. Suburbs are a product of continuous and rapid decentralization and are among the most homogeneous segregated areas found in the modern city (46, p. 167).

Although the concentric zone hypothesis has consistently received the most attention, other theories of urban spatial organization have also been proposed. One of these is Hoyt's sector theory. Hoyt's studies indicate that the concentric zone concept with a central business district is not a reality in most, if not all, industrial cities today (5, p. 282).

The sector or wedge concept.--In 1939, Hoyt formulated the sector theory, which stated that the cities tend to become divided into a number of sectors that radiate out from the central business district (see Figure 1) and maintain the same land use in each sector (17, p. 22). Some of these sectors are devoted to residential use; others are devoted to industrial and related uses. The residential sectors may, in turn, display a pattern wherein the poorest districts are located near the central business district, whereas the best residential areas are found near the periphery of the city. Hoyt argues that this pattern results from the tendency for different groups and institutions to expand along the major transportation routes leading from the central city to the periphery. Residential areas expand along one route, industrial
Concentric Zone Theory  
Sector Theory  
Multiple Nuclei Theory

Fig. 1--Three generalizations of the internal structure of cities (10, p. 162).
establishments along another, and so forth. He also insists that, rather than concentric zonation, the sector concept is the structure of American cities (17, pp. 23-25).

The concept of multiple nuclei.--Another geographical position developed by Harris and Ullman maintains that urban land use patterns are built around discrete nuclei (13). The theory of multiple nuclei holds that the land use patterns form not around a single center but around several discrete nuclei. In some cities these nuclei have existed from the very origins of the city; in others, they have developed as the growth of the city stimulated migration and specialization. An example of the first type is metropolitan London, in which "the city" and Westminster originated as different points separated by open country, one as the center of finance and commerce and the other as the center of political life (13, p. 3). In capitalist societies, the use of separate nuclei and differentiated districts reflects a combination of the following four factors:

1. Certain activities require specialized facilities if they are to flourish. The retail business district, for example, is usually located at the point of greatest accessibility to the majority of the city's population.

2. Certain similar activities group together because they profit from cohesion. Retail districts
benefit from grouping, which increases the concentration of potential customers.

3. Certain dissimilar activities are detrimental to each other. The antagonism between factory development and high-class residential development is very pronounced.

4. Certain activities are unable to afford the high rent of the most desirable sites. The number of nuclei which result from western historical development and the operation of localization forces varies greatly from city to city (13, p. 10).

Harris and Ullman clearly state that not all cities develop in multiple nuclei form.

Natural areas.--The concept of natural areas was of central importance to classical ecological theory. The assumption that the city is divided into a number of natural areas rounds out the picture that the classical ecologists painted of urban spatial organization. In essence, they suggested that the city is a complex mosaic of zones and sub-areas, each of which represents a "pocket" into which the heterogeneous urban population is sorted and segregated (46, p. 49). The classical ecologists made use of natural areas in their research. Among other things, they were able to show that different natural areas become characterized by high or low crime rates, by varying degrees of family disorganization, and by different types of mental illness (10, p. 165).
Indeed, the research conducted by the Chicago ecologists was fully as important as their contributions to ecological theory.

One of the Chicago ecologists, Zorbaugh, declares that the existence of natural areas has numerous implications for the efficient administration of city government (47). Zorbaugh suggests that, far too often, the city's political units cut across and ignore the boundaries of natural areas and that, because of this, the desire to make political units meaningful to their inhabitants is frustrated (47, p. 194).

The concept of natural areas has several different dimensions. From a geographical point of view, it refers to the smallest meaningful territorial unit found within the city. Because of natural features of the landscape (rivers, hills, and so on) and manmade barriers such as railroads, highways, and parks, the city becomes divided into a number of small, semi-isolated areas. Sometimes this isolation is rather complete, as is the case when a modern freeway splits one formerly well-integrated neighborhood into two completely distinct ones. This illustration also indicates why the resulting areas are said to be natural, that is, "they are the unplanned, natural product of the city's growth" (47, p. 191).

Of more importance is the fact that each natural area tends to become segregated in terms of the types of people
and institutions found within its boundaries. Natural units are homogeneous units found within the heterogeneous urban milieu. There are several ways by which this segregation might be explained, but, once again, the classical ecologists relied on the competitive struggle for land as their key explanatory variable: wealthy, powerful groups gain control of the most desirable natural areas whereas weak, disadvantaged groups and institutions find their niche in less desirable areas. Because of the homogeneous character of each natural area, these small units of urban spatial organization tend to become culturally distinct from one another (26, p. 20).

Social-Cultural and Voluntaristic School of Urban Land Use Patterns

The cultural and voluntaristic approach to land use, contrary to the classical approach, supports the proposition that man's location in space is determined through the social activities he performs; ecology is the study of these social activities that orient man to space (8, p. 40).

A protagonist of this school of thought, Walter Firey, maintains that man's use of space does not always take place for the sole purpose of minimizing cost (9). Instead, man perceives between what Firey refers to as social values--volitional adaptation as an end in itself--
and interest—rational adaptation. Thus, the patterning of cities over space will frequently develop in response to sentiments and interests in conflict with social values, but, regardless of which factor exerts the greatest force, the specific nature of space and the specific forms of compliance on the part of social systems are both manifestations of sentiments and symbols (9, pp. 138-139). To prove his contention Firey analyzes Boston's Beacon Hill, Boston Common, King Chapel Burying Ground, and the North End. He finds nothing intrinsic to the land itself that gave the South Slope of Beacon Hill its upper-class character. Rather, the area had traditionally been a prestigious neighborhood and continued to be one as long as its inhabitants were able to maintain their status and resist attempts by others to invade the area. The element of time is essential for the perpetuation of Beacon Hill. Firey treats not only the symbolic importance of this exclusive residential area located in downtown Boston but also the historical impact of the area. He notes certain expressions about Beacon Hill—"architectural landmarks," "former glory," "historical quarter"—which clearly indicate the historical tie necessary for attributing sacred qualities to Beacon Hill residents. However, as Firey comments, the reverence toward Beacon Hill as a physical object is attributed to the presence of social activities. In particular, there is reverence
toward residences in which people believe prominent events take place (9, pp. 140-146).

The Boston Common and the King Chapel Burying Ground are located in areas of the highest land values, areas that, according to the classical ecologists' predictions, should have been put only to their most profitable economic use. These areas are "sacred sites," however, symbolizing the history of the city and nation. Thus, the spirit of the past has proven to be superior to the economic motives that would otherwise have transformed the areas (8, p. 42).

The North End is a slum area almost wholly occupied by Americans of Italian descent. To convey some idea of the extent of its dilapidation, Firey reports that around 1945 a twenty-apartment building was sold for only $500. Apparently the attachment of the Italian residents to the area was so strong that many remained even though they could afford to move elsewhere. This attachment was expressed through strong ties to a large number of voluntary groups and associations (8, p. 54). Residence in the North End, therefore, is the consequence of neither economic factors nor the steady pressure of economic competition but of deliberate choice for most people, thus reflecting cultural and ethnic values. Firey proves that the classical ecologists did not simplify the problem of land use patterns by omitting complex cultural factors because to do so is to render human environment meaningless
The Boston Common, Beacon Hill, the North End, and their counterparts in cities throughout the world are at least as much cultural as biotic and ecological products. This approach is quite non-economic and Firey counters the economic orientation of the classical ecologists by demonstrating the importance of social values as symbols applied to sustain land uses (8, p. 61).

The frequency with which spatial areas sometimes well suited for occupancy by highly productive economic uses are maintained in non-economic uses seriously challenges the classical theories. Those theories fail to account for the persistence and recuperation of non-economic land uses; moreover, they fail to explain why such uses may have real utility for the community. In the case of Beacon Hill, the historic sites, and the North End, it is seen that space may become the symbol for certain values within the social systems and give rise to locational processes that defy a strictly economic analysis. Finally, the culturally contingent character of locational processes, as shown by certain commercial and residential uses, sheds doubt upon the priority of classical theories (9, p. 142).

To cultural ecologists, competition itself is not completely impersonal and sub-social in nature; rather, this process occurs within the purview of socio-cultural nature. The distribution of institutions and individuals
results from competition between cultural usages and values; also, social forces within a society, contrary to the classical ecological position, regulate and prescribe the conditions under which competition operates (9, p. 148). The classical thesis is that men tend to distribute themselves within an area so as to achieve the greatest efficiency in realizing the values they hold most dear (9, p. 149). Thus, man's ecological behavior in a city becomes the function of several variables, both socio-cultural and non-cultural. The recognition of social values as the essential component of ecological thought characterizes the cultural theorists' approach. Culture, therefore, is a paramount feature, and voluntarists seek to analyze cultural data with particular emphasis upon the role of evolution. Culture, in the words of Firey, defines the very being and conditions of survival. Competition is merely regulated within a framework composed of normative conditions such as legal structure and social organizations based on them (8, p. 62).

Willhelm, in his study of the zoning process in Austin, Texas, contends that, insofar as ecological phenomena are socially relevant, the so-called "impersonal" forces the classical ecologists associate with "competition" do not take place on the biotic level. For not only is competition regulated by the prevailing institutions, beliefs, values, and usages of the society, but the very
explanation classical ecologists so elaborately defend as "value free" is in fact a value orientation existing within the American culture (44, p. 171).

The theoretical approach of the classical ecologists reflects "economic value orientation" advanced by certain decision-makers who take part in Austin's zoning process. Both groups perceive identical physical conditions as determining the forms of social organizations in man's adaptation to space. The competition process that takes place in accordance with efficiency is merely a reflection of the profit motive orientation of some decision-makers in the zoning process and, more broadly, of many individuals in the American culture. The zoning data reveal that man's effort to accommodate to cost--a dominant feature of classical ecological theory--simply expresses a desire on the part of certain individuals to adjust in this manner (44, pp. 188-201).

Evidence from the zoning process in Austin, Texas, further supports the view that the argument of impersonality exists within a value system. Competition from a cultural ecological perspective--rather than existing as a sub-social biotic process--takes the form of contention between social value systems. Also, a classical ecological land use pattern in itself reflects a particular social value system, and therefore one cannot methodologically view social values as a dispensable feature of
ecological theory. As Emile Durkheim states, "... even the most impersonal and the most anonymous are nothing else than objectified sentiment" (7, p. 419).

Social Relationships in the City

The early twentieth century was confronted with the formulation of models of cities and social life. The foremost scholar in this venture was Louis Wirth of the Chicago School. Earlier writers such as George Simmel, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber made significant points about the nature of social relationships in the city occasioned by technological development, demographic growth, and division of labor.

Wirth's treatise was both comprehensive and idealistic and has not been challenged as a true reflection of urban social life. His sociological positions concerning relationships of people in cities are based on the consequences of (1) large size of population, (2) density of settlement, and (3) heterogeneity of inhabitants (10, p. 115).

Wirth's opinion is that large numbers of people involve a greater range of individual variation. He therefore contends that

The greater the number of individuals participating in a process of interaction, the greater is the potential differentiation between them. The personal traits, the occupations, the cultural life and the ideas of the members of an urban community may therefore be expected to range between more widely
separated poles than those of rural inhabitants. That such variations should give rise to the spatial segregation of individuals according to color, ethnic heritage, economic and social status, tastes and preferences may readily be inferred. The bonds of kinship, or neighborliness and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations are likely to be absent. Under such circumstances, competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for bonds of solidarity . . . (45, p. 11).

Admittedly, increases in the number of inhabitants of a community beyond a certain level are likely to affect the possibility of each member of the community knowing all others personally. Recognizing the social significance of this fact, Weber points out that, from the sociological point of view, large numbers of inhabitants and density of settlement mean that the personal mutual acquaintance between the inhabitants which ordinarily inheres in a neighborhood is lacking (43, p. 514). Thus, the increase in numbers involves a changed character in the social relationships. As Simmel points out:

If the increasing external contact of numbers of persons in the city should be met by the same number of inner reactions as in the smaller town in which one knows almost every person he meets and to each of whom he has positive relationship, one would be completely atomized internally and would fall into an unthinkable mental condition (31, p. 187).

Essentially, cities are portrayed as characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. Urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles, and it seems that they depend on more people for the satisfaction of
their life needs and thus are associated with a greater number of organized groups. However, they are less dependent upon particular persons and their dependence upon others is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the others' rounds of activity (45, pp. 8-11). Wirth says:

The contacts in the city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental. The reserve, the indifference and the blase outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others. The superficiality, the anonymity and the transitory character of urban social relations make intelligible, also, the sophistication and the rationality generally ascribed to city-dwellers (45, p. 13).

It follows that, although the individual gains a certain degree of freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses the self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that come with living in an integrated community. Essentially this constitutes the state of anomie or normlessness to which Durkheim alludes in attempting to account for the various forms of social disorganization in technological societies (7, p. 43).

Wirth contends that, in a community composed of a larger number of inhabitants than can know one another intimately and be assembled in one place, it becomes necessary to communicate through an indirect medium and
to articulate individual interests by a process of delegation. Typically, interests in the city are made effective through representation. The individual counts for little, but the voice of the representative is heard with a deference roughly proportional to the numbers for whom he speaks (45, p. 15). So far, large numbers have been responsible for this nature of social relationships in the cities.

As in the case of numbers, so in the case of concentration in limited space certain consequences of relevance in sociological analysis of city life and social relations emerge. As Durkheim notes in the case of human societies, an increase in numbers when the area is held constant means an increase in density and tends to produce differentiation and specialization of functions (7, p. 55). Therefore, density reinforces the effect of numbers in diversifying men and their activities and increases the complexity of the social structure. Simmel suggests that too close physical contact of numerous individuals necessarily produces a shift in the medium through which individuals orient themselves to the urban milieu, especially to their fellow human beings. Typically, "our physical contacts are close but our social contacts are distant" (31, p. 85). The city therefore lacks intimate sentimental and emotional ties, and, in the words of Wirth,
The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement and mutual exploitation. To counteract irresponsibility and potential disorder, formal controls tend to be resorted to. . . frequent close physical contact, coupled with great social distance, accentuates the reserve of unattached individuals toward one another and, unless compensated for by other opportunities for response, gives rise to loneliness. The necessary frequent movement of great numbers of individuals in a congested habitat gives occasion for friction and irritation. Nervous tensions which derive from such personal frustrations are accentuated by the rapid tempo and the complicated technology under which life in dense areas must be lived (45, p. 16).

Diverse population elements inhabiting a compact settlement tend to become segregated from one another to the degree in which their requirements and modes of life are incompatible with one another and in which they are antagonistic to one another. Similarly, persons of homogeneous status and needs are forced by circumstances into the same area. The different parts of the city thus acquire specialized functions (2, p. 202). The city consequently tends to resemble a mosaic of social worlds in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt. The juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativistic perspective and a sense of toleration of differences which may be regarded as prerequisites for rationality and which lead toward the secularization of life. However, Wirth emphasizes that
rationality, and secular mentality are functions of density as distinguished from heterogeneity is difficult to determine. Most likely we are here dealing with phenomena which are consequences of the simultaneous operation of both factors (45, p. 15).

In sum, the individual in the city is reduced to a stage of impotence and is therefore bound to join with others of similar interests in organized groups to obtain his ends. According to Wirth, this gives rise to the enormous multiplication of voluntary organizations representing as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs and interests (45, p. 20). Frequently, only the most tenuous relationship exists between the economic position or other factors that determine the individual's existence in the urban world and the voluntary groups with which he is affiliated. Thus, as a result of the ineffectiveness of actual kinship, fictional kinship groups such as voluntary associations are created.

Migration and Migrants' Adjustment to City Life

As long as cities have existed, they have attracted people from the outside, whether from their hinterlands or from other cultures or countries. A considerable portion of population growth in most cases has been the result of in-migrations (6, p. 134). As long as a region or country has rural open spaces capable of maintaining a population engaged in primary production, many people settle there and follow an agrarian way of life. This
was the tone of the early migrations to the United States from Europe and elsewhere, as well as of movements of people to Canada and parts of Latin America (35, p. 715).

But many of the world's agricultural regions no longer afford vocational opportunities for internal migrations or immigrants from abroad. Such areas may be overpopulated in terms of land resources, or economic and technological changes may have made them economically unattractive to people on the move. Hence, the major currents of migration during the twentieth century have been in the direction of cities, especially large cities, a trend that seems to be as true of predominantly agrarian countries as of industrialized countries (30, p. 14).

Industrialization, especially at the turn of the century, was accompanied by vast shifts of population. These movements have been an important subject of sociological inquiry, and, consequently, various theories of migration have developed. As early as the 1880s, Ravenstein formulated laws of migration which stated:

1. The great body of our migrants only proceed to a short distance and . . . there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces "currents of migration" settling in the direction of the great centers of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants . . .

2. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.

3. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry.
4. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural parts of the country.
5. Females are more migratory than males (27, pp. 241-305).

Taeuber and Taeuber, in a study of movements between cities and suburbs, support the idea that each current of migration is accompanied by a significant counter-current in the opposite direction (35, p. 718). Although many authors agree that most people move a short distance and few people move a long distance, recent theories have regarded movements in terms of opportunities as well as distance. In 1940, Stouffer presented theories of intervening opportunities, which propose that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities (33, pp. 845-867). One problem in testing this theory is that of defining "opportunity." In his study, Stouffer used census tract data from the Cleveland Metropolitan District to study the number of persons shifting residence. "Opportunities" was defined as the number of vacant houses (in a given group) in a given tract. Similar vacancies between two census tracts were called intervening opportunities (33, pp. 1-22). In 1960, Stouffer introduced a further variable: "competing migrants." Thus, his original model became an attempt to express, for a specific time interval, the number of migrants from
one city to another as a direct function of the number of opportunities intervening in the second city. He found that intervening opportunities and distance of travel influence migrants' destination (32, pp. 23-26).

Commenting on "distance and opportunities" in migration, Rose tested the following hypothesis in Minneapolis: "higher status persons seeking better jobs or 'opportunities' must move a greater distance to find them, on the average, than do persons whose skills and aspirations direct them to look for less desirable opportunities" (28, p. 85). Rose concluded that lower-class individuals find many more intervening opportunities in a given distance than do upper-class persons. This hypothesis was re-tested in Duluth by Stub (34, pp. 87-90). Stub's study confirmed Rose's, for professionals and managers were found to migrate longer distances than did lower-status immigrants.

Another area of interest in the study of migration patterns is the "push-pull" theory. The "push" and "pull" attributes of communities of origin and destination are considered as independent migration variables which account for the selectivity of certain groups, other independent variables being the characteristics of the migrants (3, p. 59). In a paper presented at the 1961 Population Conference, Bogue proposed the following hypothesis:
Migration that has a very strong "push" stimulus tends to be much less selective, with respect to the community of origin, than migration, which has a very strong "pull" stimulus; when there is a condition of very strong "push" but no strong "pull" (extreme cases are disaster such as famine, drought, floods, exhaustion of resources), origin of selectivity is at a minimum. In other words, selectivity of out-migrants from any community tends to vary directly with the strength of attractive "pulls" from other communities and inversely with expulsive "pushes" from the community itself (3, p. 61).

The "push-pull" theory was seen from another perspective by MacDonald. He found that, although "push" factors were operational in some rural areas of Italy, a large proportion of the population did not migrate, although they were free to do so. MacDonald thus examined migration differentials in relation to frequency of other forms of action directed to economic betterment and found that availability of work played an important part in keeping the population at home as an alternative to migration (21, p. 44).

The study of migration patterns has also dealt with differential migration, which is the selectivity of certain persons or the tendency of certain groups (age, sex, class) to be more migratory than others (37, p. 82). Demographers have repeatedly tried to establish universal migration differentials which would apply in all countries and at various times. The only differential which seems to have stood this test is that persons in young adult groups aged 20 to 34 are more prone to migrate than
other age groups (27, p. 243). Bogue reports that, apart from age, "... further universal differentials do not exist and should not be expected to exist" (3, p. 1). He submits the following hypotheses:

1. There is a series of stages in the development of any major migration stream. From initial invasion it develops into a phase of settlement which at its peak becomes routine, institutionalized. In initial stages, men outnumber women, but with the settlement phase sex selectivity tends to disappear or even favor women. During initial stages, migration is highly selective of young mature adults, persons who are single, divorced or widowed.

2. Migration stimulation by economic growth, technological improvement, etc. attracts the better educated. Conversely, areas tending to stagnation lose their better educated and skilled persons first.

3. Where the "push" factor is very strong (famine, drought, etc.) origin selectivity is at a minimum. Where "pull" stimulus is greater, there will be an appreciable selectivity.

4. In modern technological societies, major streams which flow between metropolitan centers tend to have very little selectivity of migrants (3, pp. 2, 4-6).

Other migration differentials have been shown to be important in particular places and times. Even the universal finding on age selectivity has some exceptions. One of the most obvious of these is the migration of persons to areas of better climate, which is usually selective of older and retired persons. Another exception to the age finding is that of migration of families whose parents are in the 30- to 40-year age groups from central cities to the suburbs (37, p. 87).
In his study of urban Brazil, Hutchinson concluded that migrants from smaller cities are more likely to be women than men and that the migrant stream from rural areas is even more heavily female in its composition. He further found that city-born individuals and migrants from other large cities are of significantly higher than average social status, whereas those from small cities and rural areas are of lower-class origin. He concluded that these differences reflect one of the main original motives for rural-urban migration--the hope of social and economic advancement (18, pp. 40-71).

The motivation of migrants is a question that attracts sociologists. The importance of the work motive is immediately evident, but the word "work" can take on many shades of meaning in the context of migration. A person who is completely jobless might migrate to another area in the hope of finding any kind of work. This tends to be the case of many migrants from rural to urban areas in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (32, p. 26). A person might have a good job in one place but migrate in search of a better job--a job worth a higher salary, a job in a healthier environment, a job which is more suited to his particular abilities. In the first case, the person is "pushed" out of his original place because of complete lack of work, whereas in the second he is "pulled" by the attraction of a better job without his job at the point
of departure being threatened. Then again, many persons are appointed by their firms to work in another place. The individual may be required to transfer to a branch of the firm found in another part of the country, or the firm itself might relocate from one area to another. Most students migrate after completing their education in search of their first job in a place other than the one where their college is found. Other jobs necessitate routine changes of residence. These include migratory farm work, construction, and the like. Many moves are provoked by seasonal changes. Those persons holding the many service jobs associated with the summer holidays migrate to the seaside and other resorts for the whole of the holiday period and cater to thousands of holiday tourists (28, pp. 100-102).

Work is not the only motive for migrating. Accounting for at least a quarter of all moves are causes linked in some way with family motives. Many people migrate at the time of their marriage; some migrate because of a lack of an offer of marriage in their place of origin. Kin and family relationships are strong motivating forces in the decision to move; a large proportion of persons move in order to join or accompany families or relatives. At moments of death, divorce, or separation, it is not uncommon for one of the partners to rejoin members of his
original family. Families are also known to move in order to improve opportunities in schooling, training, and employment for their children. There are also appreciable numbers of people who simply like moving from place to place to gain the experience each place has to offer or simply because they cannot settle down in one place (37, p. 116).

Finally, among motives for migration, there are occasional "mass migratory motives" caused by disasters such as droughts, floods, and war. Although the above motives might cause one to "decide" to move, they do not in all cases determine where one will go (10, p. 530). Several factors influence choice of destination, assuming that an individual has freedom to make this choice. Many people, if given the choice between two places, would prefer going to the one where their relatives or friends lived, or even acquaintances of their own friends. Others have some knowledge--through previous visits, holidays, travel, or reading--of the place to which they decide to go (19, p. 28). The cost of moving might be an important factor in deciding one's destination. Climate and general surroundings also play an important part in determining choice (28, pp. 61-66). All these factors would be considered as "pull" factors, as opposed to "push" factors which force one to make a move no matter where one decides
to go. Thus, multiple motives could account for the migrants' decision to migrate.

The majority of migrants to cities enter the community at or near the bottom of the economic structure. This is especially true of migrants from rural hinterlands or foreign countries who do not possess the skills, education, or experience that would qualify them for jobs that offer attractive rewards in income and security. Consequently, such migrants arrive at the inner city of poor residential neighborhoods but later move to the suburbs when they have accumulated sufficient wealth. Gist and Fava state:

In American cities at least, migrants heading for the suburbs are by and large on higher educational and occupational levels than those moving into the central cities. Suburbs are thus populated mainly by persons moving away from the central city and by individuals moving in from outside, who in both instances are generally middle or upper class persons, or at least persons who can afford to live in suburban communities and are not prevented from doing so by racial or other forms of discrimination (10, p. 548).

Generally, for internal migrants or foreign immigrants coming from a village or farm background, settlement in a city commonly represents a sharp break with the past in many spheres of life (21, p. 106). Work roles and working conditions are different, consumer behavior may vary sharply from the earlier mode of life, housing conditions may make normal family life difficult, and demands by the community or larger society are often confusing to the newcomer. Indeed, the very complexities of city life,
the extremes of poverty and wealth, and the rapid tempo of events contrasting with the rural community are often bewildering, especially if difficulties of adjustment occur due to language or other cultural differences that prove to be barriers to social integration and interaction (14, p. 73). For these and other reasons, migrants are marginal people who live, at least for a time, on the edge of the established order (21, pp. 107-108). But for most migrants in western cities, except those who are highly visible racially or culturally and are therefore the objects of discrimination, marginality decreases with the passage of time. Unless they return to their native habitat, as some do, they usually become integrated, to varying degrees, into the economic system, participate in political and civic activities, learn the prevailing folkways pertaining to consumer behavior and appearance, and internalize many of the values and meanings of city life (37, pp. 87-88).

The state of the urban economy and the level of technology have an important bearing on the adjustments the migrant is able to make. Those whose occupational skills are appropriate to a rural or agricultural economy may be at a disadvantage when confronted with a highly complex and specialized occupational system such as that which exists in the metropolis (27, p. 302). On the organizational level, the most crucial adjustment of
immigrants or internal migrants is an occupational role which provides economic support and an opportunity to obtain a more satisfactory lifestyle (38, p. 9). The majority of in-migrants in cities of the western world probably have found jobs and been able to ascend the status ladder, if only for a few steps. Culturally, the migrant's adjustment may be conceptualized as acculturation, in which he acquires such traits as attire, dietary habits, or various behavioral patterns of the prevailing lifestyle, or he may reject or ignore these attributes. As part of his acculturation he may learn the language of the host society, acquire occupational skills and appropriate manners, and learn its traditions (36, p. 165). Another aspect of assimilation is concerned with the psychological dimensions of adjustment—acquiring the values, meanings, sentiments, prejudices, or ideologies held by persons belonging to the host community. Essentially, it is a matter of learning and internalization through experience, intimate association with others, formal teaching, observation, or indoctrination of the meanings embedded in the dominant culture (37, p. 108).

Adjustment on any or all these levels—organizational, cultural, and psychological—commonly involves considerable internal stress for the individual, which may manifest itself in anxiety, overt deviant behavior, or conflict of one kind or another. The reactions of migrants or
immigrants to the many aspects of an urban social environment depend on a number of factors. Some migrants under certain conditions and subject to certain influences become rapidly integrated into the organizational system, acculturated, and assimilated, while others do not (37, pp. 16-18).

Several studies provide evidence that urban-to-urban migrants, on the whole, are more successful in their adjustments to city life than are rural-to-urban migrants (38, p. 88). This is hardly surprising since the urban migrant who has lived or worked in another city has had the benefit of experiences which may give him an advantage over migrants from rural communities. Generally, urban migrants from the cities are better educated and possess more usable occupational skills than migrants from rural backgrounds. One other reason that city-to-city migrants apparently tend to make a more successful adjustment than rural-to-urban migrants is that they are less dependent on their kinship or friendship primary groups than those who come from rural environments (37, p. 29). Obviously, because rural migrants generally enter the urban social structure at or near the bottom--at least lower than the majority of the city-to-city migrants--they are compelled to rely more on their relatives or friends for guidance and support rather than meeting the challenge of city life directly and more independently and coming to terms with it.
Although having the advantage of many facilities and institutional supports was unknown in earlier periods, present-day migrants commonly experience strong feelings of deprivation. Surely, a person does not necessarily suffer psychologically from poverty when everyone else around him is poor, but poverty in the midst of riches, as in the case of most cities, may create feelings of acute deprivation (37, p. 122).

One of the universal complaints of residents is that some migrants refuse to "acculturate" themselves in their new surroundings; they "import" their culture and beliefs from their place of origin. Glazer and Moynihan, after reviewing the evidence concerning the acculturation and assimilation of black, Puerto Rican, Jewish, Italian, and Irish individuals in New York, conclude that the "melting pot" concept is misleading. These minorities, most of whom are migrants or descendants of migrants, have retained a strong sense of ethnic or racial identity even though they have changed their lifestyles and conform in various respects to the prevailing *modus vivendi* of that metropolis (11, p. 67).

Urban Stratification

Stratification is the study of inequalities in the distribution of valued rewards in society: honor, power, wealth, educational opportunities, and the like. Some
inequalities are equitable, according to some moral or functional calculus; others are inequitable by any calculus (1, p. 1). Attention to distributive injustice is therefore a fundamental concept of stratification. The chroniclers of man's experience in antiquity and in more recent history apparently cannot avoid noting that some men possessed more than others: more wealth, more prestige, more influence over others, or more of something else that was highly valued and relatively scarce in a given society (1, p. 3). Hierarchical distinctions between social categories are described, for example, in the early literature of ancient China (43, p. 52), in the Old Testament, and in the extensive literary, historical, and political tracts of the ancient Greeks (12, pp. 9-13). Although social stratification marks all communities, it is generally fragmented into more levels in urban areas (4, p. 10).

The differential distribution of highly valued goods and social capacities and opportunities is everywhere associated with hierarchies of individuals and groups that sociologists call strata. These strata are more or less organized into systems of social stratification that order relationships between members of various groups as they interact in a variety of social contexts. The relative value of prestige as a criterion for placement in a hierarchy, for example, varies in different societies (40, p. 22).
There are three varying degrees of stratification—caste, estate, and class—and it is well to view these three stratification systems, along a continuum from the most to the least rigid, conceptually as the poles of a single dimension, varying in terms of the probability that a person's entire life will be spent in the same stratum into which he was born. It is important to point out that there is no society in which the extreme degrees of either rigidity or flexibility have been observed. Following Weber, these extremes are "ideal types" (42, p. 64).

**Caste**

The most rigid of stratification systems is the caste system. Although it is found in a number of societies in Africa and even existed among the ancient Israelites, the best known caste system in recent history has been that of India. Caste systems are organized into hierarchies made up of closed groups that have similar rank in relation to other castes but that may rank one another within the caste. Rank is normatively ascribed by birth rather than achieved, and endogamy is the major means for reinforcing the system. However, unlike other types of stratification systems, mobility by a whole caste may legitimately occur (42, p. 71).
Estate

Estates are somewhat less rigid than castes. Estate systems were ordinarily associated with feudal societies in which one's relationship to land determined his position. Thus, serfs, as contrasted with slaves, could not be sold but changed masters when the land they worked on was sold. Aristocrats were given land and land could also be taken away from them on condition of military support to a given ruler; similarly, outstanding deeds in the service of a ruler were often rewarded with land and title. The best known system of this type and its archaic remnants were found in Europe as recently as six decades ago. The English feudal system, which began to erode during the eighteenth century, and the German and Russian systems, which were strongly in evidence only a century ago, are excellent examples (1, p. 15). At the top of the hierarchy was the king, kaiser, or czar, supported by a hereditary military land-owning class. At an almost ranked position in relation to the military aristocracy was a priesthood, which provided a channel for mobility that did not require wealth or high rank at birth. Just below the priesthood were the merchants and craftsmen, followed by peasants who held their own land, and at the bottom were the serfs (29, p. 122).

The remnants of the estate system are still noticeable in the west. Although titles of nobility are
officially relinquished as a price for citizenship in the
United States and although the French, Germans, and Rus-
sians no longer officially recognize titled individuals,
the nobility does continue to maintain lifestyles that
set them off from "commoners" (29, p. 124). They also
continue to marry either among themselves or among the
wealthy. In England, titles are recognized formally and
the existence of the House of Lords, politically weak
though it is, provides a clear image of continuity behavior
of the older stratification forms in conjunction with the
new (1, p. 16).

Class

By comparing the concept of "class" with those of
"caste" and "estate," one can delineate the image of social
class more clearly. A brief comparison between class and
caste or estate is offered by Bottomore:

... Social classes, in contrast with caste
or feudal estates, are more exclusively economic
groups. They are not constituted or supported by
any specific legal or religious rules, and member-
ship of a particular class confers upon the indi-
vidual no specific civil or political rights. It
follows from this that boundaries of social classes
are less precisely defined. Furthermore, membership
of modern social classes is usually less stable
than that of other types of hierarchical groups.
The individual is born into a particular social
class, just as he is born into a caste or estate,
but he is somewhat less likely to remain at the
social level in which he was born than is the
individual in a caste or estate society. Within
his own life-time an individual or his family may
rise or fall in the social hierarchy. If he rises,
he needs no patient mobility, no kind of official recognition to confirm his new status (4, pp. 16-17).

One distinguishing feature of a class system is the common legal status of citizenship: all are equal before the law, entitled to hold property, and in principle empowered to choose their own occupations. By contrast with caste and estate systems, in the class system there are no longer barriers to taking on a particular kind of work (4, p. 20). Although a rank order exists in the class system, it has no legal standing or recognition. Furthermore, there is no formal monopoly on rank symbols or prohibition of rank symbols to inferior classes, a factor serving to render class boundaries even less distinct. Class systems are characterized not only by occasional individual mobility up or down the rank order, but indeed by institutionalized social mobility. Finally, there are no legal restrictions in the choice of marriage partners (4, p. 32).

The two giants of stratification theory are Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Max Weber (1864-1920). Their works are a part of the "classic tradition" and as such are indispensable to the student of stratification (23, p. 2). They have served in the past and continue to serve even today as points of orientation for the work of others.

Starting with Marx's writing, not only because his work chronologically precedes that of Weber but because
it is part of Weber's intellectual tradition, his approach to social stratification, is characterized by the concepts of "economic determinism" and "class struggle." Marx stated:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes (22, p. 84).

Marx portrayed a two-class system—the capitalists and the workers. He viewed such a class system as universally prevalent or latent in capitalist societies, so that whatever observations or insights he had concerning "workers" or "capitalists" could, in his view, legitimately be imputed more generally to "workers" or to "capitalists" everywhere. Marx adopted a unilinear approach that divided the society into two opposing classes, based exclusively on the economic factor (22, p. 107).

Weber, on the other hand, applied a multilineal approach—class, status, and party—showing that stratification can be based on each of the three or a combination of them.

Whereas the genuine place of "classes" is within the economic order, the place of "status groups" is within the social order, that is, within the sphere of the distribution of "honor." From within these spheres, classes and status groups influence one another and they influence the legal order and are
in turn influenced by it. But "parties" live in a house of "power." Their action is oriented toward the acquisition of social "power," that is to say, toward influencing a communal action no matter what its content may be. In principle, parties may exist in a social "club" as well as a "state" (42, p. 46).

Weber viewed the ownership and non-ownership of property, and types of ownership and non-ownership, as central axes of social inequality. Like Marx, he recognized that groups sharing economic attributes and characterized by similar ownership or non-ownership may recognize communality of interest and take collective action flowing from "class interests," but Weber went further to the distribution of honor or prestige--status--as a major form of social inequality. Individuals of similar status often form "status groups" having characteristic behavior patterns, styles of life, and social relationships and exclude those outside the status groups. Finally, the differences in the abilities of persons or groups to impose their will upon others--that is, differences in power--were viewed by Weber as constituting a separate type of social inequality, with groups of individuals forming "parties" for the purpose of acquiring, maintaining, and exercising social power (42, p. 49).

In the United States, as in most Western countries, the stratification system is less rigid in cities where both upward and downward mobility are easier. According to Tomlinson, except for black Americans and the far less
visible old-line aristocracy, the United States has an open class system; movement from one rank to another is not difficult and, in fact, happens frequently. This stratification arose from the stratification structure of the European nations from which the forebears of most Americans migrated. While the states were colonies, immigrants brought the Old World class structure with them, particularly the semi-closed system that existed in England (39, p. 69). But open competitive classes displaced this colonial system; after the Revolutionary War, the pro-English upper class lost its rank and much of its property, enabling the Americans to act to prevent the formation of another such aristocratic class by means which made a landed aristocracy impossible (30, p. 251). Specifically, they prohibited

The practice of primogeniture and entail of estates, and provided further for the equality of inheritance of descendants when persons died intestate. They also destroyed the legal means to subordinate individuals by enacting legislation which established equality of persons before the law, stipulated fair and equal punishments, broadened the suffrage, established public schools, naturalized immigrants, and emancipated Negro slaves (30, p. 253).

The rise of cities was accompanied by an enlargement of the middle class. The classes are not organized, although their members are affiliated in organizations and carry on organized activities, nor are they recognized in law. They are not natural in membership, although there
is some tendency for a natural upper class to form; rich, powerful persons and families encounter each other in social and economic activities and nurture sentiments of superiority (24, p. 56).

Three forms of stratification appear to exist concurrently in the United States, creating different kinds of classes and evaluations of social rank and worth. One of these is economic stratification, which forms economic classes; the second is status stratification, which creates status classes; and the third is party stratification, which creates influential classes. All three afford access to wealth, prestige, and power. Consequently, a correlation exists between the three sets of classes, but never an invariably high or predictable one. For instance, all rich persons are not socially important because wealth is only one measure of status and they may have acquired their money in an ignoble way. On the other hand, some prominent families may be reduced in economic but not in social circumstances (42, pp. 180-195). For considerations of this kind, economic, status, and power considerations are not merged into a single system of social classes, nor are their identities otherwise confused (4, pp. 131-132).

As their name implies, economic classes comprise individuals and families who perform similar economic functions. They are unified by their comparable
occupations, the size and source of their income, the share of economic goods and services which their income buys, and such prestige and power as their occupations and wealth give them. They are persons bound by common economic interests into classes and are aggregates rather than social groups. Their members are too numerous, culturally diverse, and geographically dispersed to know each other or to associate in social and cultural activities. They join organizations, however, which protect or advance their common economic interests (4, p. 137). Thus, they acquire a sense of class and class consciousness among themselves.

At present the economic classes in the United States approximate the following aggregations:

1. An upper class of individuals and families controls the giant corporations and determines policy for them; thus it also influences large sectors of the economy and, in some matters, possibly the economy as a whole. Its members are wealthy industrialists, important bankers, large business owners, and a few professionals. Some of them belong to powerful family dynasties which control major industries in the country (20, p. 457).

2. A second upper class comprises persons who actually manage the corporations and administer the economy. Although they are employees and take orders from the controlling class, they are superior in ability,
knowledge, education, and achievement to all others. This class includes top corporation officials; major government officials; large manufacturers; prominent business, financial, and industrial leaders; and successful professionals.

3. Third, an upper-middle class consists of persons who resemble those of the second class but are of lesser attainment. Nevertheless, they are relatively successful, well-educated persons--middle-level corporation, government and military officials; middle-sized industrialists; business owners and manufacturers; professional persons; and large farm owners.

4. Fourth is a lower-middle class which consists of lesser corporations and government officials and supervisors, small business owners, beginning professionals, clerical office and sales personnel, some skilled workers and foremen, and small farm owners.

5. Finally, the working classes, along with the class immediately above them, comprise the bulk of the American population. The upper level consists of skilled workers, foremen and line supervisors, small businessmen, and small farmers. At the lower level are semi-skilled workers, factory operatives, and marginal farmers (20, pp. 458-460).

Similarly, the status classes consist of persons and families who enjoy the same social status or prestige
because they maintain a certain style or level of living, belong to similar organizations, engage in common social and cultural activities, are unified by family and religious ties, and are accorded comparable esteem (1, p. 20). Although status classes are based on social rather than economic distinctions, the occupations and incomes of members nevertheless contribute to their prestige. They acquire sentiments of status class through the recognition they win as a class in the society. Their children, too, usually attend similar schools and pursue activities which socialize them to their own class and thus serve to perpetuate it (4, p. 170).

In concrete terms, status classes consist of socio-economic and socio-cultural groups, including sub-communities, which exist among the people (1, p. 40). These groups occur among native Americans and new (or recent) Americans—whites, blacks, Indians, Christians, Jews, other ethnic groups, and other segments of the population. They are numerous and diverse since Americans are heterogeneous and segregate into many groups based on social and cultural affinities. People hold these groups in various esteem, according high status to groups of white Americans of the cultural majority and lesser status and descending rank to groups of cultural minorities (1, pp. 41-42). The fusion of status groups into status classes is never uniform, nor does the number of classes
remain the same, although five or six classes usually are identified in American cities (15, pp. 66-85).

Studies of social class in several American cities have been conducted by sociologists, the best known being Lloyd Warner's research in Newburyport, Massachusetts (41, p. 41). Warner and his associates collected extensive data on 17,000 residents of what they chose to call "Yankee City" and grouped them into six hierarchical classes. The elite or "upper-upper" class is a very small group of native-born, Harvard-educated, Episcopalian, hereditary aristocrats. In class two, the new aristocracy or "lower-upper" class, the same propensities exist but to a lesser degree and without being hereditary. It is possible for the exceptionally successful person to climb into the lower-upper class in one generation. Class three, the "upper-middle" or professional group, is the most intellectual set, but its members' slight eminence is relatively recent and generally based on a combination of educational and occupational achievement. The fourth class, the "lower-middle" group, consists of a large number of white-collar employees and skilled workers; they are the backbone of fraternal orders and of the community in general. The "upper-lower," or fifth class, comprises self-respecting, reliable factory workers with little education, few social skills, and more than a little economic insecurity. Finally, the "lower-lower" class contains the unskilled
laborers, the jobless, and the slum dwellers. Here eco-
nomic and financial security are low and many individuals
are members of ill-regarded ethnic groups (41, pp. 43-48).

Although the Yankee City study has been criticized
extensively, its six-step outline of class structure is
not greatly dissimilar from the typologies used in some
other studies of social classes, except that in most cities
there is no upper-upper class and a few also lack a lower-
upper class. Thus, the more standardized grouping consists
of upper, middle, working, and lower classes. Upper-class
persons are the social leaders of the community, white-
collar workers comprise the middle class, the working
class is the skilled and semi-skilled backbone of the
city, and the lower class is made up of manual and unedu-
cated laborers (40, p. 115).

Contrary to popular belief, the best indicator of
social class is not simply money. Rather, it is a com-
bination of type of occupation (the usual rank order being
proprietary, professional, managerial, sales, clerical,
skilled blue-collar, manual, and service) and the amount
and kind of education (4, p. 70). Amount of income is
not only less important than occupation, education, and
family and ethnic heritage but is also qualified by its
source (status order being inherited investments, earned
profits, salary or fees, hourly or piece-work wages,
gambling or other disreputable activities, and public
assistance). This disparity between income and status and the related characteristics of power is illustrated by the millionaire garbage collector in the movie "Born Yesterday," who was certainly rich and was able to dictate policy to a few Congressmen, but whose poor English and manners made him too much of a boor to be acceptable socially in the homes of men he claimed he could "buy and sell" (4, pp. 77-78).

Location of residence, which is both a detriment and a consequence of social class, is the manifestation of prestige. Studies of stratification normally include the area of the city in which one lives as an indicator of status. In Yankee City, seven ecological categories were identified and assigned points in status rating:

1. The residential area of the highest repute in the community.
2. Better suburban and apartment-house areas, homes with large grounds.
3. Preferred residential areas with adequate grounds, good apartment buildings.
4. Residential neighborhoods with no deterioration, reputed to be average.
5. Areas beginning to deteriorate, into which business or industry is entering.
6. Areas considerably deteriorated but not slums, depreciated reputation.
7. Slum areas, neighborhood in bad repute (40, pp. 120-154).

In sum, it is quite possible to generalize about classes in America. The upper classes comprise Americans whose families have been rich and prominent for several generations and who confer their social qualities upon
their class. These characteristics include, with various exceptions, old American family lineage, English descent, important occupations and large incomes, endogamous class marriage, private school education, and membership in Protestant churches of English or colonial origins (hence mainly Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches). Other attributes include residence in exclusive urban or suburban neighborhoods, membership in important social clubs, and manners and speech befitting their class.

In the upper-middle class, status groups try to emulate the elite groups but, having to achieve their successes rather than acquire them through partial ascriptions by families, they possess fewer social distinctions and symbols of status. They attend both public and private schools and universities; belong to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish churches; hold important jobs; and have moderate incomes. Often they are active in the cultural and social activities of cities and metropolitan areas and belong to social, professional, service, and other organizations. Members of the lower-middle class also imitate the groups above them, but with less success and fewer distinctions. They also enjoy stable employment with fair incomes and establish good homes in residential neighborhoods at more modest levels. They belong to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish churches and temples
in which they are reasonably active, and some are also affiliated with secular organizations.

Below them are the status groups of the lower class, whose modes of life and levels of achievement are those of the working classes, with gradation among them. For the most part, they have steady employment and earn creditable if modest incomes and live in modest homes and apartments. They attend high school, and the brightest and more ambitious children go on to public colleges and universities.

At the bottom are the status groups of the poor: white, black, and Indian families who are socially submerged in the cities in which they dwell. They are manual workers, occasionally employed. They seldom join churches or other organizations, and their children attend school reluctantly. The police and welfare departments often know many of their members (40, pp. 154-178).

Summary

The various theories of the city were presented in this chapter, as they were viewed by western urban theorists, and related to the following four areas: (1) urban land use patterns from two schools of thought--the classical ecological and the socio-cultural schools, (2) migration and migrants' adjustment in western cities, (3) social relationships in cities, and (4) urban
stratification. From the review of these theories of the city the various propositions pertaining to each of the specified four areas in Chapter I were developed. The extent to which these theoretical propositions and others apply to Lagos, Nigeria, in particular and to African cities in general is the main thrust of Chapter V.

The spatial location of individuals within the land use pattern of a city and the stratification system of the city have a direct bearing on the nature of the social relationships that develop therein; hence, both the theories of western urban social relationships and the urban stratification systems were presented. These theories are meant to be applied to the African cities, with Lagos as the specific focus.

Migration is a social phenomenon that has both a demographic and social impact on cities and their land use patterns. Thus, migration was seen as closely related to a city's land use pattern, social relationships, and stratification, hence its inclusion in this chapter. Various migration theories are compared and contrasted with theories of migration pertaining to Lagos later in this paper.

Urban stratification was also found to be based on the criteria of ethnicity, education, income, and occupation. In addition, residential segregation according to class was found to exist in western cities.
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CHAPTER III

AFRICAN CITIES

This chapter focuses on the nature and character of African cities, tracing their origin back to the pre-colonial area. The theoretical perspective to be derived from these characteristics centers around geographical and historical facts about African cities.

The Pre-Colonial Cities

Many people tend to assume that urban life in Africa is exclusively the outcome of European contact, European stimulus to trade and commercial development, and European imposition of western urban values upon the African continent. On the contrary, however, as the following paragraphs reveal, African cities antedated European conquest and domination, and many urban centers played an important role in the advancement of African civilization.

Compelling evidence of urban life dates far into African antiquity. The iron-working industrial city of Meroë rose on the banks of the upper Nile in 593 B.C., and foundations for the spiritual city of Ife in West Africa were laid sometime between the sixth and ninth centuries A.D. (25, p. 62). Almost contemporaneous was the emergence of the East-African city-states, Great
Zimbabwe in Central Africa, and the great urban emporiums of the western and central Sudan. One could dwell at length on the antiquity of African cities, but the point is that urban living is neither a new nor an alien phenomenon in Africa (11, p. 37).

African cities may be defined in part by their major purposes. The existence of spiritual and ceremonial cities like Ife and Daura was derived from their respective positions as fronts of Yoruba and Hausa civilization (1, p. 52). There were also commercial centers of exchange, cities of the West African Sudan which mushroomed from the expansion of trade between the southern forest and North Africa and Egypt (9, p. 3). Similarly, the Swahili city-states sprang from trade between Arabia, Persia, India, and the East and Central African hinterlands; and, in like manner, towns and cities of the West African forests flourished as conduits for goods flowing between the southern savannah and forests and the Atlantic coast (19, p. 92). Other cities served primarily as centers of governance, such as the Kongolese mbanza (political center), the seat of the mani (king), or the kinbuga, capital of Buganda's kabakas, or divine rulers (29, p. 173). The destinies of these cities were inextricably linked to their rulers' tenure in office. Indeed, cities and rulers rose and fell together. Equally tenuous were the cities of refuge, notably Moshweshave's Thaba Bosui
in Southern Africa, Mkawana's Kalenga in East Africa, Bida city in the Nupe region of Nigeria, and the stockaded cities of Sierra Leone. Inevitably, the restoration of peace and security from wars and slave-raiding led to a decline in their residential populations (8, p. 16). However, refugee cities such as Ibadan in western Nigeria, which developed commerce and craft industries, prospered and endured. Finally, there were the cities of vision, of almost utopian purpose. Examples of these were Freetown, Monrovia, and Libreville, which were established in attempts at black Christian social and economic regeneration; Sokoto, another act of will, created as a spiritual and political center for the rejuvenation of Islam; and Kukawa in neighboring Bornu, built to symbolize Al-Kanami's triumph over the reactionary forces or the Sefawa dynasty and as a bold assertion of a new political order (4, pp. 27-32).

Thus, African cities served a number of purposes and functions, most exhibiting a combination of two or more of them. Kumasi and Benin acted simultaneously as political, spiritual, commercial, and artistic capitals of their respective Asante and Edo peoples. Great Zimbabwe became first a ritual center, then a political and commercial nucleus of the Rozwi; and Abomey won world attention as the political, artistic, and cultic focal point of the Fon peoples (4, p. 34).
It is therefore incorrect to view pre-colonial African cities as purely the outgrowth of responses to European stimuli, nor can one establish that market or commercial and industrial activity are prerequisites for the existence of cities. Some urban centers, particularly Ife and the kinbugas of Buganda, spurned the commercial ethic yet became prototypes, from a morphological point of view, for other communities (25, p. 77). Even in the great commercial cities, manufacturing was a small-scale operation, confined to family compounds and the marketplace. Nearly everywhere, part-time agriculturalists constituted a sizeable, though seldom dominant, proportion of the urban population (16, p. 3).

Another major misconception about pre-colonial Africans is that their settlement patterns were a disorganized, sprawling scramble of random structures, exhibiting little or no regard for the elements of rational planning (8, p. 14). Oral and written evidence reveals the importance of human relationships as a major determinant in the placement of buildings and also suggests that the utilization of space was hardly haphazard (22, p. 116). Nevertheless, it was not space that mattered so much in a pre-colonial African city as the relationships of its occupants. Space was seen as a medium in which to express relationships of a social, religious, ethnic, political, or occupational nature (17, p. 158). Thus,
urban compounds were arranged spatially on the basis of their residents. Kinship and lineage structures were reinforced by the compartmentalization of urban space. Although mobility was stifled, the beneficial role of the family as an educative, acculturative, cooperative labor and welfare mechanism was greatly enhanced. This attention to human relationships over geometric considerations undoubtedly helped to minimize criminality, social disorientation, and anomie (24, p. 5).

Many pre-colonial cities had a clear conception of the importance of the "center." This was most vividly expressed in the radial-concentric Yoruba and Hausa cities of Nigeria, where all roads led, like spokes of a great wheel, to the palace and adjacent marketplace. Compounds of provincial chiefs were situated at varying distances from the city center, depending on rank and social status (26, pp. 55-56).

Unlike contemporary African and western megalopolises, with limitless, confusing suburbs, the pre-colonial African city was often clearly defined by earthworks in the form of ditches or walls of timber, mud, or stones (28, p. 79). Walls gave urban containers an identity and their inhabitants a reassuring sense of security. The city gates, on the other hand, served as powerful instruments of coercion, controlling the movement of population and goods (17, p. 172).
Towns and cities were characterized by tight compound clustering, although they were broken by large expanses of public places. Major political capitals were intersected by processional avenues, which in Kumasi, for example, exceeded one hundred yards in width (10, p. 122). Typical also were sweeping parade grounds, rolling out before the palace gates like a huge brown carpet. More than mere conveyors of trade items and livestock, these great pedestrian-ways and gathering points also served as vital lines of human communication, where urban values, etiquette, and historic traditions were periodically acted out and reaffirmed. They were great human stages upon which all social and political strata visibly expressed their identity and purpose (10, p. 135). Street patterns in politically centralized authoritarian communities tended to be radial (Yoruba, Hausa) or on a modified grid (Luango, Benin, Abomey, Kumasi), whereas, in societies with more diffused authority (Ibo), they were winding labyrinths (15, p. 414). All of them, however, were streets for people, not vehicles; and they exhibited a certain vitality, humaneness, and warmth lacking in the motorways of the modern industrial cities of today (27, pp. 14-15).

Most cities were linked in some way to their immediate hinterlands, at least to the extent of profiting from the countryside's excess of food production. In
cosmopolitan Muslim cities, ties with their outlying non-Islamic villages were predominantly economic and political; in spiritually and ethnically homogeneous cities, on the other hand, such as the Yorubaland or Benin of Nigeria, the connections were more of a socio-religious nature (26, p. 318). The Yoruba regarded the countryside as an extension of the city. City-dwellers and ruralists in the Benin and Oyo empires tended to share a common ethnic and religious background; moreover, many urban residents commuted regularly to their suburban farms. Yoruba cities maintained a symbiotic relationship with their rural relatives (26, p. 320). By contrast, city-states along the East African coast were in an essentially predatory position with regard to their hinterlands, particularly with the growth of the slave and ivory trade fostered by Sultan Said in the mid-nineteenth century (26, p. 326). In many areas of Africa, the nobility maintained land and compounds in the surrounding countryside; by the nineteenth century, however, the tendency was for them to become absentee landlords, living at the capital and delegating tax-collecting and administrative responsibility to their titled slaves. Political capitals were often microcosms of the entire realm. Consequently, it was not unusual to find them divided into numerous sections corresponding to the outlying provinces and occupied by peoples from that particular area. In this way, all urbanites
originating in a given rural province or chieftaincy were
together in one quarter or ward of the city (13, pp. 91-99).

Europeans and Americans have long held the image of
African habitations as structurally unsophisticated and
monotonous in design, but diversity of forms, design, and
function is to be found in traditional African architecture. Pre-colonial African cities exhibited a seemingly
infinite variety of forms, rising from the basic circular,
square, or rectangular foundations (23, p. 151). They
included a multitude of variations on such forms as

... bullet, onion, beehive, complete cone or cone-on-cylinder; the steeple-crowned square or cylinder; the clay rectangular or square box under a flat, vaulted, or domical roof; the termite-hill-type tower with porcupine exterior; the rectangular box with gable-ended roof, and so on (23, p. 155).

Cities themselves were often mosaics of building forms,
and these basic forms were constructed with a wide
variety of building materials, including stone, coral
block, bulk mud or clay, mud-brick, clapboard, and grass
thatch, to mention only a few of the most common materials
(19, p. 120).

African architecture was constantly changing because
of the comparative impermanence of the building materials
used. After grass, clay was probably the most common
material used, no doubt because of Africa's abundance of
red lateritic soil, which possesses a high clay content.
Plastic clay and mud also act as good insulators and retainers of heat, and their plasticity allows the artisan-builder wide latitude in creating interesting wall designs in bold relief (26, p. 29).

Occupations also exerted a strong influence on architectural form and technique. In some areas, fascinating comparisons can be drawn between home building and basket making or, in Dogon country, between house forms and the design and shape of ceremonial dance masks. Changes in building techniques, style, and form were frequently a good indication of transition occurring within society itself (17, p. 120). Foreign influences in political, social, and religious belief systems led to variations in old themes or totally new architectonic departures. Shifts from nomadic pastoralism to sedentary agriculture resulted in greater utilization of bulk mud and mud-brick than thatch and light woods, which were more mobile, and with Islam came strong emphasis on square and rectangular forms (31, pp. 24-27).

Thus, many factors influenced the habitations of pre-colonial Africa, though none was as important as the natural environment, specifically climate, soil, and vegetation. It is not surprising that African architecture was distinguished by its adaptability to the natural setting. Structures often blended into the environment, achieving a synthesis of vernacular and organic forms.
(31, pp. 102-105). Great Zimbabwe's stonework simulated pre-existing boulders or became extensions of them, and early Ethiopian churches were chiseled out of solid bedrock like pieces of sculpture. Whole communities mirrored their surrounding countryside and acted as a kind of human camouflage. The tan-colored Sudanic cities seemed almost to merge into their natural sun-scorched surroundings; the grassy and leaf-like dwellings of the high savannah and forest appeared to be natural extensions of the encompassing growth of vegetation; the coral mosques, tombo, and merchants' houses in the Swahili cities echoed the sparkling coral-studded shoreline. Everywhere African cities seemed to be in dynamic complementarity with the natural landscape (20, pp. 104-115).

It must be emphasized that Africans possess an architectural heritage of their own and that they can point to pre-colonial urban cultures worthy of comparison with any urban civilizations of the world. To grasp space, to know how to use it, to see a potential unity between edifice and environment, and to perceive a synthesis of form and function are the crucial criteria for urban excellence. Pre-colonial African architecture displayed a clear recognition of these elements (6, p. 115).

African architecture and urban design obtained considerable inspiration and initial impetus from the creative intelligence of indigenous peoples (32, p. 25).
Doubtless, there were some external influences: Ethiopian ecclesiastical architecture was influenced by Byzantium; East African coastal designs drew inspiration from the Arabian peninsula, Persia, and western India and elsewhere; Sudanic styles were reminiscent of the Middle East, Egypt, and North Africa; and some West African coastal cities reflected styles found in pre-Columbian Europe, but, for the most part, pre-colonial African architecture and urban design were rooted in the religious, political, economic, and social conception of the local populace (14, pp. 136-137).

African cities were at once utilitarian, ornamental, and humane. They symbolized not only man's relationship to his fellowman and to the cosmos, but his adaptation to the natural environment—"Rather than conquer and destroy nature, the African builder complemented it" (27, p. 144). Moreover, urban living radiated a spirit of mutual cooperation, of civility and gentility, of good manners and etiquette. There was a sensitive interrelatedness to everything, and it was this quality that made pre-colonial African cities, and the structures within them, works of art (25, p. 133).

Even though urbanites comprised only a small fraction of Africa's population, they wielded considerable power and influence and played a disproportionate role in the development of many African civilizations (5, p. 83).
Scholars in the past have either neglected or grossly underestimated the urban factor in African history (12, p. 115). It was fashionable for observers to credit the building of cities and the process of urbanization to colonial regimes. Yet the modern metropolises of Dares Salaam, Tanzania; Mombasa, Kenya; Kinshasha, Zaïre; Bulawayo, Rhodesia; Kumasi, Ghana; Kano, Nigeria; and many others are not the products of colonialism. They pre-date the era of European role, in some cases by many centuries.

The New Cities

The new urban phenomenon in Africa is of a different order from the pre-colonial one. Greenberg says that post-intervention (colonial) urbanization differs quantitatively and qualitatively from its earlier counterpart, citing such contrasts as the size and number of the new cities as well as the new functions they perform (7, p. 50).

It has only been since the coming of the Europeans that new cities began to emerge in Africa and many old cities radically changed. The most visible cause of this emergence was economic, since many of the new cities were, and remain today, industrial-mining complexes linked to a European economy or entrepots between the European metropole and the African hinterlands. The new cities, as pointed out by McCall, "did not grow out of the needs
of, and in service to its own hinterland but out of the needs of the colonialists" (17, p. 152).

The single external event that most influenced the growth of African cities was World War II. The war created a need for strategic resources, bases, and local industries, and employment opportunities increased significantly (30, p. 24). The war's end had an especially profound impact upon urban growth. African soldiers who returned from overseas had developed consumption patterns that could most fully be satisfied in cities, and many European soldiers decided to seek their fortunes in an Africa that had become more visible to them because of wartime contacts and assignments. The dramatic growth of urban African following World War II is illustrated by population changes over time. Between 1950 and 1975, the number of Africans living in cities with a population of 100,000 or more increased from under one million to over 18 million, or almost 1,850 per cent. In the United States during this same period, the increase was only about 200 per cent (21, p. 621).

A clear relationship exists between (1) the spread of commerce, industry, mining, and services, and (2) the establishment or expansion of cities. This relationship exists whether or not a city's history pre-dates changes in the before-and-after characteristics exhibited by most older cities (11, p. 48).
Modernization and Urban Geography

Commerce

The first new African cities were located at ports, their function being the transportation of goods and the safe housing of foreign and indigenous traders, as well as those who facilitated their work. Among the better known ports are Abidjan, Accra, Conakry, Lagos, Douala, Dares Salaam, Mombasa, Monrovia, and Port Harcourt. Indeed, of the African countries that have coastal land, only Kenya, Congo-Kinshasha, and Congo-Brazzaville do not have their major city on a coast. Furthermore, many of the non-coastal cities are inland ports, including Bamako, Brazzaville, Kinshasha, and Niamey (11, p. 52). After indicating the historical importance of African gold, ivory, and slave trade as well as the strategic geographical importance of coastal cities in relation to territorial transportation networks, Hance writes:

When one notes the high proportion of the total money economy of tropical Africa that is accounted for by the export-import economy, it is not so surprising that ports have so frequently become the leading cities in a country (10, p. 135).

Construction of African railroads began just before the turn of the century, and by the mid-1930s most trunk lines had been completed. Almost all lines linked prime export-producing areas with ports. The completion of railroads in combination with stimuli from the outside world, especially during wartime, was responsible for the
spread of commerce, and thus for urban growth elsewhere than in the port cities (8, p. 16). Some cities, such as Nairobi, were created by railroads. Nairobi was founded as a railway settlement in 1899, and as of 1973 it had a population of over 600,000 (8, p. 18). More often, however, cities expanded as the result of contact with a rail line. Illustrative of this phenomenon is the history of Oshogbo, Nigeria. In 1905, when the extension of the railroads and telegraph made the city a northern terminus, it became an important center of commerce and trade almost overnight (23, p. 38). Roads for automotive traffic have also affected the pattern and growth of cities in Africa. While thousands of new villages and cities developed along the new roads, many old centers that were far from the road network began to stagnate (3, p. 20). It was often the combination of rail and motor transportation facilities that created the economic impetus for sustained urban growth. For example, the railway reached Umuiahia, Nigeria, in 1931, and was the principal cause of the city's birth; yet, it is only because a regional road network, laid out in the following years, converged upon the city that Umuiahia became the largest cattle trading and distribution center in the region (11, p. 4).
Industry and Mines

Although many cities were founded in Africa before the local introduction of industry, rapid urban growth was usually linked with industrialization, including mining. Wood and Galle are among those who argue that heavy industrialization is one of the main supportive processes of urbanization (33, p. 1). Industrialization in Africa was delayed both by relatively limited intercontinental contacts between Africa and Europe during the latter's industrial revolution and by the continental division of labor which crystallized after the intensification of contacts. Africa produced primary surpluses and developed the limited industry required for processing some primary products for exports. Examples of this are the extraction of oil from groundnuts and palm nuts, sawing logs into boards, and the smelting of ore into ingots (12, p. 18). Zambia provides a good example of urban development linked to resource exploitation: Chingola grew up around the Nchanga copper mine, Kitwe is at the site of the Nkana mine, Luanshya stems from the Roan Antelope copper mine, and Broken Hill is at the Broken Hill mine, to name only some of the prominent Zambian city-mine complexes (21, pp. 3-4).

Required labor for industries and mines was initially difficult to obtain because members of many African societies were relatively unresponsive to financial
inducements. The European's frequent solution was to impose a head tax upon Africans the money for which often had to be obtained by migrating to an industrial or mining site, which was usually a nascent city. Those unable to pay the tax were sometimes forced to contribute a commensurate amount of work. According to Mitchell, early settlers in central Africa had the attitude that "the best way to make an African work was not to pamper him, but to tax him so that he would learn the dignity of labor" (18, p. 200).

The creation of cities in response to industrial and mining requirements did not cease with the transfer of sovereignty to African states. A number of projects, usually joint ventures of the state and a foreign government or private corporation, have formed the basis of new cities. An example of this was the plan of the Ghanaian state meat products corporation, in cooperation with the West German Ministry of Economic Development, to build a new $2.5 million township at Zuarungu in the northern region in order to staff and service a new meat products industry (10, p. 66).

**Non-Economic Urban Services**

Although commerce and industry have had profound impacts upon urban growth in Africa, such activities as administration and education have also been important.
These services are performed for both foreigners and indigenes. Herskovits notes that many cities in Africa are so organized that they are compatible with the style of life to which Europeans are accustomed in their homes (12, p. 263). Berry refers to the cities as "rural service centers" offering crop-collection facilities, trade, water, sanitation, and schools (2, p. 59). In either case, the services need staffing, and their availability in cities attracts potential users.

The largest city in a territory usually contains the area's seat of government, whether it be a national capital or a country headquarters. The government was sometimes located in a previously established city, providing a catalyst for urban growth (4, p. 77). For example, the British used the traditional Ashanti city of Kumasi as their main administrative center in northern Ghana; as a result, this city not only survived but expanded and was given new functions. The other pattern was for a government station to be established first and a city to emerge as a result of the implantation; examples include Entebbe, Kaduna, Lusaka, and Zomba. Such towns are usually located in areas that satisfy such expatriate needs as pleasant surroundings, short distances from commercial centers, and environments conducive to relatively good health (11, p. 38). Whether a city preceded or followed the installation of an administrative center, administrative
cities have grown rapidly. Hance points out that an important cause of the growth of some African cities has been the increasing governmental force (10, p. 136).

Europeans established schools in Africa primarily to train the personnel needed to support European administrative and economic projects and to convert Africans to Christianity. Because Europeans' interests were best served in the nascent cities, they also became the sites of most schools, especially at the post-elementary level. With the dispersion of schools resulting from Africa's educational explosion, many elementary schools are now located in rural areas, but the majority of post-elementary schools are still in urban areas. The result of this pattern of school location was that Africans were drawn to cities and then acculturated to city life (30, p. 151).

The percentage of Africans living in the cities is rapidly increasing. Dramatic evidence of this growth is displayed by using a relatively early year as the base for comparison. Between 1900 and 1973, the number of Africans living in cities with a population of 100,000 or more increased from under one million to over 12 million, or more than 1,100 per cent; but in the United States, during the same period, the rise was only about 250 per cent (20, p. 151).
Summary

A popular misconception about Africa is that Africans did not build cities and that they lacked the political sophistication and organization to do so. Most Europeans viewed Africans as living in isolated, unstructured bush communities with little or no understanding of architectural design or appreciation of aesthetics in city organization. They assumed that what little city life did exist on the continent resulted largely from alien--European and Asian--inspiration. Furthermore, outside observers tend to ignore Africa's rich architectural diversity and to describe its peoples' dwellings as monotonous, look-alike mud and thatch structures.

It cannot be denied that most Africans lived, and many indeed continue to live, in small villages and hamlets. Yet many magnificent cities flourished as well, and only a minority of Africans were completely unaffected by them.

Following the intervention of the Europeans, the new urban phenomenon in Africa has been of a different order from pre-colonial city development. Since the coming of the Europeans, new cities have begun to emerge in Africa and many old ones have radically changed. The most visible cause of this emergence was economic, since many of the new cities were and remain today industrial-mining complexes linked to a European economy.
The elements of urban Africa which made the pre-colonial city unique, humane, and sensible are fast disappearing. Few would deny that urban Africa today has begun to display some of the most undesirable characteristics of western urbanism: crime, prostitution, poverty, social disorganization, and anomie have become part of the modern African urban scene. Yet many basic elements of pre-colonial urban Africa remain that are worth preserving or at least modifying to meet changing demands.

Figure 2 displays some of the major important African urban areas referred to in this study.
Fig. 2--Major urban areas of Africa (6, p. 11).
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY OF LAGOS, NIGERIA

Any study of Lagos, Nigeria from a sociological standpoint requires the examination of four dimensions: land use patterns, migration and migrants' adjustment in the city, social relationships in the city, and urban stratification. These are the main concerns of this chapter. The initial focus of the chapter, however, is the geographical position and the historical origin of Lagos, which is followed by a consideration of its demographic growth and composition. A survey of these dimensions generates the information needed for an understanding of Lagos in a limited ecological context.

Origin, Demographic Growth, and Composition of Lagos

The present city of Lagos is situated on three main islands--Lagos, Ikoyi, and Victoria--and the entire city is a vast area of forty square miles with a 1975 population estimate of more than three million inhabitants (29, p. 77). The city includes the major suburban, industrial, and commercial settlements of Ikeja, Apapa, Yaba, Somolu, Ajegunle, Mushin, Surulere, and others, as can be seen in Figure 3.
Fig. 3--Map of Lagos showing its residential districts (29, p. 70).
Historically, the city of Lagos evolved as a small coastal fishing village on the northwest tip of Lagos Island almost three centuries ago (1, p. 9). Lagos Island provided a settlement for people from the Nigerian hinterland seeking refuge from their more powerful neighbors in early modern times (2, p. 12). It became a port of entry for Portuguese merchants who later named it "Lagos de Curamo" because of its prominence during the slave trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the early nineteenth century, the slave trade had already changed the economic character of Lagos by rapidly making it the trade and commercial center of much of West Africa. Its natural geographical advantages of deep entrance to the sea and relatively still water transformed Lagos into an important port for long-distance trans-Atlantic trade (1, p. 10).

At the end of the slave trade and the beginning of the period of colonization, new forms of economic activity emerged in the city, and by early 1900, with the increase in numbers of both the African and European populations, Lagos' economic structure became more diversified, and it began to rely more and more on food products from other major towns and from rural areas. Lagos continued to grow steadily into a dynamic coastal city, and much of its historical richness of the nineteenth century is still evidenced in many old structures—schools, churches,
mosques, and markets—that still stand today (2, pp. 15-32).

Modern Lagos is regarded to have emerged in the first decade of this century when railway systems linked the city to the productive hinterland and the agricultural city of Ibadan. At that time, the harbor was deepened and the channel widened, and the Lagos stream tramway was constructed (2, p. 33). Many of the important public buildings, such as the general post office, the general hospital, colleges, and the old secretariat, came into existence in the early 1900s, and the city's communication with the outside world improved tremendously. Lagos blossomed into a "primate" city, characterized by industrial investment, a larger proportion of skilled manpower, and a higher consumption rate than any other community in Nigeria (32, p. 2). By 1963, it had become the largest city in Africa, surpassing its nearest rival, Ibadan, just ninety miles to the north.

The city's eminent position as a trading center and its easy communication with Europe and America and the interior parts of the country were the main features that influenced the choice of Lagos, among other cities considered, as the capital of Nigeria (28, p. 10). The other advantages, of course, were the presence of some rudimentary infrastructures such as water and electricity supply.
As it is presently constituted, Lagos has undergone a series of transformations. Not only has its social structure changed over the years, but its landscape has also been greatly altered and extended. It has grown from a small fishing, hunting, and farming community of less than five thousand persons in 1800, to become the largest city in Africa (28, p. 15).

In the present century, Lagos has experienced a steady population increase, which was most remarkable from 1931 to 1975. Table II shows the population and area growth of Lagos from 1866 to 1975.

The important components of population growth in Lagos have been, as in most other urban areas, natural increase and, even more importantly, in-migration. As the result of a marked decline in mortality, natural increase has come to play an expanding role in the growth of Lagos in this century. Taking into consideration the defectiveness of data due to under-registration and the lack of adequate base populations, natural increase fluctuated around ten per 1,000 population between 1927 and 1938, and then increased thereafter, reaching forty per 1,000 in some years between 1940 and 1959 (29, p. 73). Not only were more people surviving, but many more children were being born, largely because of a move toward parity in the adult sex ratios. Table III shows the three-year average
TABLE II
POPULATION GROWTH OF LAGOS, 1866-1975*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Intercensal Increase or Decrease</th>
<th>Area Covered (sq. mi.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>25,083</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>28,518</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>32,508</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>41,847</td>
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<td>76</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
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<td>182,093</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>1,864,504</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3,216,084</td>
<td>1,351,580</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


°NA°--not available.

crude birth rates, crude death rates, and crude rates of natural increase for the city of Lagos from 1927 to 1977.

Natural increase, however, explains only a portion of the twentieth-century demographic expansion of Lagos. Apart from medical and sanitary improvements, social and economic factors attracting migrants to the city also existed. The magnitude of these migrations, especially
### TABLE III

**THREE-YEAR AVERAGE CRUDE BIRTH RATES, CRUDE DEATH RATES, AND CRUDE RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE IN LAGOS, 1927-1977**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Birth Rate</th>
<th>Death Rate</th>
<th>Rate of Natural Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1927-1929</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1932</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-1935</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1938</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1942</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-1945</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1948</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-1951</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1954</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-1957</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-1960</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1963</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1966</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1969</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1972</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>50.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-1975</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-1977</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


the internal one, cannot be measured systematically at different points in time (10, p. 323). However, the importance of migration can be inferred from the migrant status of the Lagos population by the criterion of birthplace, as shown in Table IV.

In a 1974 survey, 65 per cent of the respondents (wives) and 72 per cent of their husbands were migrants born outside Lagos. The 1963 census showed comparable
TABLE IV
MIGRANT STATUS OF PERSONS AGED FIFTEEN YEARS AND
OVER: CENSUS OF LAGOS, 1963, AND SURVEY, 1974*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant Status</th>
<th>1963 Census</th>
<th>1974 Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males %</td>
<td>Females %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-migrants</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal migrants</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International migrants</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


data for all persons aged fifteen years or over, and both sources demonstrated the sex-selective pattern of migration, with more males than females among the migrants. Not only has the migrant component of the population been preponderantly larger than the non-migrant, but the contribution of immigration to total growth appears to have been similarly significant.

Economic factors largely explain the attraction of migrants to Lagos. The city has always offered employment opportunities in government, commerce, and industry, and this was especially so after World War II. Thus, corresponding to the marked increase in the city's population
in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s has been the phenomenal growth of industrialization during the same time. Most major industrial plants in existence in 1974 (76 per cent) came into existence in this period (14, p. 28), and Lagos now has more industries than any other part of Nigeria (35, p. 21).

Recent growth in the population of Lagos has been accompanied by new social and demographic configurations. The most obvious has been that the population has been becoming younger. The number of children aged zero to fourteen years increased from about 26 per cent of the total population in 1921 to about 45 per cent in 1970. Similarly, the number of persons under thirty increased from 62 per cent in both 1921 and 1931 to 77 per cent in 1970 (12, p. 55).

Migration obviously contributed to this youthfulness of the population, because most migrants to Lagos, as in the case of most other cities, were young persons of marriageable age who not only swelled the ranks of the younger age groups but had higher fertility potentials. In 1970, only 37 per cent of non-migrant males were fifteen to forty-four years of age, as opposed to 71 per cent of all internal migrant males and 66 per cent of all international migrant males. The percentages for females in the above groups were 41, 67, and 64, respectively (12, p. 5).
Further contributing to the growing youthfulness of the population of Lagos through greater chances of marriage and therefore increased reproductivity has been the gradual but remarkable decline of the relatively high sex ratio attained in 1921, toward a probable future balancing of numbers between the sexes. From a rate of 135 males per 100 females in 1921, the sex ratio dropped to 126 per 100 in 1931 and to 119 per 100 in 1950, and then down to 102 per 100 in 1971 (12, p. 1).

The ethnic composition of the population of Lagos has also been diversifying through a marked influx of persons from tribes in the immediate hinterland as well as the more distant interior of the country. The Yorubas, as the original settlers, remain the largest single ethnic group, although they did not, over the years, multiply their numbers quite as fast as did the other ethnic groups. If 1973 figures were to be expressed as percentages of those of 1950, the magnitude of growth depicted by the Yorubas was only increasing their 1950 numbers by 66 per cent up to 1973, whereas the Ibos, Urhobo, Hausa, and other tribes multiplied their numbers by 500, 300, and 200 per cent, respectively (12, pp. 10-24).

As would be expected, those migrant tribes which grew most rapidly exhibited the most marked imbalance between the numbers of males and females. In fact, all non-Yoruba people shared this as a common feature, explicable in part
by the more marked pattern of sex-selective migration among them (29, p. 76). The sex ratio of the Yorubas appears normal because a large number of them are native to the city, with 82.3 per cent of all persons born in Lagos in 1973 being Yorubas. Table V shows the dominant position of the Yorubas and their proportion of the total population of the city.

TABLE V

MAIN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE TOTAL, MIGRANT, AND NATIVE-BORN POPULATIONS OF LAGOS, 1970*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Lagos-Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>1,986(59.6%)</td>
<td>856(50.4%)</td>
<td>1,130(68.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibo</td>
<td>688(20.6%)</td>
<td>409(24.1%)</td>
<td>279(17.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo and Urhobo</td>
<td>296(8.9%)</td>
<td>164(9.7%)</td>
<td>132(8.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efik</td>
<td>228(6.8%)</td>
<td>159(9.4%)</td>
<td>69(4.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>40(1.2%)</td>
<td>36(2.1%)</td>
<td>4(0.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>43(1.3%)</td>
<td>32(1.9%)</td>
<td>11(0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>58(1.6%)</td>
<td>41(2.4%)</td>
<td>17(1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Nigerian Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>3,339(100.0%)</td>
<td>1,697(100.0%)</td>
<td>1,642(100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The social and economic consequences of urbanization in Lagos are reflected in the changing facets of life connected with religion, education and literacy,
non-agricultural occupations, a greater personal involvement with technology, and increasing dependence on a money economy in an environment with a rising cost of living (29, p. 77). The dominant religious groups in Lagos are Christians and Moslems, as can be seen in Table VI. Variations in the size of each religious denomination between 1901 and 1970 are presented in this table.

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE IN RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN LAGOS, 1901-1973*
(1901 = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Islam</th>
<th>Christianity</th>
<th>Other Religions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>1,149</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>4,089</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Patrick Ohadike, "Growth, Transition, and Problems of a Premier West African City (Lagos, Nigeria)," Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (June, 1974), 78 (29).

The impressive increase in Christian membership has been particularly significant, as the Christian missionaries by their educational programs have aided the progress of social change (25, p. 95). Allied with the growth of Christianity has been advancement in formal education. A
rather rough assessment of illiteracy, derived from available information, indicates that the crude illiteracy rate per 1,00 population in Lagos dropped rather rapidly from 836 in 1911 to 200 in 1970 (2, p. 87).

The history and pattern of such progress reveal themselves clearly in the 1974 survey distribution of respondents by age, religious membership, and educational attainment. Table VII shows the educational status of inhabitants of Lagos by age and by religious membership in 1974.

The recentness of educational improvement in Lagos is reflected in the negative association between age and educational status, while the activities and importance of the Christian churches in fostering such improvements appear clearly in the greater number of educated Christian respondents compared with that of Moslems or members of other religious groups.

The industrial and commercial status of Lagos is highlighted by its very low proportion of persons in agricultural occupations. This is in marked contrast to the national pattern, which shows that, in 1960, 78 percent of the total occupied manpower in Nigeria was employed in agriculture (27, p. 5). Even with inadequate statistics, evidence can be adduced to show that the number of persons in agricultural activities in the city has probably been declining throughout this century in the face of gains made by commerce and industry. For instance,
TABLE VII
EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF LAGOS RESIDENTS BY AGE AND RELIGIOUS MEMBERSHIP, 1974*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socioeconomic Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Educated (%)</th>
<th>Not Educated (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-36</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious group:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslems/others</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


the only available figures for persons engaged in agriculture in the census years of 1871, 1881, 1891, 1952-1953, and 1963, taken as percentages of the total population, were 12.9, 14.7, 18.6, 2.6, and 1.4, respectively. In the survey of 1971, only 0.4 per cent of respondents and their spouses were engaged in agriculture and related occupations (8, pp. 72-73).

Involvement by females in occupational activities has been quite high in the city. Over one-third of all employed persons in the census of 1963 were females, a fact
explained by their extensive participation in trading activities. In a survey conducted in 1972, Ohadike found that 68 per cent of employed wives, as opposed to 13 per cent of their husbands, were engaged in trading activities. Associated with this female control of trading activities was their lesser involvement in competition for jobs in government, business firms, and other agencies. In the survey, 72 per cent of females, as opposed to 24 per cent of males, were self-employed (29, p. 84). Another factor associated with this phenomenon is the low educational qualification of females, which renders their labor less attractive to buyers in the market (29, p. 91). Also, since women usually have to combine home management with performing some gainful activity, the convenience of being self-employed facilitates such a combination (25, p. 115). Table VIII shows the distribution of occupational groups in Lagos as of 1974.

Land Use Patterns in Lagos

The city of Lagos exhibits a structure which in part can be explained in terms of the twin center concept—the traditional and the modern (23, p. 214). In the traditional center of Lagos, the palace of the king, Lagos' traditional ruler, stood in the heart of the city, within an extensive palace ground covering many acres of land (23, p. 215). Not far from the palace was the Eko market,
### TABLE VIII

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN LAGOS, 1974*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Labor Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and related</td>
<td>11,801</td>
<td>3,891</td>
<td>15,692</td>
<td>5.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative, executive, and managerial</td>
<td>3,933</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>4,188</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>37,054</td>
<td>4,757</td>
<td>41,811</td>
<td>14.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers (traders)</td>
<td>24,631</td>
<td>49,149</td>
<td>73,780</td>
<td>26.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and related</td>
<td>6,391</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>6,651</td>
<td>2.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners, quarrymen, and related</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communication</td>
<td>18,749</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>19,360</td>
<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, production workers, and laborers</td>
<td>87,825</td>
<td>4,758</td>
<td>92,583</td>
<td>32.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service, sport, and recreation</td>
<td>21,218</td>
<td>5,414</td>
<td>26,632</td>
<td>9.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified or inadequately described</td>
<td>2,545</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>2,773</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>214,375</td>
<td>69,300</td>
<td>283,705</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with a shoreline extension in the Ebute Ero market. This Eko market was the real central market in Lagos, but because of its more advantageous location for trade along the lagoon, the Ebute (the haven of the visitors) eventually became more important. It was a daily market specializing in both foodstuffs and craft products (24, p. 275).

In 1898, Lagos Island was served by fourteen other markets in addition to Obun Eko and Ebute Ero (26, p. 277). This large number of markets emphasized the quarter organization of traditional Lagos, the isolation of each of the portions of the city, and the poor and undeveloped state of transportation. As the quarter system of organization diminished in importance and circulation within the city became both easy and inexpensive, the number of markets tended to be drastically reduced. By 1940, only three of the earlier sixteen markets survived (24, p. 323).

While the traditional center of Lagos was to the north of the city, the southern part began to be occupied after 1851 by incoming European merchants. As the nineteenth century progressed, this area developed as a new but important center of trade. In 1861, the merchant John McCoskry, during a period when he acted as governor, began the construction of a broad road, sixty feet wide, along the waterfront which became known as the Marina. Soon after, another street, forty feet wide, was begun about one hundred yards behind the Marina and was named
Broad Street. These two streets today form the main arteries of the modern central business district of Lagos, an area still more commonly referred to as the Marina (6, pp. 212-213).

A multiplicity of functions are concentrated in the business district, including wholesaling, retailing, financing, cultural activities, and administration. Each of these functions tends to be dominant in parts of the business district, giving rise to five main sub-districts (16, p. 166). The first of these sub-districts is the warehouse and wholesale sub-district, for which produce stores and warehouses are the most distinctive type of land use. The second is the retail sub-district, which is the heart of the business district; the most characteristic form of land use in this sub-district is the department store. Shops classified under this heading usually sell women's and men's clothing, household textiles, furniture, and domestic hardware. The oldest and most important of the department stores is the Kingsway Store. Other notable department stores include Union Trading Company, A. B. Leventis, G. B. Ollivant, and Chellaram (23, p. 215).

The finance sub-district is found to the east of the retail sub-district with the Central Bank of Nigeria as its center. Scattered around the Central Bank are various American, British, and Nigerian banks and insurance
companies, many of which have been reconstructed into multi-story buildings in the last few years. Farther east are to be found various religious and educational institutions, including the Anglican Cathedral of Lagos, the First Baptist Church, the Central Mosque, and various high schools and elementary schools. Last, the administrative sub-district is located to the extreme east, comprising both municipal and federal government offices. Because of the rapid constitutional development since 1951, this sub-district has experienced the most phenomenal changes. From being contained in a single large secretariat building, government business overflowed into many adjoining structures, some of which had to be built as multi-story structures to provide space for the numerous new government departments. Further expansion came with national independence in 1960, when the need for numerous foreign embassies, consulates, and commissions for office accommodation led to an increase of new buildings of the most modern design (25, p. 81).

Clear evidence exists of the development of other modern retail conformations in addition to the central business district in other parts of Lagos. In at least four locations, the development of outlying business centers is apparent. These locations are at Sabo in Yaba; Oyingbo in Ebute-Metta; the Idumota intersection of Victoria and Balogun-Ereko streets, both of which are
business thoroughfares; and Araromi at the eastern end of Lagos (24, p. 284). At each of these centers, the two major elements in the nucleation are department stores and a bank. There is evidence of a growing intensity of land use in these areas, indicated by the increasing development of high-rise buildings, the ground floors of which are designed to serve as shops (24, pp. 284-285).

Equally obvious in Lagos is the existence of principal business thoroughfares. The two major such thoroughfares in Lagos are Victoria Street and Balogun-Ereko Street (23, p. 213). Like similar streets elsewhere, they combine the two functions of a business street and a traffic artery. As business streets, they differ from the central business district in having little depth beyond the street frontage and consist largely of single- or two-story buildings of rather restricted floor space, varying between two hundred and four hundred square feet. Their strongest attraction derives from their specialized sales character. Their specialization in the sale of textiles is, apart from anything else, the spatial expression of local trade organization, whereby the large European firms handle most of the importation of textiles into the country but sell wholesale, often direct from the warehouse, to Syrian and African businessmen. This group of secondary sellers, unable to compete for land in the central business
district, find the traffic arteries to and from the latter to be an invaluable location for their purpose (23, p. 214).

Lagos also shows clear evidence of two lower orders of business conformations, namely the neighborhood business street and the isolated store cluster. The neighborhood business street tends to occur as a complementary adjunct to local markets, which have been the real center of neighborhood economic life. Indeed, most of the neighborhood business streets have their source, as it were, at the markets and extend away from them, generally along major transportation routes (24, p. 286). Figure 4 shows the retail structure of the city of Lagos.

Until recently, the traditional center and the modern central business district provided the major nuclei around which the city of Lagos developed, although the city's development along the riverine route has extended for only a short distance. Since 1926, a new nucleus has been established at Apapa with the construction of the port. However, as long as Apapa served only as a port, its focal importance was not very great. Since 1950, when the land in its immediate vicinity was developed as an industrial estate, it has begun to exert a strong influence on the pattern of land development in Lagos. The Apapa industrial estate was easily the most important industrial concentration in Lagos. However, since 1958,
Fig. 4—The retail structure of the city of Lagos (24, p. 284).
two other industrial nuclei have developed in Lagos, one at Mushin and the other at Ikeja (1, pp. 97-99).

The four industrial concentrations at Apapa, Ebute Metta, Mushin, and Ikeja; the central business district (Marina); and the traditional center on Lagos Island constitute the six major influences on the internal structure of Lagos.

The Residential Districts in Lagos

One useful index which summarizes the various characteristics of the population of Lagos, insofar as they determine the residential structure, is rent paid for accommodation. In an economic system characterized by private ownership of buildings and by competitive selling and renting of dwellings without governmental restrictions such as rent controls or price ceilings, all the various factors that make a house or apartment desirable to potential owners or occupants become integrated into a single measure of desirability--its market value--either in the form of sale or rental value (31, p. 90). Under such conditions as exist in Lagos, it can thus be assumed that rents paid per room afford the best available measure of the desirability of residential districts. Ability to pay, in turn, is determined by socioeconomic variables, especially education and occupation.
A sample survey of 605 houses carried out in August, 1967, indicated that provision of household amenities is the major determinant of rent in Lagos (24, p. 298). Of course, considerations other than household amenities, such as water and electricity supply, do enter into the determination of rent. Low rents may sometimes represent special concessions to either relations or tenants of long residence or tenants occupying comparatively small rooms in a house with many large rooms. High rents may reflect nearness to main centers of business as well as general accessibility (31, p. 92).

In classifying residential districts, it is also important to include the special case of government and privately-owned reservations where senior officials in the civil service, commerce, and industry reside. Although rents are paid here, they are calculated on the basis of a certain percentage of the monthly salary of the occupier and, in general, they tend to be much lower than the rent for comparable accommodation elsewhere in the city. Yet, there is no doubt that residences in these reservations belong to the very highest grade of those found in the metropolitan area within Lagos (25, p. 132). For this reason, the reservations are graded as high while other districts have been graded medium or low. An example of the reservation is the Ikoyi residential area.
The medium grade includes most of the newly developed districts on Lagos Island and the planned districts on the mainland which, although new, lack essential household equipment and facilities and are poorly maintained. The low grade is made up of the older districts on Lagos Island and those on the mainland. Districts in the lower medium grade show some of the characteristics of both groups. They are planned and well laid out but have generally failed to preserve the same standard of upkeep as those of the medium grade. On the whole, although other criteria may enter into the regional character of residential districts in Lagos, the rent factor, more than any other, is important in giving a fair indication of their groupings (24, p. 280).

The following residential districts are identified and grouped under their grades, as shown below:

A. High-grade residential districts
1. East Marina and Victoria Highland
2. Ikoyi
3. Apapa
4. North Yaba
5. Itire Estate
6. Palm Grove Estate
7. Maryland
8. Ikeja Reservation and Housing Estate
9. The Railway Compound

B. Medium-grade residential districts
1. Surulere Estate
2. Yaba and Ebute Metta East
3. Northeastern Lagos

C. Lower medium-grade residential districts
1. Western Mainland
2. Central Lagos
3. Obalende
D. Low-grade residential districts
1. Old Lagos
2. North Central Lagos
3. Mushin
4. Yaba East
5. Somolul
6. Ajegunle (24, pp. 299-300)

High-Grade Residential Districts

The nine districts in this grade have the common characteristics of being well-planned layouts. Most of them are relatively new and, apart from one or two exceptions, have been specially developed by government or government-sponsored agencies. The density of housing in these areas is generally much lower than the average for Lagos, and most houses stand in the midst of well-kept lawns surrounded by neatly-trimmed hedges. Except for blocks of flats, the houses are generally single-family dwellings. Here are to be found the most important members of the community in all spheres of activity in Lagos (24, p. 301).

The oldest of the high-grade residential districts is that of East Marina. Dating from the 1850s, when the British established a consulate there, this district today accommodates the political leaders of the country. It is very close to the central business district. The governor's lodge, the president's lodge, and the lodges of a few other high-ranking ministers of state are located here. The remaining members of this political
elite as well as most of the top civil servants are to be found in the Ikoyi reservation. This reservation was developed in the late 1920s to provide extra space for the increasing number of European civil servants coming to Lagos (29, p. 82). Up to 1952, it retained its exclusive character, but with the political development of the country since that time, it has not only become considerably mixed in its population but has also vastly expanded its area. The program of expansion involved extensive land reclamation of the swampy parts of Ikoyi Island on the northeast, southeast, and southwest. Despite the close proximity of this district to the central business district, it has retained its distinguished upper-class identity and prestigious neighborhood (1, p. 110).

Most of the other high-grade residential districts have developed in response to the need to provide satisfactory accommodation for the top classes in commerce and industry. A reliable indication of the differences in age among the various districts in this grade is the style of housing within them. In the older districts, housing tends to be largely of the colonial type, replicating as much as possible the typical English country house—even including the fireplace. They are usually two stories high and painted white, with wide balconies, tiled roofs, and a generous use of timber in their interior paneling. Houses in the newer districts are
more light and airy in their style and show a variety of delightful and elegant modern tropical designs (33, p. 301).

Figure 5 shows the grades of residential regions in Lagos. It indicates that, except for the development in Mushin, Somolu, and Ajegunle, housing conditions tend to improve, in general, away from Old Lagos (24, p. 306).

Medium-Grade Residential Districts

The three districts included in the medium grade--Surulere, Yaba, and Northeastern Lagos--share the common characteristics of having been planned and laid out during this century, the Surulere Estate being the most recent. All of them show a very high percentage of houses with more than the minimum of household amenities. The majority of the landlords belong to the professional classes, and tenants in "white-collar" employment show a predilection for these districts. Density of housing is generally about twelve to sixteen people per acre.

The oldest of these three districts is Northeastern Lagos, where the Brazillian Quarter stands out as a distinctive social area. Together, these districts constitute an area highly desired by white-collar workers in government and commerce who seek to be close to their place of work in the central business area (Marina).
Fig. 5--The grades of the residential districts in Lagos (24, p. 302).
Yaba and Ebute Metta are other areas much desired by "white-collar" workers. Ebute Metta, however, being much older than Yaba, has tended also to attract people on a slightly lower socioeconomic scale, with the result that its houses are not as well preserved as those of Yaba (25, p. 209).

**Lower Medium-Grade Residential Districts**

This grade comprises those districts which, although planned, began as slum areas. Even after their new layout, they have not completely excluded the kind of occupants who tend to make the district return to slum conditions. Mabogunje believes that the preponderance of petty traders in the population of these districts, in spite of the relatively good provision of household amenities, has led to a generally lower standard of neighborhood upkeep (23, p. 302). Of interest is the fact that workshops, restaurants, clothing stores, and grocery stores are located below many of the residential buildings in these areas (25, p. 211).

**Low-Grade Residential Districts**

This grade has the characteristic of never having been planned. It includes the oldest district on Lagos Island, with its narrow, confused lanes and generally poor housing conditions and the newly developed low-class residential districts outside the municipality (23, p. 304).
Old Lagos comprises all the districts in the western one-third of the Island which were, in the early growth of Lagos, established on the available dry spots. The nucleus of the districts is in the extreme northwest where the palace of the king and those of his chiefs were located. The district has been affected by most of the changes in Lagos, and it has suffered a great deal of deterioration. Since the growth of Lagos has occurred largely through immigration, the old city found itself hemmed in by the development of new districts occupied by the migrant population. Family ties, moreover, made it difficult for many indigenous Lagos inhabitants to move out of the old region. Upper-class people of Lagos origin could also be found living in this region (2, p. 16).

In terms of ethnicity, the low-grade residential districts remain predominantly Yoruba, most of whom are engaged in trading or crafts. Housing conditions are indescribably squalid and population densities are staggering (23, p. 305).

Mushin, a low-grade district, is inhabited by both low-income workers and the higher-income groups. It offers cheap tenements to the low-income workers, cheap land to the higher-income groups, attachment to the ancestral land, and close proximity to the central business district (25, p. 140). The result has been the development of a suburb of very mixed character.
In the extreme southwest near Apapa, along with the existence of industries and stores, since the 1950s low-grade residences have sprung up to house dock workers and factory hands, representing a mixture of land use patterns. The streets are not well developed and are most inconvenient for traffic. The non-Yoruba ethnic groups are well represented here, with Ibo predominating. The district attracts very few people in the higher-income group (25, pp. 163-164).

In the present situation of Lagos, both the ancient core and the peripheral areas of the metropolitan district feel the greatest impact from recent developments. In the case of the core area, this impact has resulted from the expansion of the central business district, and in the peripheral areas it was due to the almost explosive character of metropolitan growth. The process whereby the business area of a city expands horizontally to adjoining streets and districts is, of course, not peculiar to Lagos. The form of invasion of one type of land use by another is, moreover, a sign of development which can hardly be prevented. However, in Lagos, both because of certain details of its population structure and because the process has been artificially induced by municipal slum clearance, its social and economic consequences have been tremendous (25, p. 165).
Land use in old Lagos consists of a continuous unplanned mixture of residential compounds, other closely-packed residences, markets, mosques, churches, and shrines. Little or no land is vacant or used for recreational or entertainment purposes in the western sense. A residential compound in old Lagos is a cultural as well as a physical unit composed of dwellings and storage rooms arranged in a rectangular pattern facing inward toward a courtyard (23, p. 211). The compound is owned by and is the traditional home of a lineage—that is, a descent group of indigenous Lagosians who are able to trace their patrilineal genealogy to a founding ancestor. Most of the inhabitants of the old city are indigenous to Lagos. Indigenes are distinguished from other inhabitants of Lagos in that they are descendants or otherwise have kinship ties to the early or pre-twentieth century Lagosians. Indigenes are largely engaged in traditional economic activities including crafts and various forms of small-scale wholesaling and retailing (32, p. 12). Old Lagos has little in the way of morphology, social patterns, or economic activities that are directly or indirectly similar to patterns that have developed in western cities (3, p. 145).

According to Baker, it would be a mistake to infer that the impressive economic and social development of the past sixty or seventy years has transformed Lagos into
a fragment of Europe in Africa. Although its economic
development has been largely influenced by exogenous fac-
tors introduced from the west, its urban social structure
is distinctly of African origin (2, p. 36). The most pro-
nounced and most consistent features of the city's social
structure, for example, is its large Yoruba population.
The Yoruba people are traditional urban dwellers who clus-
ter in ethnically homogeneous, occupationally specialized,
and politically centralized cities, with residential units
based on lineage and kinship ties (3, p. 146). Table IX
shows the principal ethnic groups in Lagos as percentages
of the total population from 1911 to 1972.

Lagos is not one of the most typical of Yoruba towns,
but many features of Yoruba urbanism, particularly the pat-
tern of ethnic homogeneity, have survived throughout the
years of growth. Between 1911 and 1970, the city's popula-
tion increased ninefold, but the proportion of Yoruba resi-
dents never fell below 70 per cent of the total. Ethnic
homogeneity was highest in the low-grade residential
region, where 75 per cent of the population was Yoruba
(2, p. 13).

This ethnic dominance has had a profound impact on
the pattern of social integration in Lagos. Instead of
the melting pot model of urban assimilation, the process
of urban acculturation in Lagos has been based on deference
to, or conformity with, the customs and values of the
TABLE IX

PRINCIPAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN LAGOS AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1911-1972*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibo</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebo</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nigerians°</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Nigerians</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


°Includes native foreigners. After 1931, these groups were included in one of the other major ethnic group classifications, principally Yoruba.

dominant group. It has amounted to a "Yorubanization" of the city, for the Yoruba prevail not merely in numbers but in the cultural life, the social institutions, and even the political structure of the city (2, p. 14).

The non-Yoruba group in Lagos, of which the Ibo-speaking people constitute the largest portion, come mostly from the eastern part of the country. From 0.5 per cent in 1911, the Ibos rose to 17 per cent in 1970. Their migration
to Lagos was as much a consequence of conditions that pushed them out of their homeland as it was a product of the pull of the city, for their movement to urban areas commenced in the 1920s, a time of relatively meager economic opportunity. Pressured by severe overpopulation in the east and armed with newly acquired education and skills, the Ibos rapidly filled Nigeria's cities. They constituted 55 per cent of the total non-Yoruba population of Lagos by 1960, the majority coming from Owerri province, one of the most densely populated areas in tropical Africa (17, p. 122).

Lagos is changing, no doubt, but it is hard to believe that the cultural and geopolitical continuity sustained for several years of the city's existence will suddenly be severed within the short span of the industrial age. The paradox of unchanging nature in the face of continual change may find an important illustration in Lagos. A focus on the in-migration pattern will throw light on some of the reasons why traditional life persists within this metropolis.

Migration and Migrants' Adjustment in Lagos

Migration from rural areas has accounted for Nigeria's increasing rate of urbanization, although natural increase is still high in cities and the largest cities in the country are the most favored in migration. Thus, migration
has had its greatest impact in the largest cities, and the city of Lagos is the most important recipient of the newly urbanizing population (10, p. 320).

The trend presented in Table X shows evidence of rapid population increases, caused primarily by the heavy influx of people from other parts of Nigeria and beyond. Increasing natural growth was also a product of the migration into Lagos of young adults of reproductive age whose fertility was high and of the fall in infant mortality in recent years (13, p. 31). Traditionally, migration in Nigeria has been primarily a movement of young single males out of the villages. An unbalanced sex ratio—a male excess in the cities and a male deficit in rural areas—is an indirect measure of this selective migration. When the ratio begins to balance, it usually indicates a more permanent "settling in," a relocation of families, and a reduced turnover of migrants. There is clear evidence that this normalization of migration has been occurring in Nigeria and that a move to the capital now represents a more complete commitment to change than it did in the past. According to the census office survey study conducted in 1950, there were 119 males for every 100 females in Lagos; this ratio dropped toward normalcy in 1971, with 102 males for every 100 females (10, p. 322).

An even more sensitive measure of the nature of migration is the sex ratio of the migrants themselves.
### TABLE X

GROWTH OF DISTRICTS IN LAGOS, 1921-1973*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Interval</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lagos Island</th>
<th>Ikoyi and Victoria</th>
<th>Mainland Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921 population</td>
<td>99,690</td>
<td>77,561</td>
<td>2,231</td>
<td>15,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931 population</td>
<td>126,108</td>
<td>90,192</td>
<td>5,241</td>
<td>26,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercensal increase percentage</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>134.9</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average intercensal growth rate per annum</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950 population</td>
<td>230,256</td>
<td>135,612</td>
<td>15,058</td>
<td>79,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercensal increase percentage</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>187.3</td>
<td>199.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average intercensal growth rate per annum</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963 population</td>
<td>665,246</td>
<td>253,857</td>
<td>96,038</td>
<td>315,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercensal increase percentage</td>
<td>188.9</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>537.8</td>
<td>296.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average intercensal growth rate per annum</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table XI reveals certain characteristics of migration patterns in Lagos. First, the normal sex ratios for individuals below the age of ten relate to children, almost all of whom were born in Lagos. Children of this age rarely migrate alone; they were brought by families, who were as likely to bring daughters as sons, or were born after the families reached Lagos.

The sex imbalance is perceptible at ages ten to fourteen, rises further at fifteen to nineteen years of age, and reaches its first peak at ages twenty to twenty-four, the age interval of maximum in-migration of single males. The second peak in the sex ratio occurs between forty and fifty-four years of age and can be explained

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Interval</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lagos Island</th>
<th>Ikoyi and Victoria</th>
<th>Mainland Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973 population</td>
<td>2,298,381</td>
<td>701,205</td>
<td>504,198</td>
<td>942,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercensal increase percentage</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>903.1</td>
<td>477.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average intercensal growth rate per annum</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XI
SEX RATIOS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION IN LAGOS
BY AGE SURVEY: 1972*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Groups</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Sex Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>1,805</td>
<td>1,534</td>
<td>117.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>91.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>97.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>117.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>149.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>104.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>124.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>230.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos-born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>103.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>95.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>120.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>134.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>133.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>113.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>159.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>113.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>164.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>191.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>120.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

partly by low survivorship, with widows returning to their native homes. Ejiogu mentions that widowers in most cases remarry women younger than themselves and remain permanently in Lagos in paid employment. Weekend visits by these urban residents to their relatives in the villages are quite frequent, but such visits cannot be rightly viewed as constituting a counter-migratory current (10, p. 325).

Most migrants to the city of Lagos come from rural sections of Nigeria and tend to gravitate to areas lying close to the rural-urban fringe, while others settle in areas within the city which bear at least a cultural resemblance to semi-rural areas (17, p. 108). It is not realistic to expect one-way assimilation into a stable urban culture when so large a population comes equipped with needs and customs of rural origin. These rural migrants are drawn from two extreme types which face basically different problems of adjustment. One type, qualitatively the majority of the easily adjusted migrants to the customs of the city but numerically the less significant, consists of bright youths who migrate in search of education or wider opportunities. They have the drive and the facility for quick assimilation into the culture of the city. The second type is drawn primarily from the "have-nots" of the villages. Numerically dominant, they are as much driven from the village by
dearth of land and opportunity as they are attracted into the city. Obviously, with a lower capacity for assimilation, they tend to build for themselves within the city a replica of the culture they left behind (17, p. 123).

One other factor which has contributed to making Lagos more rural than would otherwise be expected is the continued inclusion into the built-up metropolitan region of pre-existing villages (29, p. 70). Indeed, some of these villages, such as Ikorodu and Badagry, go back into history, while others are of fairly recent origin, such as the Festac village. It takes a keen observer to distinguish between a village within Lagos and one located miles beyond its outskirts. Lagos also contains within its boundaries an extensive rural-urban fringe which stands juxtaposed against modern villas on the west. In fact, in some quarters of the Lagos mosaic, the way of life and the characteristics of the residents physically and socially resemble those of rural Nigeria (10, p. 329). A few figures from the census data may illustrate this. In Nigeria high literacy is associated with urbanism. The 1963 census showed that, in the largest urban centers, literacy rates ranged between 40 and 45 per cent; small towns and villages had literacy rates of under 25 per cent. In only one out of eight census tracts in Lagos, however, was the literacy rate less than 25 per cent (32, p. 16). As might be expected, the rural-urban fringe had
the lowest literacy rates (5 and 7 per cent), but, surprisingly enough, even some of the more inlying zones contained populations no more literate than those in rural areas (17, p. 29). Similar comparisons made for other urban variables such as fertility rates, religious and ethnic homogeneity, and conditions and types of building reveal the same fact that, within the city of Lagos, numerous sub-areas exist whose physical and social characteristics closely approximate the villages of the countryside (29, p. 70).

In Lagos, it is possible for migrants to live in sections of the city which retain basic similarities to the village and which serve as a cushion in their assimilation. Small sample studies made in Nigeria indicate that a fairly typical pattern of initial settlement is followed by many rural migrants (10, p. 326). In this case, the typical migrant is a young man whose first contact in the city is often with a friend or relative from his original village, with whom he may even spend the first few nights. Later, he finds more permanent lodgings, usually within the same neighborhood. This process, in the aggregate, results in the concentration of migrants from particular villages within small subsections of the city, far beyond what would be expected by chance. Not only does the typical migrant gravitate to a small area of the city already containing persons from his home village, but he is not the
only comer at the time of his arrival. Migrants have therefore developed the protective pattern of physical proximity and certain social institutions which help mitigate the problems of transition (10, p. 328).

Various forms of ethnic and voluntary associations exist in Lagos that cater, among other things, to migrants' adjustment in the city by offering help in locating jobs, accommodations, and the like. Southall argues that ethnic associations in a city are principally determined by mutual assistance needs and that the influence of a town-dwelling ethnic group member is based less upon his tribal status than upon his length of stay in the town, his material success, and his housing facilities, all of which are determinants of his ability to help others (33, p. 324).

Some modern industrial states provide citizens with social security so that, in time of need, minimum housing, food, clothing, medical services, and psychiatric care can be obtained. Most of the state and local governments of African countries are not sufficiently wealthy to perform these services. Conveniently, however, communal self-help is customary in many African societies, as is true in the city of Lagos. In the cities, this self-help has often been institutionalized within ethnic associations. Co-ethnics can help new arrivals adjust to, and become integrated in, the urban environment (3, p. 144).
Banton states:

The immigrant is absorbed into the urban system, not by a process of individual change in line with the melting-pot concept of assimilation, but through his membership in a local group of people drawn from his own tribe (3, p. 147).

Thus, ethnic associations blend apparently divergent aims and interests. On one hand, they emphasize "tribal duties and obligations; on the other hand, they urge the adoption of a modern outlook and they establish new social practices." In other words, "they build for a migrant a cultural bridge" (21, p. 87).

In Lagos, migrants sometimes seek out a well-known figure from their village to give them employment. Thus, migrants cluster together not only residentially but on the job as well. In smaller firms, a far greater homogeneity of the work force exists than would have been expected by chance. Instead of isolating a migrant from his fellow villagers, his job may actually consolidate his village ties (3, p. 150).

Other formal institutions play relatively minor roles in providing social groups for migrant identification. Labor unions (except for craft guilds), civic associations, charitable organizations, and political groups all exist in Lagos, but they are not particularly well-developed social institutions (11, p. 68). The implication of the influx of rural migrants in the face of more or less
pre-industrial culture is the persistence of primary and kinship relations in Lagos, which constitute the theme of the next section of this chapter.

Social Relationships in Lagos

The hypothesis presented by Louis Wirth of the differences between the rural and urban ways of life and many of the concepts almost self-evident to sociologists studying American cities prove less valid when applied to non-western cities in developing countries like Lagos. Wirth hypothesizes that the ecological determinants of a city--large numbers of heterogeneous people in dense permanent settlements--would have certain social consequences, notably anonymity, dependence upon impersonal relations and sanctions, sophistication, and tolerance of change (36, pp. 1-24). To what extent do the social relationships in Lagos conform to these expected types, and how much does the rural migrant really have to adjust his personality to become a functioning member of urban society?

First of all, the culture of Lagos is not chiefly characterized by anonymity, secondary contacts, and other attributes of urban life found in modern industrial cities. Second, rural migrants to Lagos are active creators of a variety of social institutions whose major function is to protect migrants from the shock of anomie.
Furthermore, African culture, of which Lagos is a part, places a high value on personal relationships, even at the expense of privacy and internal development (3, pp. 140-141). This, combined with a system of relationships based on the extended kinship group, serves to increase the number of primary ties. This network of personal associations enmeshes not hundreds or thousands, but millions of individuals. However, Weber rejects impersonal relations as a useful part of the city's definition, noting that various cultural factors determine the size at which impersonality tends to appear (34, p. 65). Lagos is not one community but, rather, many separate social communities. Functional sections of each community may sometimes be geographically separated—residence in one section, business in another, recreation in still another. A member of one community may pass daily through the physical site of communities other than his, neither seeing them nor admitting their relevance to his life, but within his own community there is certainly nothing like anonymity (29, p. 83). It is within this context of urbanism that the Nigerian migrant is called upon to adjust. His adjustment is further facilitated by the formal and informal institutions he develops within his small community, one of which may be a village benevolent society as it exists in various Nigerian cities (17, p. 77).
The presence of primary relationships among the urbanites both in Lagos and other African cities has long attracted the attention of scholars. Little says:

Because most African villages are small, every resident knows everyone personally. To a considerable extent city dwellers (both migrants and native urbanites) tend to live in similar personalized environments (21, p. 181).

Although a city-dweller in Lagos encounters more strangers than does the villager, most of his activities are conducted in an individualized and personal style. In this respect, village and city life are similar. This fact highlights an apparent contrast between the urban culture in Lagos and contemporary western culture. Consistently, many writers have viewed impersonality and anonymity as evils of western culture. Although there are many "personal" relationships in western urban life, they are overshadowed by two major problems, for which "impersonality" and "anonymity" are perhaps only shorthand labels (34, p. 86). The first of these problems is commonly called "cultural pluralism." It consists of the sense of alienation and perplexity which many people feel as they observe others behaving in ways which they do not find to be based on any identifiable group standards. Awareness of this pluralism is greatly increased by the mass media. The second problem is anonymity, a sense of individual helplessness in the conduct of large-scale affairs. This feeling occurs in spite of the stated values of western
culture which proclaim the individual's worth (36, p. 22). Lagos offers means of coping with problems similar to these. Differing ethnical standards are identified with different socio-cultural groups, to only one of which an individual can belong. His group is "right," and all others are wrong. The sense of helplessness in larger issues is thus countered by personal contacts (25, p. 120).

In Lagos, important and binding kinship ties are not limited to the members of individual households. Ideally, brothers are expected to support each other, and similar expectations also exist among cousins and other relatives. Although these ideals of conduct are complicated by a number of serious conflicting emotions, they certainly have considerable force (26, p. 158). Some individuals are enmeshed in large kinship units in the form of tribes; others are members of large patrilineal name groups; still others live in a network of kinship ties which do not appear to survive beyond the life span of a set of brothers. And, of course, the effective kinship group of some persons does not extend much beyond the nuclear family. The concept of patrilineal descent, however, is firmly ingrained in the culture and can link anyone or any group to other individuals and groups (21, p. 185).

The idea that urban industrial or office workers not only do not need a large kinship organization but may actually find it a liability has led to the notion of the
incompatibility of industrialization and large-scale kinship groups. These ideas may be quite appropriate for the rural and urban sectors of America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but they do not apply to the nucleated city of Lagos, where an extensive kinship organization is indeed helpful and has been effectively functional in providing a labor pool (29, p. 83). Other emergency cooperative groups are also organized among these people who are in such close communication with each other. The continued influence of traditional kinship and family ties in Lagos was emphasized by the presence of one or more extended family members related to either of the spouses in more than half of its family households studied in 1970. Their presence, like that of the non-relatives of spouses, was found to be positively associated with the socio-economic status of households. For instance, husbands in professional, administrative, and executive positions exhibited the highest tendency to have as many relatives as possible living with them, followed by sales workers, clerical workers, manual workers, and unskilled laborers. The non-relatives of spouses were essentially maids, servants, and other similar persons such as friends and apprentices. In terms of total membership of households, those non-relatives made up only 8 per cent of the total household population (29, p. 84). Apart from being found more often in economically superior households, those in
which wives were gainfully employed had 50 per cent of these maid non-relatives (29, p. 85).

In an urban culture like Lagos, where kinship loyalty and mutual support are clearly conceived virtues, large-scale kinship organization is not necessarily a liability. Admittedly, for the entrepreneur who wishes to invest his money in commerce and industry, the presence of many needy relatives may be a liability. But on the other hand, if a business or professional person has political ambition, as many do, he utilizes his fellow clansmen as a core of constituents and supporters. Nepotism in government appointments (a virtue in the kinship-oriented value system) is one of the ways in which such a core is built and maintained (17, p. 189). Natural protection among in-group members against financial, medical, or social emergencies is an important function which is still served by large kinship groups (22, p. 171).

Personal relations permeate the life of the Lagosians. This will be easily appreciated if one realizes that about 70 per cent of the people in Lagos live in a style of life which is not modern in the western sense (19, p. 64). Certainly the kinship-based, individualized-personal patterns persist quite strongly.
Urban Stratification in Lagos

In every society in the world, it remains a remarkable fact that human beings are unequally placed and human stratification is endlessly varied. The concern of this section is to point out the seemingly peculiar aspects of the class system in Lagos as influenced by African traditional culture, to show that segregation of residential areas according to classes does not yet prevail in Lagos due to house types and attachment to extended family members, and finally to stress that the small family size generally associated with the upper-class educated elite is not yet an appropriate index of lifestyle of the upper-class Lagosians. Hence, large families are found within the upper class as well as within the lower, less educated class.

The first step is the presentation of the class differentiation system. There are a number of indications that one of the major changes taking place in African cities is the emergence of nascent socioeconomic classes and the dynamic relationship that such a structural pattern implies; "we may perhaps speak of ethnicity and class as pervasive concepts in the sense that they pervade and operate within all the various sets of relations which make up the urban system" (11, p. 240).

McCall, whose research in Africa has been conducted primarily in Nigeria, observes that, with urban
stabilization and urban-rural differentiation, objective and subjective factors (for example, wealth, education, and status identity) create new urban divisions, including a nascent class structure (26, p. 157).

Some writers object to the application of the class concept to Africa. Sekou Toure, the president of Guinea, writes:

Actually, Africa has no bourgeoisie; its population is eighty-five percent peasant; it lacks national financial capital; nor does it know social classes or the struggles born of their contradictions (18, p. 249).

Objections to the concept of class stem largely from the Marxist corollary that, if they exist, they will create contradiction and conflict—developments that no member of a governing elite would encourage. This point is suggested by Mali’s Madeira Keita. "We obviously cannot say or assert that African society is a classless society," he writes. "We do say that the differentiation of classes in Africa does not imply a diversification of interest and still less an opposition of interest" (17, p. 156).

The purpose of these paragraphs is not to present a theoretical discussion of the various conceptualizations of class. Lasswell and Kaplan’s broad definition provides a useful working approximation:

A class is a major aggregate of persons engaging in practices giving them a similar relation to the shaping and distribution (and enjoyment) of one or more specified values (20, p. 62).
In this sense, "differentiation" has occurred and continues to take place throughout Africa. Indeed, virtually all societies differentiate, and the resulting divisions usually influence social, economic, and political perspectives and practices. However, the new divisions within African society have not in any way produced hard categories, and there is little evidence that class consciousness has been developed sufficiently among either the peasants or the wage-earners for them to put class loyalty before tribalism, regionalism, or nationalism (9, p. 132).

The lack of hard class categories is demonstrated in Lagos by the fact that considerable vertical mobility still exists in urban Africa and the new upper classes remain permeable. Although an individual with wealthy and educated parents possesses an advantage, the son of a poor farmer can still reach high positions in most African towns (17, p. 156). The principal reason for the persistence of a relatively open stratification system is the set of vertical channels provided by ethnic ties. A man can always help his poor "brother" (17, p. 157). Rapid development of class consciousness has been impeded by these vertical ethnic ties, plus a common belief, similar to that current in the United States, that everyone can reach the top (22, p. 166).

However, an important element in the examination of emergent class structure in Lagos is the distribution
of resources, including things of value. Four basic urban conditions are known to exist in Lagos: underemployment, poor housing, lack of education, and ill health. Each of these four conditions marks a significant gap between segments of the population: (1) some Lagos residents have well-paying jobs, but many others do not or are underemployed; (2) some live in modern houses with many conveniences, but others reside in poverty pockets; (3) literacy in the city is increasing dramatically and Lagos has several thousand university-trained residents, but many of its inhabitants remain illiterate and access to schools is far from automatic; and (4) some Lagos residents who live in excellent health conditions receive treatment at the best medical facilities, but the majority must cope with inadequate services. Thus, a very visible gap exists between the haves and the have-nots. Since Nigeria gained its independence, the trend has been toward an overall increase of resources, but their distribution is unequal (29, pp. 81-82).

The modern elite in Lagos, according to research conducted by Plotnicov in the cities of Lagos and Jos, are found to display a distinct preference for social interaction with persons following the same style of life, but they take pride in their tribal histories and traditions, cite achievements of their countrymen, and participate actively in their tribal union (30, p. 71). This
finding provides evidence of role duality among the urban elite in Lagos.

Turning to generational homogeneity, occupational status and educational achievement display marked continuities between generations of the same family in Lagos; Lloyd declares that "the well-educated and wealthy elite in Lagos is tending to become a predominantly hereditary group" (22, p. 57). Studies of students provide the best available evidence of generational homogeneity. Among students at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria's first institution of higher education, Hanna found that 39 per cent were from higher occupation status backgrounds such as the professions, whereas only 3 per cent of all Nigerian males were so classified (17, p. 159).

Before independence, three primary urban classes could be identified in Nigeria: dominant European businessmen and administrators constituted an "imported oligarchy"; Nigerian (plus Asian and Middle Eastern) professionals, civil servants, businessmen, and those in similar ranking occupations constituted the middle class; and Nigerian blue-collar workers and those in other low-income categories constituted the lower class. Nationalism can usefully be viewed as a Nigerian middle-class movement to oust the upper-class imported oligarchy from its dominant position (17, p. 246). Hodgkin argues that nationalism "clearly expresses the dissatisfaction of an
emerging African middle class with a situation in which many of the recognized functions and rewards of a middle class—in the commercial, professional, administrative, and ecclesiastical fields—are in the hands of 'strangers'" (18, p. 247). With independence, some members of the old Nigerian middle class, joined by prominent members of the traditional elite, moved into leading positions in the political, economic, prestige, and other hierarchies (25, p. 129).

At least four influential population aggregates—usually labeled quasi-classes—can be identified at present in Nigerian cities. These are the governing elite, the modernists, the businessmen, and the wage-earners (22, p. 172). Membership in these quasi-classes is not mutually exclusive, and the likelihood is that, in most Nigerian cities, some individuals are contemporaneous members of several. However, the characteristics of quasi-class members and the nature of their mutual identifications and vested interests argue for conceptualizing them as semi-autonomous units (22, pp. 172-173).

In Lagos, clear residential segregation according to socioeconomic status, as would be expected in modern industrial cities, is vitiated by several factors, namely nature of dwelling structures, sentiments, and local attachments. The situation of Lagos is such that housing facilities are so randomly distributed throughout the city
that no area is selectively attractive to special family types (29, p. 83). But with the exception of the Ikoyi area, which was a special colonial reservation, all areas (including the relatively modern zone of Ikeja) have dwellings of multi-family instead of single-family structures. Most of the Nigerian elite who now reside in the Ikeja and Marina areas live with their relations—brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews, mothers, or fathers—within the apartment or building. Some of these extended relatives are persons who migrated from the rural areas and arrived with their wives and children, and they are happily accommodated for years by their relatives, who may be either top politicians, bureaucrats, managers of firms, or college professors (19, pp. 73-74).

As a result of this phenomenon, the high-class zone is not inhabited exclusively by high-class individuals, nor does it possess the low density expected of it when compared with western cities. Significant in this admixture of population types in the high-class zone is the refusal of most high-class Nigerians to live in the Ikoyi zone, the suburbs, because of the strong sentiment they attach to their family houses. This zone was once a closed area reserved exclusively for the colonial masters. The inevitable outcome of all these considerations is that most residential areas, and the upper- and middle-class zones in
particular, are inhabited by people of heterogeneous socioeconomic status (24, p. 307).

The general theoretical concept is that familism, or number of children, is inversely related to socioeconomic status. In Lagos, as in most developing countries, however, there is a tendency for upper-class families to produce as many children as members of the lower class (7, p. 95). This fact, of course, has a bearing upon the cultural and socioeconomic conditions in the developing countries. As Frank Bean points out,

The relationship between socioeconomic status and fertility has been found to depend upon other factors which define the structural and cultural context of roles and values in which the relationships occur. Such factors include rural background and religion, and age at marriage. In the case of differentials by current income, for example, a positive relationship exists for U.S. women aged thirty-five to fifty-four in urbanized areas marrying at twenty-two or over and a negative relationship for women marrying under twenty-two years. Hence, it is unlikely that a clear picture of income differentials by fertility can be obtained without taking these factors into account (4, p. 177).

In developing countries, children are looked upon as an investment—as old age insurance. There are no nursing homes, unemployment insurance, or welfare programs. Children are therefore expected to care for their parents in their old age and give them befitting burial at death. The desire for genealogical continuity heightens the quest for many children. Above all, the rate of infant mortality in developing countries is quite high as a result
of poor sanitation, poor nutrition, and inadequate medication. Consequently, most parents have many children in the hope that, after death takes its toll, some will still remain to care for them in their old age (33, pp. 330-332).

The practice of having more than one wife is also common in Nigeria. Although some members of the elite have only one wife, the majority have more than one. Obviously, the more wives a man has, all other factors being equal, the greater his chances will be of fathering many children. In view of all of these facts, the presence of large families within the upper class can be easily understood (22, p. 169).

The occupation of the household head may be taken as a rough index of socioeconomic status, although it is not without some limitations as such an indicator. Table XII shows the median number of children ever born to married women by duration of marriage and occupation of husband in Lagos as of 1972. As this table demonstrates, the expected inverse relationship between status and fertility is not indisputably substantiated.

Summary

Lagos is Nigeria's principal city, composed of three main residential districts: the mainland, the Island, and the Ikoyi districts. Three types of population broadly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Class of Husband</th>
<th>Under 5</th>
<th>5-9.9</th>
<th>10-19.9</th>
<th>20-29.9</th>
<th>30+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technical/Professional</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>7.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive/Managerial</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>7.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/Office</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>7.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and Commerce</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>8.06</td>
<td>8.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Craftsmen</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>8.10</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Communication</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>8.13</td>
<td>8.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and Entertainment</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Fishing, and Mining</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-Defined Occupation</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>7.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

coexist within the city: (1) the rural, (2) the traditional, and (3) the modern urban. Migration from the rural areas has accounted for Nigeria's increasing rate of urbanization, and Lagos is the most important recipient of this newly urbanizing population. The rural migrants are so numerous that Lagos tends to be ruralized. The inclusion of pre-existing villages into the built-up metropolitan area has contributed to making Lagos more rural than one would otherwise expect in such a large city.

Owing to the clash of modernity with traditional ideas, the city presents a picture of conflicting as well as changing standards. It implies a social and psychological situation which might amount to Durkheim's notion of anomie were it not that ethnic associations provide a link between the traditional and the urban way of life.

Ethnic unions blend apparently divergent aims and interests. On one hand, they emphasize tribal duties and obligations; on the other, they urge the adoption of a modern outlook and they establish new social practices. The most interesting aspect of this duality is that, by continuing such familiar norms as kinship and the provision of aids, the associations make new innovations seem less strange. For both migrants and city residents they build a cultural bridge, and, in so doing, they convey them from one kind of social world to another.
The relationships and interactions between individuals and groups are generally face to face. People associate primarily on the basis of ethnic kinship, and this is also reflected in business transactions.

The stratification system is based primarily on the index of ethnicity. Other subsidiary indices of stratification are education, income, residence, and occupation; among Nigerians, as in other African countries, however, these factors in no way take priority over ethnicity.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER V

EVALUATION AND SYNTHESIS

In this chapter, an evaluation and synthesis of the findings of the study are made. The chapter deals with the contrastive analysis of the western urban theories as applied to Lagos, Nigeria, and the limitations and advantages of those theories for the study of African cities in general. Finally, recommendations are given for an approach to understanding African cities.

Contrastive Analysis of Western Urban Theories as Applied to Lagos

This section is devoted to a determination of the applicability of western urban theories to the city of Lagos. Nineteen theoretical propositions are discussed below.

Cities develop in a concentric zonation, adapting to the same land use in each zone. Lagos' ecological organization does not lend support to this proposition. The origin of the city of Lagos as physically separated sub-communities within a community is a factor which has not been conducive or amenable to concentric zonary development. Furthermore, the topography of the city,
with specific reference to the lagoon and the swamps, poses a barrier to such a pattern of development.

There is one central business district in a city. The concept of one central business district is not applicable to Lagos, where six business districts were identified--Apapa, Marina, the traditional business district on Lagos Island, Mushin, Ebute Metta, and Ikeja. In addition to these business districts, business throughfares and neighborhood business streets were also identified.

The central business district has a dominant influence in determining both the land use and the subsequent land use patterns throughout the city. In the presence of several business districts, the dominance of a single central business district with its concomitant effects of determining land values and the subsequent locations of individuals and institutions does not exist. The history of the city of Lagos portrays the dominance of the palace of the traditional ruler or king of the city.

The upper class lives far away from the center of the city. Lagos presents a reverse case here. Most upper-class individuals in modern Lagos were found to be living in the high-grade residential area located at Ikoyi, despite the close proximity of that area to the central business district. In the older section of Lagos, members of the upper class were found to cluster at the central part of the city, which is marked by the location
of the palace of the traditional king of Lagos. Traditionally, in all African cities the upper class lives at the center of the city; this remains true today as it was in the past.

Functional segregation and specialization of land use patterns exist in cities. The situation of Lagos deviates from this proportion. An admixture of land use patterns is found in Lagos since, in many places, workshops, restaurants, grocery stores, or clothing stores are located below residential units. The six identified central business districts and business thoroughfares are also residential districts, and homes are also to be found throughout the industrial areas of Apapa, Ikeja, Mushin, and Lagos Island.

The poor live in areas of transition, slums, and the fringes of the city because of economic factors, and most criminals reside in these areas. This theory has relevance in Lagos. Most urbanites are constrained to live in old Lagos, Mushin, and Ajegunle and the rural fringes because of poverty. These areas are also considered the homes of criminals.

Cities develop "natural areas." The social mosaic of Lagos lends weight to the "natural area" concept of the Chicago School. A world of difference is found in features, residential structure, style of life, and values between those of the Lagos rural fringes and Ikoyi or
between Ikoyi, the Marina area, and the slum areas of Lagos. The Ikeja reservation and old Lagos are two different social worlds.

Cities develop in sectors, with development radiating through the main routes outside the city and maintaining the same land use in each zone. This theory does not apply in Lagos. Development along the riverine route extended for a short distance but was halted by the difficulty of land reclamation. Consequently, major development followed the land space from east to west—from the old city toward Surulere. In the north, there was some expansion around Palm Grove and Agege, but the swamps are obstacles at present. To the south development does not go far beyond Apapa (2, p. 102). The expansions so far have not necessarily followed the main axial routes, nor was the same land use adhered to in the areas of development. On the basis of these criteria, the theory cannot account for Lagos' ecological organization.

Cities develop in multiple nuclei. Lagos' spatial structure offers considerable support for this proposition. The identification of six business centers in Lagos is in accordance with the multiple nuclei theory. The city has developed in separate, discrete nuclei, from old Lagos to its present state, giving it the structure of sub-communities or districts, a structure which is today accentuated as the city growth stimulates migration
and miniature specialization. The Festac village and Badagry are recent cases in point. Old Lagos, Surulere, Yaba, Apapa, Mushin, Ikoyi, and Ebute Metta are some of the already established discrete nuclei that form Lagos. They did not emerge simultaneously but at different points in time.

Large numbers account for individual variability; the relative absence of intimate personal acquaintanceship; the segmentation of human relations which are largely anonymous, superficial, and transitory; and associated characteristics. Contrary to this proposition, and in spite of the high population density of Lagos and its ethnic heterogeneity, impersonality, sophistication, and cosmopolitanism in the city are highly diluted if not virtually absent. The population composition, which is predominantly rural and traditional in origin and culture and embodies village values, accounts for this fact. Interaction takes place on a primary rather than a secondary level. Within the city's population, the level of division of labor and specialization is quite minimal (5, p. 15). The generally low level of technological development in Lagos provides a possible explanation for this phenomenon.

In addition to economic factors, socio-cultural values, sentiments, and symbols influence the location of individuals and institutions in the cities. This holds true in Lagos and can be illustrated. The dominance of the
city's main palace and the location of the elite at the center of the city have much to do with cultural values. The palace of the traditional city head usually covered an extensive area of land. Instead of converting this area to more economic uses, it has been of enormous social and cultural importance. In this setting, the concept of residence at the center developed as being prestigious—an ideology which is culturally sentimental.

The mosaic nature of Lagos, where individuals locate within the city according to ethnic persuasion, also supports the cultural theory. A large number of urbanites live in old Lagos, Mushin, and other slum areas of the city because of long associational ties and ethnic commitments more than economic considerations. Their case is similar to that of some of the Italian-Americans in the North End in Boston. Again, a cluster of working-class personnel live in Mushin and slum areas very close to the central business district primarily for the convenience of attending to duties at the southeast end of the Marina, where the government ministries are located. Thus, other factors as well as economic ones bring pressure to bear on the location of people within the city.

The land ordinance law promulgated to retain or conserve the structure of old Lagos for its historical value, in spite of its dilapidated forms, confirms the cultural ecological theory of the influence of sentiments
and symbols in ecological organization (4, p. 3). Were economic considerations the overriding factor, this govern-
tal step would not have been taken since reconstructing the zone at the expense of the historic structure would invariably increase its rental values. Historic values, however, have proven superior to economic interests.

Another point of interest is the maintenance of Ikoyi as a high-grade residential zone despite its close proxim-
ity to the central business district. This area has kept its distinguished upper-class identity and prestigious neighborhood. The classical theory that competition for space is so great that each area generally tends to be put to the use which yields the greatest economic return does not hold true in Lagos. However, Lagos' ecological organization, resting on the physically related but so-
cially dominated framework of sub-communities within a city, is still best described, in the words of Louis Wirth, as a "mosaic of social worlds" (7, p. 18). The multiple nuclei theory, with its key concept of several discrete nuclei within a city, finds Lagos an ideal laboratory for its practical demonstration.

Migration from rural to urban is selective. In com-
pliance with this theoretical proposition, migrants to Lagos are quite selective, and males initially predominate. However, a tendency exists toward a balanced sex ratio as
a consequence of the new form of migration—that of the nuclear family unit.

In general, migrants settle initially at the inner city. The data for Lagos do not conform to this proposition. In Lagos, the migrants choose the suburbs and the fringes of the city for settlement, although some share residences with relatives at the inner city. This has been found to be the general pattern in developing countries such as Nigeria.

Cultural and language differences as well as employment problems adversely affect migrants' adjustment in cities. Lagos is, to a large degree, an exception to this theory. Extended family ties and voluntary associative activities promote easy and quick adjustment. Although village migrants bring village values and outlooks to the city with them, many urban residents possess these same traits so that new arrivals have no reason to feel different and uncomfortable. Furthermore, Nigerian technology is at such a low stage of development that most residents of Lagos are self-employed in either petty trading or small craft business. Consequently, the new migrants are similar to the urban masses who have little or no education and easily fit into small retail business or domestic craft work that calls for only a small amount of capital. In western countries, non-city migrants have the same urban traits and outlook as city-born residents, but the
situation in Lagos is quite different. The number of rural migrants to Lagos is so high that their village values do influence the city.

By means of assistance from extended family ties and various voluntary associations, migrants are able to cope with potential disjunctions between their current environments and the rural environments into which they were initially socialized. The disjunctions include cultural and language differences as well as employment problems.

**Intervening opportunities and distance of travel influence migrants' destinations.** These factors must be applied to Lagos in a qualified or modified form. Lagos, the principal city of Nigeria and the fastest-growing city in Africa, offers equal attractions to all Nigerians, educated and illiterate alike. Clearly two-thirds of the country's infrastructures and facilities are concentrated in Lagos, and two-thirds of the total population of five Nigerian cities live there. Besides Jos and Kaduna, which attract migrants for climatic reasons, every Nigerian is drawn to Lagos because of its unique position both in Nigeria and in Africa as a whole. Therefore, most migrants—professional, educated, and illiterate—have Lagos as their first choice of destination (1, p. 197).

**Multiple motives account for migration.** This theory sounds plausible, but in Lagos, especially for the main current of rural to urban migration, the one overriding
motive is to earn a living. In addition to this economic factor, other related social factors are also pertinent. In the villages, good roads rarely exist, and buildings are made of mud thatch with little ventilation and with inadequate water and electricity. Thus, on all counts, the city is preferred to the subhuman standard of life that abounds in the villages.

Ravenstein's thesis is that each main current of migration produces a compensating countercurrent. With the exception of a very few elderly retired individuals who return to the villages, rarely do people move from Lagos to the villages for permanent residence. Weekend visits by urban residents to their relatives in the villages are quite frequent, but such visits cannot be rightly termed a counter-migratory current. Such a countercurrent does not exist because the villages have virtually nothing to offer. Migrants who fail in the urban milieu still remain in the city rather than returning to the villages. Whatever the nature of urban problems, they are far more tolerable than the abject poverty and extreme social hardship of village life in Nigeria. The existence of a compensating countercurrent is highly doubtful in Lagos.

Urban stratification is generally based on the criteria of ethnicity, education, income, occupation, residence, and family. The most important consideration in the stratification of Lagos is ethnicity. This index has
not been eroded by the passage of time. One's ethnicity determines how one is regarded in Lagos. The variables of education, occupation, and income are complementary to, but not substitutes for, ethnicity.

Residential segregation according to classes exists in cities. In Lagos, residential segregation has tended to follow ethnic rather than class lines. Although the Ikoyi and Victoria Island zones are viewed as being the homes of the wealthy, the actual residents of the zones are a mixture of the poor and wealthy. This is because Lagos has no neighborhoods made up entirely of single families. Most upper-class Nigerians reside with their own extended family relations who migrated from the villages or were unable to support themselves. These two reasons, coupled with poor planning, have made clear residential segregation according to class difficult in Lagos. One can easily identify various communities with Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa concentrations, and Nigerian upper-class and non-Nigerian upper-class areas. There is an element of ethnicity in each of these subdivisions. Ethnicity constitutes the base structure of Lagos' stratification system, and occupation, education, and income are the superstructures. These facts are very basic to an understanding of the social structure of not only Lagos and Nigeria, but the whole of the African continent.
Limitations of Western Urban Theories for the Study of African Cities

The first section of this chapter dealt with western urban theories as specifically applied to Lagos, Nigeria. In this section the limitations of some of these urban theories as applied to African cities are examined.

The concept of city life as theorized by the classical school is embedded in the phenomenon of industrialization and is often confused with the ideas of modernization and westernization. Consequently, industrialization is taken as an independent variable, whereas in actuality the reverse should apply. The factor of technological development is prominent in the contemporary urban scene, but it may be a serious mistake for the researcher to take particular characteristics of the modern urban west as diagnostic of the generality without adequate cross-cultural research. Over-concentration on industrialization as an index of urbanism has led to the neglect of urban life as, more than anything else, a social phenomenon; thus, the categories "industrial" and "pre-industrial" are seen as the most appropriate to apply to the subject of the city. This conception has led to serious oversights in the study of essential urban social relations on the cross-cultural level. The conception of the city based on western industrialized society sheds little light on the study and understanding of African cities which are
not industrialized in comparison to their western counterparts; furthermore, if the city is viewed strictly in terms of the western industrial scene, Africa would have no cities at all. This is symptomatic of the cross-cultural definition of the city. The western definition does not reflect the African conception, thus giving credence to the fact that the conception of the city is culture-bound. In fact, early settlements labeled "cities" in ancient times may not today be accepted as cities by western scholars (4, p. 18).

But the basic question is: What sociologically and cross-culturally makes a community urban? As Lewis Mumford points out, the ancient settlements called cities were cities because they brought various functions that had previously been scattered and unorganized within a limited area—king, priests, scribes, merchants, temple officials, farmers, servants, slaves, magicians, physicians, sailors, hunters—and the components of the community were kept in a state of dynamic tension and interaction (4, p. 22). This approach to the concept of "city" holds true today. Hence, the working definition: a city is any settlement with the definite land use pattern of an aggregate of cooperating and interacting people through the institutions culminating in a specialized and professionalized collective form to meet human needs and creating social drama. The social drama of the
city created by the interaction of such variables as the 
diversity of people and institutions, division of labor, 
and specialization distinguishes it from the village, 
which is relatively static. This definition applies to 
both western and African cities, for, regardless of other 
traits, "social drama" is undeniably a common feature of 
the two. The western definition of the city fails to apply 
to African cities because it is not based on cross-cultural 
research.

The classical school key concept of the existence of 
a central business district in the city and its dominance 
as an overriding variable in influencing land value and 
determining the spatial location of individuals and insti-
tutions within the city does not prove to be a reality in 
African cities. Rather than a central business district, 
the traditional city ruler's palace and the local markets 
exerted in the past--and in some cities still exert--a 
dominant influence in the ecological setting of African 
cities.

As Wirth points out, wherever large numbers of 
heterogeneous persons congregate, depersonalization and 
substitution of secondary contacts for primary ones tend 
to develop, but there is nothing absolute or inevitable 
about this process in human time; and the African urban 
scene does not conform to this prediction, thus proving 
that it is not an unchanging "given." Admittedly,
depersonalization is a relative tendency of urban life, especially in western industrialized settings, the actualization of which depends upon the manner in which diverse individuals conceive their relations towards one another. The perception of the meaning of social heterogeneity in the cosmopolitan city of Lagos and the recognition of the validity of socio-cultural diversity are in part a real response to real conditions. It is a fact that Lagos contains many ethnic and religious groups. It is also a fact that, even though from the beginning the Yoruba ethnic group has been able to dominate all other ethnic groups demographically, no single group was able to truly dominate the others with respect to variables of power—military, economics, or ideology. On the conceptual side, the necessary recognition of the validity of differences implies a universal principle of accommodation; thus, there is unity in diversity.

The substitution of a formal control mechanism for personal bonds of solidarity as theorized by the classical school is not an indispensable part of urbanism. In Africa, the formal structure of rules—in fact, the whole structure of government—only provides a framework for the interplay of personal relations that forms the real backbone of the society (1, p. 136). Rules tend to be bent and reinterpreted according to the demand of circumstances and especially according to the distribution
of variables of power, and they survive only through their ambiguity. Everyone assumes that formal ties of alliance would be supplemented by less well-defined ties of friendship and patronage, but, indeed, chains of reciprocal favors permeate the entire social fabric. The debt structure of friendship and patronage is both more fluid and more enduring than any set of rules. The system, in practical terms, is essentially characterized by particularism rather than universalism. Recognition of common identities and shared differences provides individuals with many possible bases of personal social connection. The informal network not only binds together diverse groups but also penetrates them, for such relations concern individuals rather than formal groups (1, pp. 148-160).

Neither Burgess's concentric zonation nor Hoyt's sector theory has validity in African cities since land use does not occur in zones with similar land use in each zone. Perhaps owing to developmental patterns and the mosaic nature of African cities, a central business district has yet to be justified since research so far gives evidence of several central business districts in Lagos; six business centers were clearly identified in addition to several business streets. Consequently, the ecological setting is more in consonance with the multiple nuclei theory than with any other proposition.
In the residential pattern of African cities, contrary to the western scene and theory, the elite or the upper-class urban residents live at the center of the city, and this residence is viewed as prestigious, whereas residence at the periphery of the city is less so. Although changes are underway, especially since some African countries are now trying to create new cities and modernization is fast rearing its head, the impact of a thousand years of tradition, grounded in kinship ties and attachment to the ancestral land as a culture, is not easily erasable within a century. This fact is all the more pertinent in areas where pressing factors for adjustment such as heavy industrialization are still lacking.

Large population obviously raises the need for, but does not in itself create, division of labor; and in Africa labor has not been diversified in proportion to the population due to the absence of an appropriate cultural base resulting from the low level of technology. Thus, the thesis that increase in population leads to increased division of labor is tenable in communities of advanced technology with its collateral--industrialization--but as yet Africa has yet to become industrialized (6, p. 67).

The stratification pattern in Lagos, with its emphasis on ethnicity, is the model of stratification in African cities (1, p. 236), even though the variables of income
differentiation, occupation, and education are not to be ruled out.

The points discussed above are the areas in which western urban theories seem to fit poorly with reference to African cities. The next section focuses on the advantages of these theories.

Advantages of Western Urban Theories for the Study of African Cities

One of the theories of the classical school is that economic considerations influence the location of individuals and institutions within the city. Although, in general, cultural values, sentiments, and symbols cogently affect ecological organization in Africa, the above assertion has a good measure of justification in African cities. At the center of the city, where members of the upper class traditionally reside, land values are so high that the poor who cannot afford to live in these areas gravitate residentially to low rental areas. The slum and blight areas are predominantly the homes of the poor. In the case of Lagos, slum areas with poor residences and low rents are overwhelmingly inhabited by the lower classes. At the fringe of the cities, as theorized by the classical school, low-class urbanites are found who farm to augment earnings from the city and thus make a successful living. Criminals, drug addicts, prostitutes, and other persons of questionable character live in these areas, taking refuge
in these low-class areas of invariably high density. Squatters find these areas to be fertile zones for their transient residence.

In line with the views of the voluntaristic ecologists, cultural values have a heavy grip and pervasive influence on the structural pattern and spatial organization of African cities. Indeed, it was Gideon Sjoberg who, following Firey's lead, noted that the idiosyncratic values of any given culture do induce unique urban patterns (6, p. 74). Traditionally, the upper class tends to reside close to the central business district, where their ancestral houses are located. Despite the close proximity of their houses to the central business district, they maintain very strong cultural attachments to this area. The concept of residence at the center as being prestigious developed in this setting—an ideology which is culturally sentimental. Furthermore, the mosaic nature of the city structure has a long cultural history and has left a permanent imprint in the cities of today. As specifically shown in the study of Lagos—and it is by no means an isolated case—many urbanites identify residually with members of the same ethnic origin, creating various social worlds or sub-cities within the city. As a vindication of sentimental attachment and symbolism, some urbanites tenaciously identify with and locate themselves in some particular areas of the city.
With regard to aspects of migration, the principles of push and pull factors are valid for the African cities. People who migrate do so either as a result of poor conditions in their community of origin or a combination of both the push and pull factors. In most cases, the migration from rural to urban communities results from the latter. Generally, young people of school age are lured by pull factors such as educational facilities, which are usually concentrated in urban areas, and school teachers also view cities as the most probable places of employment; hence, the pull factors are greater for both students and teachers.

Broadly speaking, migrants' adjustment has operated through two channels, informally through relatives living in cities and formally through benevolent associations.

To a very considerable extent there is recognition of such variables as education, occupation, and income in the stratification system in Africa, but they have not yet superseded the high consideration attached to ethnicity in African stratification.

Synthesis and Recommendations for an Approach to Understanding African Cities

Both the limitations and the advantages of western urban theories as they apply to African cities have been examined in the last two sections of this chapter. In large measure, the theories of the classical school,
from the concept of the city to the city's ecological organization, do not provide an adequate conceptualization of African cities and their ecological organization (3, p. 24). Conversely, every aspect of the voluntaristic approach is applicable to an understanding of the African cities' spatial setting, which is founded traditionally on cultural values that have not been eroded significantly by the passage of time and the flow of events. The influence of economic factors on the location of both individuals and institutions in any city is nowhere denied, but to treat these factors as absolute overriding factors in the spatial structure of cities generally is not valid, and the evidence of African cities in particular does not lend weight to the theory of the classical ecologists.

Thus, any explanation of human spatial organization through a biotic, non-social orientation fails when applied to African cities, for an exceedingly high correlation exists among the technology, social structure, and spatial distribution of the city's inhabitants and between all these and the urban center's physical appearance (2, p. 69). Above all, the study of urbanism demands a holistic humanistic approach that directs attention to the entire context of social relations (5, p. 153). In view of this fact, the basic approach to the study of African cities calls for a general understanding of the social structure and cultural values of African societies.
The cities form a special part of and respond to general societal values and at the same time exert influence on the society. Wirth failed to recognize that the city is in many respects molded by the social system of which it is a part. For the analysis of certain kinds of problems, the city, shaped as it is by the enfolding socio-cultural system, must be taken as the dependent rather than the independent variable. As John Sirjamaki says:

Men build their cities to express their civilization responding to many social cultural impulses. Some other considerations which affect urban structure include the presence of religious, racial, and ethnic sub-communities in them and their areas of residence, the segregation of classes, the location of cemeteries, parks, and landmarks which have cultural sentiment or tradition; the original plan of cities; and the events of history. In addition, the topographical features of the sites on which the cities stand—hills, swamps, lakes, rivers, and geographical faults—influence their shape. City planning commissions, zoning boards, urban renewal authorities, and highway departments also determine their structure (5, p. 200).

For these reasons, ideal-typical ecological explanations not based on cross-cultural research which takes numerous variables into account cannot be applied to African cities. Instead, ecological principles in combination with socio-cultural factors best account for the ecology of African cities. The concentric zone, sector, and multiple nuclei theories were all developed on the basis of knowledge concerning the ecology and growth of American cities, and it must be remembered that most cities in the
third world countries differ quite markedly from American cities in their ecological configuration.

African societies, although fairly receptive to change, are heavily embedded in kinship, ethnic and ancestral ties, and extended family tradition, and in no way can they be understood outside these socio-cultural perimeters. The study of cities in particular calls for this approach because they are the nerve centers of societies. In this regard, the voluntaristic approach, which emphasizes socio-cultural factors without disregarding economic factors in human ecological organizations, is a worthwhile methodology for the study of African cities. It is only by this method that the significant influences of values, sentiments, and symbols on city life, ecological organization, city stratification, and migrant adjustment in Africa can be fully understood.

In short, the classical theory proved inadequate as a working tool in the study and understanding not only of the African city's ecological organization but the stratification system of Africa as well. The cultural or voluntaristic approach, on the other hand, is quite cogent and significantly fruitful in the interpretation of both the ecological setting and city life in Africa.

Cultural values, sentiments, and symbols pervade not only all aspects of city life but the entire social
fabric of African societies. Thus, the idea of a city as non-social is inconceivable from the African perspective.

Summary and Conclusions

This section summarizes and reviews the major findings of this study. Chapter I presented an introduction to the study, the general question of the study, the definitions of major terms, a review of related literature, the delimitation of the study, the background and significance of the study, the sources of data, and the methodology of the study.

The review of the literature surveyed the history and theoretical background of urban sociology, with some emphasis on the subsection of that field—human ecology—which was viewed from the perspectives of two opposed schools of thought, the classical and the cultural.

Chapter II provided a detailed treatment of each of the four theoretical areas under study—namely, land use patterns, social relationships in cities, migration and migrants' adjustment in cities, and urban stratification—from the western perspective. Such a treatment was necessary in order to determine the applicability of these western urban theories to the city of Lagos, Nigeria, in particular, and to African cities in general.

From the point of view of the classical ecological school, human ecology is the investigation of what is
seen as impersonal competition that determines man's symbiotic adaptation to space. This competition is subsocial in nature; hence, social values are irrelevant in the spatial structure of cities. The data on Lagos, however, were shown to run counter to this theory in substantial ways. The culturalists maintain that both the character of space and the makeup of the social system are of cultural origin. From these concepts stems the view that the cultural component is central to the locational process in cities, and only in terms of this component can one fully understand why land is put to specific, culturally-bound uses.

In Chapter II, theories about social relationships in the western urban scene were treated as propounded primarily by Louis Wirth, with emphasis on impersonality, segmentary relationships, and anonymity. Other subtopics covered included migration theories and urban stratification. The theory of a compensating countercurrent did not seem to hold for Lagos' mainstream of rural to urban shift since very few, if any, individuals move from the city to the village. The main western variables of stratification—education, occupation, income, and residence—although applicable in African cities, were subsidiary to ethnicity in the internal traditional African stratification system.

Chapter III examined the nature and character of African cities, tracing their development from their origins.
to the pre-colonial era. The theoretical perspective derived from these characteristics centered around historical and geographical facts about African cities. Finally, the ideal type differences between African cities and western industrial cities were presented.

Chapter IV was concerned with the city of Lagos, Nigeria, as the case study. It was treated from the perspective of the four areas discussed in Chapter II. Lagos, like most African cities, was found to be "mosaic" in structure, adapting more to the multiple nuclei than to the concentric or sector theories. Cultural values, as is usually the case in most developing societies, were found to have a significant influence upon the ecological organization of Lagos and other African cities, contrary to the views of the classical ecological school.

The city's social life is anything but impersonal, segmental, and anonymous. Relationships are exceedingly primary--face-to-face--with an appreciable network of kinship displayed in residential, commercial, and political activities.

The migration pattern was found to be rural to urban as the main current. Migrants to the city of Lagos tend to settle initially at the fringes of the city, near their ports of entry, and later move to the inner city, although some move directly to the inner city to share a residence with relatives. Adjustment is partly informal through
relatives and partly formal through the activities of various benevolent associations. Rural migrants are extremely numerous and carry their village culture with them, even to the point of building shanties within the city, which has in part given rise to the concept of the ruralization of Lagos. Urban stratification has not substantially deviated from the traditional pattern, which emphasizes ethnicity as the major variable.

Chapter V evaluated and synthesized the limitations and advantages of western urban theories with regard to the study of African cities and arrived at the conclusion that, with respect to urban land use, the classical theories fail to apply sufficiently to African cities in view of the contrasting circumstances of Africa and the west. The western concept of the city is embedded in the phenomenon of industrialization, whereas African cities are unindustrialized. Furthermore, due to the traditional influences (such as strong kinship ties and attachment to ancestral lands) on the lives of the people and the city structure in Africa, any approach to the study of African cities through non-social orientation not only fails, but misleads. Thus, any transfer of the western ideal-type classical ecological theories ends, in the main, in contradiction. For an understanding of African cities and their underlying ecological forces, an orientation to the socio-cultural values of African
society in general and of the particular city under study seems to be an indispensable prerequisite.

Westerners have exhibited a powerful proclivity to identify their way of life with science and technology. This link is central in the western system of thought, but it is essential to realize that community studies and social science studies generally in Africa cannot be realistic and fruitful if they are based exclusively on such a view. The concept of the city, and not simply that of urbanization, is inseparable from the concept of change. A valid conception of the city, however, must take into account both traditional and modern societies. Even as it is a part of the essential nature of man to generate new modes of perception and so to transform his traditional symbolic systems, so the city as a human creation should not be defined with reference to the values and assumptions of a particular community. The city, no doubt, is a complex social phenomenon that so far has resisted any simple and ready definition. A full understanding of the city cannot be achieved from a consideration of only one of its facets. The segmented view cannot account for the city, for the city is more than an economic entity, more than a political entity, and more than just a psychological setting. It embodies all of these and more.
The classical analysis of the city on the biotic level is one of the defective consequences of technological sophistication. In this view the effects of the city are viewed as independent of urbanization. If more cognizance of cross-cultural findings had been taken—of cities functioning upon a technological base other than industrial, as well as of those operating within the context of divergent value orientations—theorizing with reference to the impact of the city would, in all likelihood, have taken a decidedly different position.

Sociologically viewed, a city is characterized by the "high social drama" it creates through a division of labor and the interaction of people through its institutions or subsystems. A city may possess other features that are culture bound, but division of labor, functional specialization, and social drama are invariable traits whether the city is traditional or modern, industrial or non-industrial, western or African. In essence, it is the "high social drama" which the city creates that differentiates it from a non-city settlement. Advanced technology no doubt accentuates this "drama," but low technology does not imply its absence.

City life is wrongly viewed as directly related to the simultaneous erosion of ethnic, kinship, and other particularistic efficiency and the prevalence of universalistic formal institutions. Achieved status becomes
more important than ascribed status while voluntary associations increase in number. All of these theories are generalizations drawn from the western industrial scene and therefore may lack transcultural validity. Technology has been the core of the western concept of the city generally, and technology has thus been viewed as an independent variable, losing sight of the fact that technology *per se* is a human creation and, as such, is rather dependent upon and varies in its sophistication and impact on society.

From the humanistic point of view, human culture, of which technology is a part, is in a state of constant progress and transformation, transformation that occurs in the spheres of social organization and values as well as in those of inventions and discoveries. To conceive of cultural progress as essentially a matter of adaptation to industrialization is conceptually narrow and theoretically crippling.

Urbanization is part of the process of social change, and social change is not merely a mechanical accretion of traits. Urban society may be made to appear as an assortment of varying underlying negatives (disorganization, impersonality, anonymity) so that the urbanized individual is described as "detribalized," as marginal, because he lacks "roots" (land, chief, or kin) in a society characterized by a competitive money economy, full-time
specialization, and an impersonal system of government. This is an ideal-type model and, therefore, cannot hold true for all human communities.

If a city is to express the interests of its inhabitants in ways compatible with their own interpretation of social relationships, the plan of a western city may not be appropriate in non-western cultures. Therefore, to have validity any theory must of necessity take social differences into account.

In sum, the major contributions of this dissertation are briefly outlined as follows:

1. It has portrayed the differences between western industrial cities and African cities. Knowledge of these differences is crucial to an understanding of cities in the two areas, especially in teaching courses in urban sociology. Students' knowledge should be broadened to include circumstances and phenomena outside their own social-cultural environment.

2. It has pointed out the necessity for any general theories on community to be based on cross-cultural research so as to accommodate community differences or peculiarities.

Finally, it must be noted that this study does not claim to comprise all possible areas of research on western urban theories as applied to African cities, and the
dichotomy between the classical and cultural schools of sociological thought is not exhaustive of theoretical possibilities. Areas for further research abound.
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