URBANIZATION AND TRIBALISM IN NIGERIA, 1911-1963

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the North Texas State University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Philip Oyebowale Sijuwade, B. A.
Denton, Texas
May, 1977

The problem with which this study is concerned is the description of the past and present trends in the process of urbanization in Nigeria.

In addition, the study explores tribal practices and perspectives in Nigeria's urban areas, giving special attention to the bases for the continuous existence of these phenomena.

The data used in the study are obtained from books, government documents of both the United States and Nigeria and the United Nations demographic analysis documents.

The study is divided into five chapters. Based on findings and research of this study, the conclusion is drawn that adaptation to Nigeria's urban life proceeds through modification of the traditional institutions and their combination with Western cultural values, technology and economic practices into a new social structure.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**LIST OF TABLES** ........................................... v

**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS** ................................. vi

Chapter

I. **INTRODUCTION** ........................................ 1

   Statement of the Problem
   Review of the Literature
   Methodology
   Significance of the Study

II. **PATTERNS OF URBANIZATION** ....................... 19

   Historical Section
   The New Towns
   Process of Modernization
   Quantitative Urbanization
   Urban Migration
   Revolution of Values
   Economic Betterment
   Attraction of Town Life
   Rural Ties
   Conclusion

III. **URBAN TRIBALISM** ................................. 52

   Level of Tribal Membership
   Variations in Tribalism
   Functional Bases of Sustained Tribalism in Towns
   Non-Tribal Perspectives and Practices
   Non-Tribal Associations and Clusters
   Conclusion

IV. **IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND URBAN LIFE UPON INDIVIDUALS** ................. 76

   Disjunction in Social Control
   Family Disjunction
   Elite and Status Disjunction
   Aspirational Disjunction
   Impact of Disjunction
   Conclusion
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION ........................................ 98

BIBLIOGRAPHY ......................................................... 106
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Urbanization in Africa and Other World Regions, 1950 and 1960</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Estimated Population of Selected Nigerian Cities</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Lagos and the Districts, 1921-1963</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Lagos: Sex Ratio of the Sample Population by Age</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Age Group in Lagos as Percentage of Total Population, 1921-1965</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Estimated Population of Nigeria's Urban Centers, 1963</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Comparison of Sex Ratio in the Survey Area, Lagos Territory and Nigeria</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Age and Sex Characteristics of Population of Lagos, 1891-1950</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. The Main Tribal Groups in the Total Migrant and Lagos-Born Population, 1963</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Principal Tribal Groups in Lagos As Percentage of Total Population, 1911-1963</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Occupational Structure of the Population by Sex and Age Five-Years-Plus of the Migrants to Lagos Area, 1973</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure | Page
-------|------
1. Map of Nigeria Showing the Twelve States and Their Principal Urban Centers | 24
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 1880, as an example, only 2.4 per cent of the world's population lived in cities of more than 20,000 people; by 1950, the proportion had risen to 20.9 per cent. Equally impressive is the proportion of the population living in cities of more than 100,000. In 1800, the percentage was 1.7. By 1950, the figure had risen to 13.1 per cent (3, p. 433).

It is true that this phenomenal growth in the number of cities and of city dwellers was taking place during a period in which the 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's population increased from 836 million in 1800 to about 2.4 thousand million by 1950—a threefold increase—the world urban population, if one confines himself to cities with a population over 100,000, increased from 15.6 million to 313.7 million, a more than twentyfold increase (3, p. 435).
This rapid rate of urbanization has not been universal. Africa stands out as the least urbanized continent in the world. Table I gives the estimated percentage of urban population for the world regions in 1950 and 1960.

From this table it can be seen that Africa has a lower proportion of its population (13%) in localities of 20,000 and more inhabitants than any other region, and hardly more than half the world average (25%). Even compared with other developing regions--Asia (17%) and Latin America (32%)--the degree of urbanization in Africa is very low. The percent in cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants is also the lowest in the world (9%). Presently there are about 100 such cities in Africa. Even within Africa there is considerable degree of variation in population distribution. African cities, at least the main cities in each country, are to an unusual degree the centers of modernization on the continent. They are the intellectual and social capitals, the seats of government, the main foci of political activity of all sorts and the economic capitals of their respective countries. An example of the primate cities in Africa is Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria. Lagos is only one of many urban centers in Nigeria and it contains no more than two per cent of the Nigerian population. However, this city accounts for about forty-six per cent of electricity consumed; fifty-six per cent of the country's telephones; twenty per cent of its newspapers; ninety per cent of its periodicals; thirty-seven
### TABLE I

**URBANIZATION IN AFRICA AND OTHER WORLD REGIONS, 1950 AND 1960**

<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>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (except USSR)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


per cent of its hospitals and thirty-eight per cent of vehicle registration. It also has the country's leading sea port, rail and airways centers and its single most important industrial node (7, p. 210).

Reviewing the pattern of urban concentration in Africa by 1950, Twartha and Zelinsky (17) noted that if the population size of 5,000 or more were to be used to define urban settlement, Nigeria, although accounting for only about twenty-five per cent of the total population of Africa has nearly thirty-five per cent of its urban population. This unusual concentration of urban population poses an exciting challenge to an understanding of urbanization in pre-industrial circumstances.

The urban impact upon the entire Nigerian society operates in a variety of ways. To illustrate, town dwellers often work to improve their rural home areas by supporting the construction of modern homes, schools, hospitals and roads in them which are equivalent to those in the town where they live. Villagers who return home from the town often introduce new perspectives and practices while criticizing some of the old ways.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is to describe the past and present trends in the process of urbanization in Nigeria. Exploration will be made of the result of European intervention and development of Nigerian new towns and the rapid expansion
of the old ones. Consideration will also be given to the impact of town life and migration upon Nigerians.

The study will explore urban tribalism, giving special attention to the bases for the staying power of this phenomenon. In addition, the non-tribal clusters and associations, labor unions and development of social class which appear to be becoming increasingly important in urban areas with special consideration being given to the City of Lagos will be discussed.

Another intention of this study is to show that the towns of Nigeria are not merely the focal points where the break with tradition may be seen, but also the centers in which a major restructuring of Nigerian society as a whole is taking place, a restructuring which is reaching deep into the countryside.

Review of the Literature

Urbanism is rapidly becoming a way of life throughout the world. It has been estimated that by the end of this century, the world population will be about six billion, of which 4 billion or 2/3 will live in urban centers. Until recently, extensive urbanization was limited to western European nations. But that situation is changing and developing countries are rapidly acquiring an expanding share of the world urban population.

Several studies have dealt directly with urbanization in Africa. Hanna (6) wrote that there were relatively few towns
in Africa before its colonization by Europeans. The lack of extensive urban growth in Africa was due to a number of factors. Some of the more important reasons were the generally sparse population, the low level of technological development, and the many indigenous social organizations which did not require urban centers.

Where urban development existed in Africa, it extended from Senegal through the western and central Sudan to the Lake Chad area, the Kongo Kingdom, and then to the Indian Ocean. One of the highest degrees of precolonial urban development was among the Yoruba people in what is now South Western Nigeria. Mid-nineteenth century estimates of Yoruba town size made by early European visitors, placed the populations of Abeokuta and Ibadan at approximately 100,000 and fourteen other towns at 20,000 or more (12, p. 91). The social systems of these pre-modern towns were in some respects similar to their modern counterparts. Schwab (16), for example, reports that Oshogbo had a semi-autonomous legal system, institutionalized exchanges of agricultural surplus for goods and services, and social differentiation based upon occupation, skill, and/or political position. The historical and cultural tradition for urbanization, in at least a limited form, has existed for centuries.

In modern Nigeria, there are "traditional" (pre-European) Yoruba Kingdoms, such as Oyo and Ekiti, in which the metropolitan town (with its distinctive subsection) is large and
centrally situated, with farm lands extending from 3 to 10 miles from the town (11, p. 54), and there are also the (Muslim) Hausa emirates of Kano and Sokoto which continue the traditional settlement pattern of compact walled towns, distinguished by market place and unique and ringed around by bush hamlets; there are also "modern" cities such as Lagos and Ibadan in which there is a sharp contrast between the "old" town and the "nes," with the new section organized around western administrative, residential and commercial buildings (13, p. 48).

Most studies of urbanization in Africa have been concerned largely with sociological questions related to the African adjustment to city life and to the routine of an industrial economic system (7, p. 73). The major study on urbanization in Africa organized in 1956 by the International African Institute under the auspices of UNESCO had the same subject matter. In West Africa, however, a few studies have begun to evaluate the significance of these dynamic perspectives on urbanization. The two most important of these are the brief studies by Bascom on urbanization among the Yorubas of Southwest Nigeria and the series of papers on various aspects of urbanism in West Africa published in the special number of the Sociological Review in 1959 (1, p. 131).

To understand the reasons for urban growth in Africa, one must focus upon factors such as economic change, growth of political and administrative bureaucracies, migratory
trends, and tradition and conditions in rural regions (7, p. 236). The post World War II years to about 1958 did see very satisfactory growth in the economies and employment opportunities of most African countries, a good deal of which was focused in cities. Colonial powers during this time began to devote much more attention to their territories than they had. France, in particular, took belated interest in her previously neglected colonies. Since the capitals were more often than not the main commercial and transportation nodes, the primate cities naturally tended to grow more rapidly than lesser centers. There were then, incentives for rapid urban growth, but the growth has continued or even accelerated with dissipation or reduction of these incentives and the move to the cities (migration) appears to have become more-or-less inexorable (2, p. 33).

In migrating into the cities, many African town dwellers have had to cope with potential disjunctions between their current environments and the rural environment into which they were initially socialized. According to Hanna (6), such disjunctions usually exist for first as well as second and third generation migrants. Two factors are representative for the extension of these disjunctions beyond the first generation migrant. The first is the common practice, in many parts of Africa, of sending children to the family's rural home for upbringing. The urban cost of living is high, and some parents think of the urban environment as one which is
corrupting. The second reason is that even when children remain in urban areas, the early upbringing of some town dwellers' children does not provide a satisfactory preparation for life because it is largely conducted by relatively traditional, rural-oriented women whose urban experiences are sharply restricted.

Tribal group membership powerfully influences the perspectives and practices of the residents of African towns. In Nigeria, for example, such conceptualizations as "We Yoruba and those Hausa," "We Ibos and those Fulanis," take place in many social, political and economic situations and they help to maintain and structure the boundaries of culture and interaction despite the changes that have taken place since European colonization, the boundaries between tribal troops are often as sharp as the distinction some Americans make between blacks and whites. Thus, tribalism may be considered Nigeria's equivalent of the "American Dilemma" (15, p. 43).

For these reasons, it is sometimes analytically advantageous to view the typical Nigerian town as a cluster of partly overlapping enclaves, each with a somewhat distinct set of perspectives and practices. Although the enclaves may be geographical realities, it is of a greater importance that they are behavioral realities (6, p. 105). The editor of a Nigerian newspaper summarized the situation in Nigeria as follows: "Europeans talk about weather, Nigerians talk about tribe" (5, p. 3).
In introducing the sixteenth conference of the Rhode-Livingstone Institute, which was entirely devoted to the subject of "multi-tribal society," Mayer wrote:

Today it has become obvious that multi-tribalism is a focal problem, perhaps even the problem, in some of the African states from which the colonial powers have departed (14, p. VI).

Tension in Nigeria illustrates the intensity of conflict that can develop between tribal groups from different parts of the same country (10, p. 52). Although the conflicts are in part political as groups struggle for territorial control or self-determination, cultural contracts are also significant.

For the rural-urban migrants in Nigeria an expansion of identity often takes place. The urban recognition of common kinship fades almost imperceptibly into that of common tribal origin between those of the same tribe. There is a tendency to extend the concept of brotherhood metaphorically to all fellow tribesmen. A well known example of this phenomenon can be found in Western Nigeria. The use of the term "Yoruba" to refer to the predominant tribe in that area is largely the result of 19th century missionary influences, especially standardization of the previously heterogenous Yoruba language. "It is widely recognized that the concept of being a Nigerian is new, but it also appears that being a Yoruba is also a relatively new concept" (8, p. 42). Contemporary societies in urban Nigeria are also characterized by combinations of
tribal and non-tribal perspectives and practices. Ward and Rustow are correct in writing that "no society is wholly modern; all represent a mixture of modern and traditional elements" (19, p. 444). Tribal and non-tribal behaviors need not be antagonistic or mutually exclusive. Ward and Rustow wrote that

It has often been thought that these elements stood in opposition to each other, and that there was implicit in the social process some force which would ultimately lead to the purgation of traditional "survivals" leaving as a residue the purely "modern society" (19, p. 445).

Although tribalism powerfully influences a townsman's choice of associates, other factors also influence him. Some of these are socio-economic class, neighborhood, place of employment, political faction, and religion. There are, as a result, many non-tribal associations in the towns of Africa, including sport clubs, religious groups, political parties, labor unions, and women's associations. In Oshogbo, a town in Nigeria, for example, one development closely linked to the greater economic and political diversity of the town is the emergence of associational structures which are not characteristic of traditional life, and which stress identity of interest rather than common descent (16, p. 192).

Methodology

This paper is descriptive in nature and the general notions that are discussed are taken from relevant literature. The structure of the thesis is based on readings in some
major areas. On the basis of the readings, a subjective interpretation and classification will be presented.

Books and articles that pertain to the thesis topic will be used. Available data will be obtained from these books and articles.

Data obtained from the population census of Nigeria 1952-53 and 1963 will be used. The source of data could also be obtained from the demographic analysis branch, International Statistical Program Center, U. S. Bureau of the Census of Washington, D. C. 20033. The 1963 Population Census of Nigeria contains population by states, age-group and sex. It also contains population of rural and urban areas. Useful data will be obtained from the Area Handbook for Nigeria 1972. The book is comprehensive survey of the Nigerian activities. It reflects the recent changes which have taken place in the country and provides an essential comprehensive information about Nigeria's economic, social and statistical data.

Reading will be done from the works of many authors relating to the issues of urban tribalism in black Africa, paying particular attention to that of Nigeria. The concepts that emerge here will form the basis for presenting the tribal and non-tribal perspectives and practices in urban areas in Nigeria.
Structure

The thesis adheres to the following structure:

Chapter I will include the explanation of the problem, its significance, reasons of its selection and its relevance. The chapter also will specify the methodological approach and the structural aspect of the thesis.

The second chapter will present the general background of the problem, a description of the historical patterns of urbanization in Nigeria from 1911-1963.

Chapter III will focus on the scope of urban tribalism and non-tribal perspectives and practices, giving special attention to the remarkable staying power of this phenomenon.

Chapter IV will identify the impact of migration and urban life upon individuals showing selected differences between urban and rural Nigeria and the impact of these differences.

Chapter V gives the summary and the conclusion of the whole study together with the references for the paper.

Significance of the Study

One of the striking features of Nigeria is the rapid growth of urban centers, a growth that is accompanied by many economic and social problems. It is true that there have been a few centers of note for hundreds of years—places like Kano, Ibadan and other agricultural towns in the Yoruba country of Southwestern Nigeria. But in recent years or
decades, some of the older centers have grown from villages to cities.

Compared with industrialized Western Europe or the United States, Nigeria is decidedly an underdeveloped country with only a few moderately large urban centers. The comparatively dense concentration of agricultural people in southern Nigeria provide one of the potentials for urbanization. These concentrations, in turn, are related to historical and cultural factors which favor agriculture and the formation of villages, as well as to natural conditions of climates and soils which can support large numbers of farmers.

Some of the towns in Nigeria have become attractive to rural farmers for both economic and social reasons.

Nigerian cities have characteristics that are derived from indigenous cultures, as well as from colonial cultures and policies. Some of the cultural influences are revealed by even a brief look of an urban center. This study is important because it tries to show that the towns of Nigeria are not merely the focal point where the break with tradition may be seen, but also the centers in which a major restructuring of Nigerian society, as a whole, is taking place, a restructuring which is reaching deep into the countryside.

The urban impact upon an entire society operates in a variety of ways. For example, town dwellers often work to improve their rural home areas by supporting the construction of modern homes, schools, hospitals and roads in them which are
equivalent to those in towns where they live. Villagers who return home from the town often introduce new perspectives and practices while criticizing some of the old ways.

This paper will also be of importance to Nigerian urban policy makers or planners and the city administrators such as traditional Kings, chiefs, city managers, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists and anthropologists. There is already a large body of evidence demonstrating that failure in community development and other kinds of projects can often be traced to the planner's or administrator's ignorance of local socio-political structures and dynamics. For example, development of a new transportation system without reference to the relevant patterns of social organization might cause unnecessary disruptions. A new bureaucracy formed or advised without reference to the relevant social setting and the backgrounds of prospective participants, as well as those in the community who must cooperate to ensure success, might result in low levels of efficiency or effectiveness. In general, at a time when many communities are in the process of formation or rapid expansion, facing problems for the first time, it is particularly important that as much knowledge as possible be brought to bear in meeting these problems.

Finally, this study will be of interest to the Americans, particularly scholars in the fields of urban sociology and urban planning because it will enable them to explore cross cultural variations between urbanization in the United States
and that of Nigeria. Many propositions, once widely accepted as true, are coming to be recognized as excessively "culture-bound." For those that have already known some things about urbanization and tribalism in Nigeria, this study will increase their knowledge.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER II

PATTERN OF URBANIZATION

This chapter is concerned primarily with the effects of external intervention and socio-economic modernization upon the birth and development of Nigeria's new towns and the rapid expansion of its old ones. It also explores urbanization at the level of the individual, especially his decision to migrate to the city and remain there.

There were relatively few towns in Nigeria before its colonization by the Europeans. The lack of urban growth was due to a complex set of factors. Some of the more important factors were the generally sparse population and the many indigenous social organizations which did not require urban centers (19, p. 13).

Pre-colonial urban development in Africa extended from Senegal through the western and central Sudan to the Indian Ocean. One of the highest degrees of pre-colonial urban development was among the Yoruba people in what is now southwestern Nigeria. Mid-nineteenth century estimates of Yoruba town size, made by early European visitors, placed the populations of Abeokuta and Ibadan at approximately 100,000, and fourteen other towns at 20,000 or more (22, p. 91). The social systems of these pre-modern towns were in some respects similar to their modern counterparts. Schwab, for example,
reported that Oshogbo had a semi-autonomous legal system, institutionalized exchanges of agricultural surpluses for goods and services, and social differentiation based upon occupation, skill, and/or political position (26, p. 96). Elsewhere, the Benin, who are distantly related to the Yoruba, developed the city of Benin which, to an early European visitor, had many characteristics in common with Amsterdam of the same period.

Thomas' remark about West Africa had applicability in Nigeria: "The historical and cultural tradition for urbanization at least a limited form, has existed for centuries" (27, p. 25). With a few though important exceptions, most urban centers in Nigeria are an amalgam of two contrasting levels of urbanization—a traditional, almost medieval, pre-industrial urbanization and the modern or industrial cities such as Port-Harcourt and Lagos. Both levels continue to exist side by side in the pre-industrial towns. Metropolitan towns are large and centrally situated with farm lands expanding from three to ten miles from the town and there are traditional compact-walled towns, distinguished by unique market places and surrounded by bush hamlets. Examples of traditional cities are Oyo, Kano and Ekiti. In the modern industrial cities there are sharp contrasts between the old and the new sections organized around Western administrative, residential and commercial buildings.
Historical Background

The Republic of Nigeria, a British colony and protectorate before independence on October 1, 1960, is the largest of the coastal states of West Africa. About 357,000 square miles in area, it lies wholly within the tropics and occupies a dominant position along the Gulf of Guinea. A nation in which English is the official language, it is surrounded by French-speaking neighbors--Dahomey to the West, Niger to the North, Chad to the northeast and Cameroon to the East (7, p. 18).

Nigeria is a land of great contrast both in its physical attributes and in its cultural pattern. Its main topographic areas are distinguished by marked variations in terrain, vegetation, and climate. The country--Africa's most populous--is inhabited by an estimated 55 million people. Although the average density in 1970 was between 151 and 154 persons per square mile, the population was unevenly distributed with high density in the Southeast, the Southwest, and the Central section of the North. About one-fifth of the people lived in urban centers of 20,000 or more; the rest resided in basically rural settings (24, p. 1).

According to the most recent census (1963), Nigeria is inhabited by more than 200 different ethnic groups. The Nigerian peoples fall into five broad cultural categories: the Muslim Sudanic cultures centered traditionally on Northern city-states, the Nomadic pastoralists scattered throughout the North, the forest and independent coastal village
communities of the Southeast, the former forest kingdoms of the Southwest, and the many small groups of the middle belt and those along the frontier (24, p. 2).

Although English is the official language of government, education and the mass media, there are almost as many local spoken languages as tribal groups. This extraordinary variety is due to the local religious forms (which exist alongside Islam and Christianity), and to the diversity that characterizes socio-political attitude, values and ways of life (9, p. 31).

The outstanding characteristics of modern Nigerian society have been indelibly imprinted with the dominant traits of the three most populous and powerful tribal groups--the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Ibo--who together represent sixty per cent of the population. Although no section of the country is tribally unmixed, each of these major groups predominates in different sections. The North is the domain of the Hausa who, along with more than one million Fulani, represent the Muslim Sudanic culture. The West is dominated by the Yoruba, representing the forest kingdom cultures. The Ibo, representing traditionally the independent communities, are largely concentrated in the East. Other groups range in size from small clusters of 1,000 or less to those numbering more than one million. The larger groups include the Tiv and the Nupe of the Middle belt, the Ibibio, Efik and Ijaw of the Southeast; the Edo, centered on the ancient royal city of
Benin, and the widespread Muslim Kanuri of the Northeast. The years between World War I and World War II served as incubation periods for the movement toward modern nationalism in Nigeria. The emerging educated leadership began to resolve some of its internal conflicts and prepared to voice its demand, first for increased participation in self-government and later for independence. These developments, however, took place against a background of continuing political factionalism that derived largely from traditional ethnic tensions. Tribal political alignment was reinforced by the British decision to leave the country divided into three regimes, each of which was dominated by a major ethnic group. These consisted of the Hausa in the North, the Yoruba in the Southwest and the Ibo in the Southeast. Unity appeared to have been reached at the time of independence, but only under a loose federal structure (24, p. 60). Latent tribal hostility resurfaced early in the 1960's, and led to the breakdown of the constitutional system, the military coup of 1966, the secession of the Eastern region as the separate Republic of Biafra and thirty months of civil war.

Figure 1 is a map of Nigeria showing the twelve states and their principal urban centers.

The New Towns

The new urban phenomenon in Nigeria is of a different order. Greenberg correctly argued that post-intervention
Fig. 1--Map of Nigeria Showing the Twelve States and Their Principal Urban Centers (24, p. xvi).
(1884-1885) urbanization differs quantitatively and qualitatively from its earlier counterpart, citing such contrasts as the size and number of the new towns as well as the new or radically changed functions they perform (15, p. 50).

It has only been since the coming of the Europeans and especially since the scramble for African territory that followed the 1884-1885 Congress of Berlin, that new towns began to emerge and many of the new towns were (and remain today) industrial-mining complexes linked to a European economy between the European metropole and Nigerian hinterlands. Thomas pointed out that "The typical new town did not grow out of the needs of, and in service to its own hinterlands" (27, p. 152). The single event that probably influenced the growth of African towns was World War II. Needs for strategic resources, bases and local industries were created, and employment opportunities increased significantly. Urban in-migration was highly correlated with the industrial requirements of the imperial country (19, p. 14). 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 towns (the impact of these patterns was magnified because they were, to some extent, diffused to other Africans), and many European soldiers decided to seek their fortune in an Africa that had become more visible to them because of war-time contact and assignment. The dramatic
growth of new towns in Nigeria following World War II is illustrated by population changes over time. Table II shows the population changes of some Nigerian cities.

**TABLE II**

**ESTIMATED POPULATION OF SELECTED NIGERIAN CITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>1900's</th>
<th>1910's</th>
<th>1920's</th>
<th>1930's</th>
<th>1940's</th>
<th>1950's</th>
<th>1960's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>'10</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>665</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibadan</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>459</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>'03</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Y=year; P=population (in thousands); n/a=not available**

**Modernization**

A basic distinction among Nigerian towns is that between northern and southern towns. This is a distinction related to the design and architecture of the homes and derives in part from the influence of climate as well as history. Traditional houses in most Nigerian towns were built wholly or partly of mud. In most of the Southern parts of the country the mud walls of houses were rectangular in ground plan. In the North, while such a plan is found, it is also possible to find houses with mud walls. Barth, in 1851, noted that almost all the houses in Kano had very irregular upper stories or
different levels and very badly aired. He also observed that many Arabs tended to sleep on the terrace-like roofs of the houses (3, p. 299).

A characteristic of the traditional Nigerian house is the absence or inadequacy of ventilation. Various reasons have been put forward to account for this. One reason is that the state of arts of the people was not sufficiently developed to resolve the problem of fitting windows in houses. On the other hand, it is thought that the thick walls of traditional houses are poor conductors of heat, and most houses, in spite of the absence of windows, were relatively cool. Moreover, the existence of windows exposed the privacy of home life to prying eyes. In an age of strong community control, it may be that the windowless house was a protection against public disapproval of private irregular behavior (22, p. 117).

Everywhere the roofs of the houses were constructed of thatch, but quite early in the development of Northern Nigerian towns, the thatched roof was replaced by the flat, mud roof. This has given most towns in the North a distinctive appearance reminiscent of cities in North Africa (23, p. 15). While the flat roof has survived in northern towns, the thatched roof has virtually disappeared from the southern towns. Its disappearance was a consequence of the hazards to which a town is frequently made liable. Mabogunje, for instance, calculated that between 1859 and 1892, there were as many as forty major outbreaks of fire in Lagos (22, p. 118). Traditional
houses in Nigeria are more correctly referred to as "compounds." A compound housed a patrilocal extended family comprising a man's immediate polygamous family, the families of his adult and married male children and sometimes the families of his brothers. A compound could be a very elaborate building containing many rooms and sometimes occupying several acres. A basic unit of traditional organization in Nigerian towns, however, was the "quarter." A quarter consisted of groups of compounds occupied by members of one or more extended interrelated families. Each quarter was centered around a chief who performed social and jurisdictional functions. Usually the chief was a descendant of one of the oldest families in the town. Lagos, for instance, had as many as twenty-two quarters; Ibadan had over seventy quarters. The 1952 census listed as many as ninety-three quarters in Abeokuta (22, p. 118). Barth (3) also listed some seventy-four quarters in Kano in 1851.

In the last 100 years, Nigerian cities have undergone tremendous changes in every aspect of their construction and physical organizations. Many of these changes had their origins in Lagos and have gradually diffused inland from the coast. One of these was the replacement of the mud wall by baked-bricked wall. As early as 1859, a certain mattier, de Cruz, established a brick kiln in Lagos. Another kiln was established by the American Baptist Mission in 1868. These
were followed by other missionary bodies and finally by the government in 1896 (3, p. 134).

Generally, the rate of change has been more rapid in Southern than Northern towns. The disappearance of the family compound was hastened by the emergence of an architectural design which was more aesthetically exciting. This design was introduced into the country by the ex-slaves returning from Brazil (4, p. 122). The design has been in vogue for nearly a century and is particularly dominant in the Yoruba country. Its popularity, however, is being increasingly challenged by new developments in the country, especially since 1956.

With the disappearance of the compound went many other forms of town organization. The quarter system is remembered only through a chief, but it now has little functional significance. The functions of the quarter chief himself have been taken over by numerous other bodies; his representational role by the elected local councillor, his ritual role by the various churches and mosques, and his juridictional role by the courts (11, p. 135).

Changes in the form and layout of the city itself are more complex. In general, however, increasing exposure to modern Western technology and economic institutions has resulted in a greater demand for wide straight roads and for tall buildings serving other residential functions. Although commerce and industry have had profound impact upon growth in
Nigeria, such activities as administration, education and entertainment have also been important. These services are performed for expatriates and indigenes. Herskovits noted that many towns in Nigeria are so organized that they are compatible with the style of life to which Europeans were accustomed in their former homes (20, p. 263), and Berry refers to the towns as "rural service centers" offering crop-collection facilities, trade, water, sanitation and schools (5, p. 59). In either case, the services need staffing and their availability in towns attract potential users. The religion characteristic of Nigerian towns also offers some insight into the pattern of life in different parts of the country. The 1952 census recognized three broad religious division--Moslems, Christians and Animists. For the country, as a whole, Moslems comprise 35 per cent; Christians, 30 per cent; and Animists another 35 per cent. The northern part of Nigeria, however, is predominantly Moslem, the eastern region has hardly any sizeable population of Moslems. The position is reversed with respect to the Christians, the east being largely Christian and the North hardly so. The Western region has about the same proportion of its population in both religious groups. With regards to the Animists, the eastern region leads with almost half of its population being so categorized. The other two regions also have a substantial percentage of Animists. In the Eastern region of the country, the large towns are predominantly Animist. The Eastern region also
shows that the percentage of Christians and Moslems decreases with increasing size while that of Animist, whose preponderance in a town may be taken to indicate a lower level of economic development, increases with increasing size. The situation in Western Nigeria shows no clear pattern. The percentage of Moslems tends to decrease as town size decreases. Christians tend also to be more numerous in smaller than in larger towns. Large towns show relatively low percentages of Animists (22, pp. 132-133).

Quantitative Urbanization

Comparative urbanization data for Nigeria are highly unreliable because of inaccurate census-taking. (During colonial rule, many inhabitants disappeared at census time to avoid taxation or forced labor.) Since independence, the political implication of population counts, e.g., the distribution of power and wealth, have introduced additional sources of unreliability. Nigeria was unable to conduct a successful census twice in the 1960's. In fact, these failures contributed directly to the military coup d'état and the secession. However, it is clear that less than twenty per cent of the country's population live in urban areas. Useful comparable urban statistics on Nigeria have been compiled by the United Nations. They are relatively complete for urban areas with 20,000 or more (19, p. 24).

The percentage of Nigerians living in urban areas is rapidly increasing. Dramatic evidence is displayed by using
a relatively early year as the base for comparison. Using the City of Lagos as an example, Table III shows its population growth from 1921-1963.

**TABLE III**

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF LAGOS AND THE DISTRICTS 1921-1963*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lagos Island</th>
<th>Ikoyi &amp; Victoria</th>
<th>Mainland District</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>Inter- censal Increase %</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>134.9</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average % Inter- censal 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>Inter- censal Increase %</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>187.3</td>
<td>199.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average % Inter- censal 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>662,246</td>
<td>253,857</td>
<td>96,038</td>
<td>315,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter- censal Increase %</td>
<td>188.9</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>537.8</td>
<td>296.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average % Inter- censal growth rate per annum</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above table, Lagos has experienced a very rapid population increase, especially in the last three decades. Most of these increases have been a result of

TABLE IV
LAGOS: SEX RATIO OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY AGE (JUNE 1964)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Population (all ages)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></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>117.6</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 and over</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos born (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</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 and over</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant (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>130</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 and over</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>120.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in-migration from other parts of Nigeria and beyond. Increase of natural growth was also a product of the migration into Lagos of young adults of reproductive age whose fertility was high, and the decrease of infant mortality in recent years (8, p. 324). The details of age and sex composition, as set out in Table IV reveal certain characteristics of migration patterns. First, the normal sex ratio below the ages of 10 years relate to the children who were born in Lagos.

As might be expected, the urban population is becoming increasingly younger. By 1965 forty-two per cent of the city's inhabitants were fourteen years of age or less, compared with only twenty seven per cent in 1931 (see Table V).

TABLE V
AGE GROUPS IN LAGOS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1921-1965*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1965**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 and over</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Because the 1963 figures for the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups were believed inaccurate, owing to the tendency of young respondents to inflate their ages as to be eligible to vote in the 1964-65 federal elections, the census office conducted a supplementary sample survey in Lagos in 1965 with the results shown here.
As can be seen from Table V, among young adults, the age structure has been fairly stable with those between fifteen and twenty-nine consistently representing approximately thirty-three per cent of the population. The age pattern reflects the continual influx over the years of youthful migrants.

Table VI shows the estimated population of Nigeria's urban centers as indicated in the 1963 census.

**TABLE VI**

**ESTIMATED POPULATION OF NIGERIA'S URBAN CENTERS, 1963**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Over 200,000</th>
<th>100,000 to 200,000</th>
<th>50,000 to 100,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibadan</td>
<td>Ife</td>
<td>Calabar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Iwo</td>
<td>Katsira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>Port Harcourt</td>
<td>Ado-Ekiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogbomosho</td>
<td>Ilesha</td>
<td>Ede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oshogbo</td>
<td>Minna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>Akure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abeokuta</td>
<td>Offa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maiduguri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onitsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Migration.**—Studies of the causes of urban growth in Nigeria indicates that net migration is still the predominant factor. There are, however, many Nigerian towns in which natural growth has already become the primary cause of population expansion, and the trend is clearly in this direction.
because the rural population supply is undergoing a relative decline, and there is an increasing number of women of childbearing age in towns (8, p. 323). A study of sex ratios by Ejiogu (10) in 1964 (see Table VII) indicates that the sex ratio of 117 males per 100 females in the survey areas is relatively high when compared with Lagos as a whole, and

TABLE VII

COMPARISON OF SEX RATIO (MALES PER 100 FEMALES) IN THE SURVEY AREA, LAGOS TERRITORY AND NIGERIA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>108.0</td>
<td>n.a.**</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>125.7</td>
<td>118.5</td>
<td>115.4</td>
<td>108.0</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey Area</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>130.0</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>116.5</td>
<td>117.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**n.a. = not available

the country in general. As might be expected. The number of males moving into the area in search of jobs is increasing. Nevertheless, the tables show a steady decrease in the sex ratio, partly due to greater migration of females and children and partly as to natural increase.

According to Hanna, the principal cause of in-migration in Nigeria is the quest for economic betterment. This means that persons in prime wage-earning categories are most likely to migrate and, indeed, the evidence clearly shows that the
typical Nigerian town has a disproportionate number of men under 30 years of age. Table VIII shows the age and sex characteristics of population of Lagos from 1891 to 1950.

**TABLE VIII**

**AGE AND SEX CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION OF LAGOS (1891-1950)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Population Under 30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>13,520</td>
<td>14,998</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>n.a.**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>21,176</td>
<td>20,671</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>39,886</td>
<td>33,901</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>57,337</td>
<td>42,353</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>70,327</td>
<td>55,881</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>124,858</td>
<td>105,398</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**n.a.** = not available

Throughout the period, Lagos remained a predominantly male and young city. While the sex ratio has been moving toward an equalization since 1921, the age composition has shown an increasing proportion in the under thirty years of age group.

In Nigeria, the relationship between urban areas and the larger socio-political environment can also be viewed in terms of the impact of migration and town life (19, p. 28). The disruption of family type is one example of a negative impact.
However, in-migration and urbanization also have positive effects. Perhaps most important of these is their contribution to pan-tribal integration—substituting for other forms of social revolution (14, pp. 74-75), since they serve to bring rural inhabitants from all parts of the country into contact with the centers of their new society. Scaff puts it this way:

The towns, especially the national capitol, bring together the people of different tribal and language backgrounds and help to produce the more cosmopolitan relations necessary to support a modern nation (25, p. 14).

Table IX shows the main tribal groups in the total migrant and Lagos-born population, as of 1963 census.

TABLE IX
THE MAIN TRIBAL GROUPS IN THE TOTAL MIGRANT AND LAGOS-BORN POPULATION: 1963*

<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 (59.5)**</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 &amp; Urhobo</td>
<td>296 (8.9)</td>
<td>164 (9.7)</td>
<td>132 (8.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibibio &amp; Erik</td>
<td>228 (6.8)</td>
<td>159 (9.4)</td>
<td>69 (4.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haúsa</td>
<td>40 (1.2)</td>
<td>36 (2.1)</td>
<td>4 (0.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nigerian</td>
<td>43 (1.3)</td>
<td>32 (1.9)</td>
<td>11 (0.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Nigerian Africans</td>
<td>58 (1.7)</td>
<td>41 (2.4)</td>
<td>17 (1.0)</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>


**Bracketed figures are percentages
From Tables IX and X, it can be concluded that the most pronounced and consistent feature of Lagos' social structure is its large Yoruba populations. The Yoruba people are traditional urban dwellers who cluster in tribally homogeneous, occupational specialized, and politically centralized towns, with residential units based on lineage and kinship ties. Lagos is not one of the most typical of Yoruba towns, but many features of Yoruba urbanism, particularly the pattern of tribal homogeneity, have survived throughout the years of growth.

Table X shows the principal tribal groups in Lagos as percentage of total population from 1911 to 1963.

**TABLE X**

PRINCIPAL TRIBAL GROUPS IN LAGOS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1911-1963*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal Groups</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1963</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>59.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibo</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo and Ibibio</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nigerians**</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Nigerians</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Groups</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 or Saros and Amaros. After 1931, these groups were included in one of the major tribal group classifications, principally the Yoruba.
Between 1911 and 1963 the city's population increased ninefold, but the proportion of Yoruba residents never decreased below 59.5 per cent of the total (2, p. 36). Some indications of the magnitude of the trend toward urbanization were shown by a rural sample survey conducted by the Federal Office of Statistics in 1965 and 1966. Covering 191 rural village areas throughout the country, the survey found a net migration rate to urban areas of over 1.3 per cent or about half of the estimated rate of natural population increase (8, p. 324). Migration tends to vary from year to year. The marked movement was evident in the growth of town populations in the latter 1960's. The population of Kaduna, for instance, was estimated in 1967 to be increasing over 11 per cent a year, and that of Kano, about 8 per cent. In 1971, Greater Lagos, as a whole, was growing at an estimated rate of 11 per cent a year. Areas inside the city limit were increasing about 8 per cent annually, and the population in the suburbs was expanding by 20 per cent a year (28, p. 85). People migrated to the town for various reasons. The migrants were searching for employment and education. A more limited study in the Mid-Western region in the late 1965 indicated that other individuals moved to the towns because of the spread of new ideas and development of desires for the amenities found in the towns. This group, and those persons seeking an education, became generally permanent town residents. On the other hand, many who migrated strictly for economic reasons tended to keep up
stronger contacts with their tribal and home village group and eventually returned to their rural environment.

Revolution of Values

Migration in Africa, as a whole, is not a new phenomenon. Over the centuries, entire tribes migrated to more productive areas, and individual sojourns of various duration have been made to visit relatives, attend funerals. The basic contrasts between pre-colonial and contemporary migration are that in the former fewer individuals (as opposed to entire tribes) were probably involved and rural to rural migration was apportionately greater (19, p. 32). In Nigeria, the basic spontaneous cause of in-migration has been "revolution of values" brought about by the European presence, which introduced a new set of values and established an infrastructure (e.g., modern schools and industries) providing Nigerians with opportunity to obtain what was newly valued (e.g., education and wage-earning employment). This revolution has not involved a substitution of one value for another, but only the addition or exchange or modification of a relatively large number of specific values. Nor has it involved uniform change throughout Nigeria; local culture and conditions obviously influence responses, as do the types of outside interventions and the personalities of individuals. The revolution has meant that many Nigerians incorporated new values that encouraged an urban presence (19, p. 33).
Apart from the European influence in Nigeria, which has been greatest, various other influences have been operative, the most important of which has been the Arab-Muslim impact, especially in the Northern region of the country with the largest number of the country's Moslem's populations. As a result of various change agents operating in the urban areas in Nigeria, many people now aspire to migrate to those areas. Weissman writes:

Growing masses of people are seeking the better life that modern science and technology have made possible—industrialization and higher levels of living—and which universal education and mass communication media helped to make an aspiration common to all mankind. In our time the city offers conditions for the fulfillment of these aspirations (28, pp. 65-66).

According to the data collected by Free in 1964 in Nigeria, sixty-nine per cent of his sample of Nigerians (urban and rural residents) expressed the personal aspiration of "improved or decent standard of living for self or family," sufficient money to live better or to live decently or relief from poverty. This was the highest ranking aspiration, followed in order by welfare for their children (61 per cent) and good health (47 per cent) (13, pp. 25-32).

**Economic Betterment.**—There is increasing agreement and evidence that the predominant motive behind most decisions to migrate is economic need and desire in Nigeria. Greater earnings in cash and/or in kind are desired for a variety of purposes, such as payment of taxes or bride price, provision
of daily needs, the purchase of more sophisticated material
goods, and the satisfying of non-material wants, such as
education (18, pp. 186-187).

Several arguments have prevailed which have pertinence to
discussion of economic migration. Gulliver wrote that:

Incentives in labor migration are primarily and preeminent a
desire for material wealth which are not available at
home, and that such migrations are not explicable in terms
of men seeking travel and adventure, new experiences, the
wonders of Whiteman's world, wanderlust, the evasion of
filial duties or political obligations, or others of the
employers' and white man's stereotyped myths (17, p. 161).

He further said that proof of this contention is seen in at
least two ways: "that many individuals who migrate due to low-
wage rural employment select it in order to become involved in
an unknown urban situation, and that many of those who migrated
due to high wage jobs state that they would prefer to stay at
home but cannot afford to" (17, p. 162).

Another economic motive for migrating to urban areas in
Nigeria is relative rural deprivation. Agriculture is Nigeria's
resource. Unfortunately, incomes in agriculture are lower than
in other sectors of the economy. The countryside is relatively
underdeveloped because capital is concentrated in towns and
manufacturing industries, and many young adults leave rural
areas during their prime years of productivity and innovation
(19, p. 39).

Table XI shows the occupational structure of the population
by sex and age five-years-plus of the migrants to the Lagos
area as of 1963 census.
TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE
FIVE-YEARS-PLUS OF THE MIGRANTS TO LAGOS AREA, 1963*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Economically Active</th>
<th>School Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages (5+)</td>
<td>834(52**)</td>
<td>443(34.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>16(3.2)</td>
<td>31(6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>277(57.8)</td>
<td>151(47.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>266(90.6)</td>
<td>147(53.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>170(97.1)</td>
<td>76(55.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>91(98.9 )</td>
<td>24(60.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 and over</td>
<td>20(52.6)</td>
<td>15(39.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages (15+)</td>
<td>818(76.4)</td>
<td>412(51.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Figures in brackets are percentages

As can be seen from Table XI, larger percentages of many young adults in their prime years of productivity and innovation did migrate to the urban area of Lagos. If migration continues at an ever-quicker pace with increases in the economic level, one interpretation might be that many Nigerians are behaving rationally by coming to towns. Berg, writing about West Africa, argues that the migrant labor system has a secure foundation in the economic environment (4, p. 181). This is not to imply that all urban migrants find highly productive work, or even find employment, but for the average migrant, his move appears to represent a personal economic gain, slight though it may be.
Attraction of town life.---The attraction of town life has been a subject of prose and poetry in many African countries and elsewhere. One of the most colorful descriptions of town life in Nigeria was written by a Nigerian novelist, Ekwensi. He described the city of Lagos as follows:

Lagos, Lagos! The magic name. She had heard of Lagos where the girls were glossy, worked in offices like the men, danced, smoked, wore high-heeled shoes and narrow slacks, and were free and fast with their favors (11, p. 167).

Many African novels are concerned with town life and they make important contributions to our understanding of urban practices and perspectives. Excitement and the benefits of modernity are readily available in urban areas of Nigeria. There is entertainment in the form of motion picture houses, television, sporting events and hotel bars. Merchandise is available in great quantity and variety.

Lenski (21) noted that urbanization offers greater opportunity for accelerated upward social and political mobility. Societies in rural Africa as a whole provide opportunities, but these tend to be based on an older, relatively traditional system of values and status in which heredity, age, and/or sex are of special importance. Furthermore, downward mobility is often more frequent than upward mobility because populations are increasing, but the number of high-status positions in rural societies is relatively stable (21, p. 290). Alternative channels of mobility are especially sought by young
people, who in most rural African societies must defer to elders until they reach an advanced age. To achieve ambitions early in life, many youths must migrate to town.

Rural Ties

The usual thought about the attractiveness of town life must be qualified by the knowledge that many Nigerians never reside in them; those who do usually visit their home villages regularly. Most town dwellers sooner or later return home permanently. Most African townsmen retain links with their rural home and continue to take the opinions of rural relatives and friends into consideration. A study of selected rural compounds in the eastern part of Nigeria reports that 89 percent of the absentees had visited their rural homes at least once in the preceding 12 months (16, p. 7).

Hanna (19) suggested that there is a material reason for maintaining such links. Systems of freehold are rare and therefore rural land cannot easily be converted into cash; the permanent severance of ties with one's rural home might well mean the loss of a valuable asset--land (19, p. 46).

The personal urbanization of most townsmen in Nigeria is far from complete. For old ties and ways remain strong. Whatever their pattern of migration, most Nigerians want to return to their traditional homes sooner or later, at least to die there because of the religious significance of the relationship between land and ancestors.
Schwab found that among the settlers of Oshogbo, perhaps the only common characteristics was their desire to return home someday (26, p. 16).

Conclusion

In this chapter urbanization is shown as a continuing process, related to the increasing functional specialization in Nigeria's society. With a few, though important exceptions, most of Nigeria's urban centers are an amalgam of two contrasting levels of urbanization—a traditional, almost medieval, pre-industrial urbanization—and an advanced, industrial-urbanization. Vigorous trading activities in these centers with the Europeans and the Arabs have given rise to numerous towns and cities. The colonial regime came to give new meaning to these centers and to inject advanced technologies, already developed elsewhere, into their traditional existence. The result was not always to the advantage of the old centers but its general implication in terms of greater volume of trade and faster transportation was tremendous.

The economic and social implications of the rapid growth of urbanization in Nigeria are obvious. The economic implications relate to investment needs for housing, schooling, public health, the social stabilization of the urban population, uprooted from normal rural and small-town environments, would also be called for (6, p. 145).
However, since at all times the cities have served as promoters of necessary change, the growth of cities in Nigeria need not be viewed as an entirely negative phenomenon.

Consequences of urbanization are generally seen in the lowering of mortality and fertility rates.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER III

URBAN TRIBALISM

Introduction

Sociocultural change in the independent African states today poses a sociological paradox, for it seems to be producing, at one hand and at the same time, two contradictory phenomena: some tribal groups rapidly losing their cultural distinctiveness, while other tribal groups not only retaining, but also emphasizing and exaggerating their cultural identity and exclusiveness. In the one case, detribalization occurs whereby a tribal group adjusts to the new social realities by adopting customs from other groups or by developing new customs which are shared with other groups. In the second case, a tribal group adjusts to the new realities by reorganizing its own traditional customs, or by developing new customs under traditional symbols, often using traditional norms and ideologies to enhance its distinction within the contemporary situation. Nowhere are these two cases so dramatically evident as in African towns today, where social interaction is particularly intense and change very rapid.

It is, therefore, the purpose of this chapter to examine urban tribalism in Nigeria. The chapter gives special attention to the bases for the remarkable staying power of this
phenomenon and also tries to describe the non-tribal perspectives and practices which appear to be becoming increasingly important in urban areas in Nigeria. Finally, it suggests how tribal and non-tribal factors interact.

Tribal Practices and Perspectives

In Nigeria's rural areas, membership in a tribe involves participation in a working political system, sharing domestic life with kinsfolk. Continued participation is based on present economic and social need. On the other hand, tribalism in the urban areas is a different phenomenon entirely. It is primarily a means of classifying the multitude of Nigerians who live together in cities and towns. This classification is the basis on which a number of new Nigerian groupings, such as burial and mutual help societies, are formed to meet the need of urban life.

Tribal group membership powerfully influences the perspectives and practices of the residents of Nigerian towns. Such conceptualizations as "We Yoruba and those Hausa," "We Ibo and those Yoruba," take place in many social, political and economic situations. These conceptualizations help maintain and structure the boundaries of interaction and culture. Despite the changes that have taken place since European colonization, the boundaries between tribal groups have been able to retain or resume great significance. It could be said that Nigerians are retribalised in the towns. Retribalization is the socio-cultural manifestation of the formation of new political
groupings. It is the result, not of tribal groupings disengaging themselves from one another, but of increasing interaction between them, within the context of new political situation (3, p. 3). It is the outcome, not of conservatism, but of a dynamic socio-cultural change which is brought about by new cleavages and new alignments of power.

Tribalism affects where one lives, with whom one associates, for whom one votes, at what occupation one works, and so forth. For these reasons, Hanna (6) suggested that it is sometimes advantageous to view the typical Nigerian town as a cluster of overlapping tribal enclaves, each with a somewhat distinct set of perspectives and practices. Although the enclaves may be geographical realities, it is of greater importance that they are behavioral realities. The importance of tribal boundaries in the lives of those who reside in Nigerian towns does not mean that individuals should be viewed solely as Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo and so forth. On the contrary, the residents are at least in some respects interdependent townsmen participating jointly in urban, social, political and economic systems. Concerning Lagos, Crowder writes: "The maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of British creation, where a new community of Lagosians is rapidly coming into existence" (4, p. 83).

Counterforces to tribal clustering in towns include urban growth, restratification and some townsmen's preference to isolation. Urban growth tends to disrupt tribal clustering
because the residents of an over-crowded tribal enclave tend to scatter in their attempt to find better housing. In Ibadan for instance, each tribal group was separately settled in the first decade of the century under the auspices of the British colonial government and the Ibadan local authority, but as the town grew and new groups arrived, neighborhood mixing began (10, p. 99).

Level of Tribal Membership

Hanna (6) distinguishes three levels of tribal membership in urban Africa. One of these differentiates broad continental (racial) groups: Europeans, middle Easterners or Asians (predominantly in West and East Africa, respectively), and Africans. The second differentiates the Africans indigenous to the area in which the town is located from "stranger" Africans who have migrated to it from some distance away. Third, tribalism distinguishes various tribal, clan, and/or locality groups. In Nigeria, the latter, which has greater applicability to the country, would involve for example distinctions between Yorubas and Ibos, and then more specifically among the latter, Ubakala and Olo Koro clans.

The level of tribal membership an individual invokes depends upon a variety of situational factors. These factors include relevant referential subsystems (for example, fellow tribesmen or rural family members), the kind of cultural response that is involved, and the relevant analytic subsystems
(e.g., political or social) (6, p. 108). There are several operative referential subsystems, as illustrated by the townsmen who works in the modern section of town, lives in a poverty pocket, and visits his rural home regularly, perhaps during Easter and Christmas vacations. Thus, when living in an environment that provides strong reinforcement for customary perspectives and practices, it is likely that custom will prevail regardless of the extent to which the visitor is at other times involved in the modern world of the town. Mitchell (13) is one of several members of the British school of social anthropology who has pointed out that the immigrant in urban environment is likely to change his practices and perspectives, but that these changes may not persist if the immigrant returns to his traditional home. To support this argument he refers to evidence that town-dwellers who return home usually have little difficulty re-adjusting to the rural environment, and they resist changes as rigidly as those who have never left the area (13, pp. 128-129).

Culture can analytically be divided into subsystems in a variety of ways such as material and non-material elements, e.g., between bicycles and beliefs. In urban Africa, as elsewhere, during rapid change, it is clear that the former are significantly more changed and less tribally determined than the latter.

The town life of Nigerians can be divided into analytic subsystems. Three subsystems prominent in the lives of most
town-dwellers are the economic, the political, and the social. These subsystems are not likely to display the same degree of tribalism. The urban economic systems is the most modernized, the political subsystem has many elements of both modernity and tradition, and the social subsystem is the most tribal of the three. Banton gave an important explanation for contrasts such as these:

Whereas a new role as worker in an industrial concern can be added unto a man's other roles without having many immediate effect upon his relations with his fellows, changes in domestic norms react upon a wide range of relationships (1, p. 11).

In Nigeria, attachments to and relations among tribal groups based upon ties of common kinship and/or rural home areas have assumed great importance in the social, economic and political affairs of most towns. This is reflected in a widespread concern for the problem. Most Nigerian leaders and the mass media make efforts to condemn tribalism and special conferences have been arranged to discuss the problem. The editor of a Nigerian newspaper summarized the situation in Nigeria as follows: "Europeans talk about the weather; Nigerians talk about tribe" (5, p. 3). And in introducing the sixteenth conference of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, which was entirely devoted to the subject of "multi-tribal society," Mayer asserted: "Today, it has become obvious that multi-tribalism is a focal problem, perhaps even the problem in some of the African states from which the colonial powers have departed (12, p. VI).
Intense conflict can develop between tribal groups from different parts of the same country. Although the conflicts are in part political, as groups struggle for territorial control or self-determination, cultural contrasts are also significant.

Variation in Tribalism

In Nigeria, tribal practices and perspectives vary according to the personality characteristics of individual towns- men, the socio-cultural characteristics of tribal groups, the situation in which the townspeople find themselves, and the structural positions of the relevant townspeople. On the individual level, a wider variety of personality factors may determine which perspectives are held and practices performed.

The most important bases of group variance in the quality and quantity of tribalism in Nigeria are the traditional perspectives and practices that migrants and immigrants bring with them from their home tribes or clans. One useful way of examining traditions, suggested by Linton (11), is to distinguish socio-cultural systems according to whether they are more-or-less integrated. Well-integrated systems are likely to undergo significant dislocations as a result of rapid change, whereas, the more loosely integrated systems tend to be more receptive to change.

Situational variation.—The world of the average urban African, as suggested by Hanna, could be viewed in terms of referential, cultural, and analytical subsystems. Those
subsystems important for him in a particular situation depend upon such factors as where he is physically located, with whom he is associated, and what he is doing. These are in turn influenced by such environmental factors as war and economic development. In a booming economy, for example, a townsman may be less likely to exhibit certain manifestations of tribalism because he can independently obtain and hold a job. With a depression, he might have to rely upon his fellow tribesmen (6, p. 134).

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, there are several operative referential subsystems, as illustrated by the Nigerian townsman who works in the modern section of town and lives in a poverty pocket and visits his rural home regularly, perhaps during Easter and Christmas vacations. Within each referential area, variation takes place as a result of the particular audiences involved. An example of the relevance of the referential audience in Nigeria is provided by the Rivers State Controversy in Port Harcourt, an urban center. The issue was whether the many tribes in the River State's area or the many clans of Ibo land would control the town. Although there was constant conflict among Rivers tribes on the one hand and Ibo clans on the other, they both formed united fronts when pitted against each other. The all-embracing Rivers Chiefs and Peoples Congress and the Ibo State Union became highly important political organizations throughout the controversy. But when the matter was resolved (temporarily), narrower identities
reasserted themselves. The importance of the referential audience phenomenon has led leaders of some states to conjur up an international opposition, such as neocolonialism generally or a particular territorial neighbor, such as Ghana, as a means of unifying the population within the state.

There are two contradictory popular views about Nigerians who live in urban areas. One view is that urban Nigerians are detribalized in the sense that they are transformed from tribally-oriented villagers into modern-oriented townsmen. Exaggerated reports of detribalism were probably caused by the outside observer's perception of visible changes such as those in material culture, e.g., dress, along with his failure to perceive a greater continuity in social organizations or beliefs. The outsider's differential perceptions of the two cultural levels were also, according to Herskovits, "rooted in ethnocentrism of the industrialized societies and their emphasis on the importance of technological change" (7, pp. 287-288). Thus, detribalization appropriately describes one subset of practices and perspectives of Nigeria's townsmen, but for a second subset less change can be observed, and for many townsmen, a third subset consists of retribalization. Cohen (3) found that the Hausa people living in Yoruba towns of western Nigeria manipulated their own cultural tradition--fostering retribalization--in order to develop an informal political association that could be used as an organizational weapon in contemporary political struggle.
The town life of Nigerians can be divided into economic, political, and social subsystems (6, p. 136). It is important to recognize that tribalism does not influence these subsystems to the same degree. The urban economic subsystem is the most modernized. The political subsystem has many elements of both modernity and tradition and the social subsystem is the most tribal of the three. Banton gives an important explanation for contrasts such as these: "Whereas a new role as worker in an industrial concern can be divided into a man's other roles without having many immediate effects upon his relations with his fellows, changes in domestic norms, react upon a wide range of relationships" (1, p. 116).

Bases of Sustained Tribalism in Towns

To many Nigerian town-dwellers, the prevailing urban discontinuities and conditions are potentially stressful. Strangers and new situations must constantly be confronted. An individual may, suddenly, be deprived of employment, residence, and other necessities. The potential stress and solidarity of the group are positively associated, at least up to the point that the former become so overwhelming that previous patterns of behavior break down. Also there is association between stress and reliance by group members upon their traditional perspectives. In Nigeria, important intervening factors in these relationships include a sense of continuity, assistance, and resocialization.
Sense of Continuity.---The tribal group provides town-dwellers with a sense of continuity by enveloping them through familiar perspectives and practices. Hoselitz observed that persisting social traditions may significantly soften the dis-organizing and dislocating effects of rapid technological change and industrialization (8, p. 15).

Assistance.---Fellow tribes provide town-dwellers with assistance in time of need. Indeed, Southall argues that tribal relations in a town are principally determined by mutual assistance needs, and that the influence of a town-dwelling tribal group member is based less upon his length of stay in town, his material success, and his housing facilities— all determinants of his ability to help others—than on his generosity (17, p. 42).

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. The state and local governments of Nigeria do not perform these services. However, economic assistance in terms of need has been institutionalized within tribal associations. Townsmen are often helped in getting jobs by fellow tribesmen. An individual may be assisted upon his initial arrival in town or later when trouble arises. Okonjo reported that the hosts of the new Ibo migrants in Ibadan often intervene in helping these new arrivals secure jobs (10, p. 104).
The desire and obligation to assist fellow tribes may erode as individuals grow more accustomed to urban life. The more modernized residents may simply refrain from helping fellow tribesmen because of the continual demands of the poor and unfortunate. However, although there is a tendency for those Nigerians who are more deeply involved in urban life to criticize the obligation to assist fellow tribe members, it is rare that a request for help is turned down.

Resocialization.--Fellow tribesmen can help new arrivals adjust to, and become integrated in the urban environment. Banton argued that: "The immigrant is absorbed into the urban system not by a process of individual change in line with the melting-pot conception of assimilation, but through his membership in a local group of people drawn from his own tribe" (1, p. 147). Thus, tribal associations blend apparently divergent aims and interests. On one hand, they emphasize tribal duties and obligations in the city--on the other hand, they urge the adoption of a modern outlook, and establish neo-social practices. In other words, they build a cultural bridge for a migrant. Fellow tribesmen can contribute to resocialization in a variety of ways. They pass on town lores, provide political education and guidance, offer adult education classes which teach the rudiments of the local lingua franca, give technical training and so forth. The impact of the tribal groups resocialization function potentially goes
far beyond the urban area because of the constant flow of individuals, ideas and money between town and countryside.

Hanna argued that in the former Eastern Nigeria, the main concern of tribal associations was with the affairs of their rural home areas (6, p. 143). The name "improvement union," when used for a group's tribal association, often refers to improvement of the home rather than to the well-being of townsmen or the town itself. Many decisions concerning village affairs are made by town-dwellers rather than village residents; the former may be called home to advise or control during holidays on local issues. Thus, the association helps to build roads, schools, libraries, hospitals, dispensaries and maternity clinics, and to advise or control local policy-makers. Hanna also went on to say that such improvements have direct and indirect benefits for the town-dwelling co-tribes. They moderate family parasitism by tending to equalize urban and rural satisfactions, improve resort facilities because many town-dwellers of Nigeria spend vacations in their rural areas, and improve community conditions because most Nigerians living in urban areas plan to return to the countryside after their working days are over. An effect of a different order is that contacts with co-tribes in the townsman's rural home serve to reinforce traditional practices and perspectives.
Non-Tribal Practices and Perspectives

The presence of non-tribal practices and perspectives in Nigerian towns provides an important indicator of an individual's relationship to modern urban society and of the nature of the society itself. For the individuals, these patterns usually represent new involvements, sometimes reflecting alienation from former alternatives. At the societal level, these patterns indicate the direction of change and the inherent character of formative institutions (6, p. 145).

Syncretism.--Urban societies in Nigeria are characterized by syncretistic combinations of tribal and non-tribal perspectives and practices. According to Ward and Rustow, "No society is wholly modern; all represent a mixture of modern and traditional elements" (19, p. 444).

Two kinds of syncretic mixes are known; fusion is the combination of traditional and modern in specific elements of culture or patterns of interpersonal interaction. The second kind of syncretism is characterized by parallel cultural elements or interactional patterns. Parallel interactional structures are often the privileges of the affluent. New affluence is often cited as a conductor of greater assimilation and may actually provide minorities with the financial and psychological wherewithal for building even more elaborate parallel sub-societal structure (14, p. 721). Tribal and non-tribal behavior need not be antagonistic or mutually exclusive.
Ward and Rustow note:

It has often been thought that these elements stood in basic opposition to each other, and then there was implicit in the social process some force which would ultimately lead to the purgation of traditional survivals, leaving as a residue the purely modern societies (19, p. 445).

In Nigerian towns, the role of traditional attitudes in the modernization process has often been symbolic rather than antagonistic. Mayer argued against the notion of mutually exclusive set of practices and perspectives.

Active involvement in within-town social system is no index of non-involvement in extra town system. The extra town ties can, indeed, be simultaneously involved in those very actions which represent participation in an urban involvement (12, p. 311).

But despite the development of non-tribal perspectives and practices in Nigerian towns, tribalism still remains and will probably remain operative for an indefinite period of time.

Non-Tribal Clusters and Associations

Residential clusters and associations are among the many tribal structures that help a town-dweller cope with urban life.

Residential clusters. Some town-dwellers in Nigeria live in neighborhoods that display at least some characteristics of tribal clustering; however, there are many towns such as Lagos and Ibadan in which tribal clustering has not existed beyond the dwelling units. This has, for the most part, been the result of European administrative policies, often taken over by the independent government, rather than
the preference of Nigerian town-dwellers (6, p. 146). Where dwelling units are controlled by a central administration, they too have been tribally mixed because assignments were often on a "first come, first served" basis.

Significant to the observer of urban Nigeria's affairs is the slow but steady shift from residential clustering based upon tribal identification to clustering based upon other factors, especially wealth and education. An important correlation of the shift is that in more tribally heterogeneous residential areas, friendship patterns are likely to be heterogeneous. This often leads to a lessening of other relationships based upon tribal group membership and an increase in those based upon other qualifications (6, p. 147). Non-tribal clustering in Nigeria is most characteristic of upper- and middle-class townsmen.

Associations.--Tribal associations, comprising individuals with a common interest in their place of origin, keep the town-dwellers in touch with his own people elsewhere in Nigeria, and help him with mutual benefit schemes. But in a multi-tribal community like the Nigerian towns, some adjustment to strangers is unavoidable if only at work. Although tribalism powerfully influences a townsmen's choice of associates, other factors are clearly operative. Socio-economic class, neighborhood, place of employment, political faction and religion are among the more important conducive commonalities.
There are, as a result, many non-tribal associations in the towns of Nigeria, including religious groups, labor unions, alumni associations (for graduates of a particular high school and college) and women's associations.

In Oshogbo, for example, one development closely linked to the greater economic and political diversity of the town is the emergence of associational structures which were not characteristic of traditional life, and which stress identity of interest rather than common descent, even though in a poly-tribal urban area common descent is usually one basis of shared interest (16, p. 102). Non-tribal associations are conducive to elimination of tribal and regional attitudes of mind. Both tribal and non-tribal associations are products of change as well as instruments of further change. They are usually led by more educated segments of a town's population. The functions of these two types of associations are often similar, especially with regard to adaptation, integration and the representation of special interest. As Moore has noted, "they can replace multi-functional structures (e.g., the extended family or age grade) that form the bases of traditional village life" (8, p. 347).

Based upon degree of urban acculturation and assimilation, a developmental sequence of association can be hypothesized. Southall conceptualized three stages in the history of associations in African towns. During the first, most migrants' ties to the town are too tenuous to provide a
basis for the development of lasting voluntary associations, founded on either tribal or non-tribal identities. However, tribal ties are used for ad hoc effort to facilitate adaptation and integration. In the second stage, tribal associations are formed on a more-or-less permanent basis, but non-tribal town involvement does not extend to the point where other bases of associations become important—with the exception of religious groups for many townsmen and a variety of associations for some members of the new middle-class. The final stage, into which many African towns have already moved, marks the spread of multiple interests, tribal and non-tribal and the emergence of relatively permanent non-tribal and tribal associations (18, p. 145).

The Labor Union: A Non-Tribal Association

To provide further insight into processes of change and the characteristics of non-tribal association, it is useful to examine a non-tribal association. The labor union has been selected for the purpose because of its growing economic, social and political importance in the Nigerian towns, especially in Lagos.

Functions of non-tribal associations are increasingly important to Nigerian townsmen. One of the most important functions performed by labor union is socialization to the new ways of urban environment or life. For example, unions contribute to the development of attitudes concerning the
acceptance of industrial employment conditions and the entrusting of one's interest to the labor market (15, p. 148). There are also numerous training programs for the labor union members which teach them such skills as construction and the operation of consumer cooperatives. At the political level, labor unions provide town-dwellers with the opportunity to participate in small-scale political systems with relatively modern rules of conduct. In fact, the labor union is one of the most important institutions in Nigeria open to untrained and uneducated individuals where they can learn about and experience democracy. But labor unions are not necessarily democratic. This possibility leads to a consideration of the relationship between the politics of organizations and the politics of the state of which they are part.

Labor unions also provide psychological, social and economic security to townsmen. Knowles writes that:

The informal social group in the workshop which is the basis for unionism, gives the new recruit to industry an emotional sense of security and of belonging. Membership in an industrial primary group may serve as a substitute for membership in the extended family, tribe, or peasant village (9, p. 307).

The market women's union in the Nigerian towns such as Ibadan and Lagos provides an interesting example. This union's main activity is provision of burial insurance. When a member dies, those remaining contribute a small fixed sum to cover such costs as cash gifts to relatives of the deceased and beverages for the mourners. Of course, most unions have a
wider range of mutual aid activities. Labor unions may serve as a basis for social cohesion beyond that provided by common tribal background.

Labor unions also provide opportunity for leadership training and for the exercise of leadership by those whose mobility is otherwise blocked (6, p. 155). Leadership training is especially relevant for the regime in power; candidates for high offices can be tested in voluntary associations where wrong decisions may not be very costly. An alternative channel of upward mobility is especially needed by townsmen who in some ways are outsiders. In Port Harcourt, for example, unions provided opportunity for ambitious non-Ibos who were denied access to local and regional party offices (20, p. 434).

Conclusion

The function of urban tribalism has been examined in this chapter. Urban society in Nigeria exemplified the process of change, and the attempt was made to show the part Nigeria's urban societies play in adapting traditional institutions and in integrating the new social system.

Theorists of Western urbanism have stressed the importance of voluntary associations (both tribal and the non-tribal associations) as distinctive features of contemporary social organization, particularly in Nigeria. Urban tribalism has been defined as a means of classifying the multitude of Nigerians who live together in cities and towns. This
classification is the basis on which a number of new Nigerian groupings, such as burial and mutual help societies, are formed to meet the need of urban life. Tribal group membership powerfully influences the perspectives and practices of the residents of Nigerian towns; tribal groupings help maintain and structure the boundaries of culture and interaction.

This chapter has also examined how tribal practices and perspectives vary according to the personality characteristic of individual townsmen, the socio-cultural characteristic of tribal groups, the situation in which the townsmen find themselves, and the structural position of the relevant townsmen.

Analyses were made of the remarkable staying power of urban tribalism in a changing Nigerian society. The bases of sustained tribalism in towns were indicated to be due to the fact that to many Nigerian town-dwellers, the prevailing urban discontinuities and conditions are potentially stressful. Strangers and new situations must constantly be confronted, the important intervening factor in these new relationships include a sense of continuity assistance and re-socialization.

Finally, the importance of non-tribal practices and perspectives such as syncreticism, residential clustering and labor union was mentioned in the chapter. These are indicators of an individual's relationship to the modern urban society and the nature of the society itself. For the individuals, these patterns usually represent new involvements,
sometimes reflecting alienation from former alternatives. At the societal level, these patterns indicate the direction of change and the inherent character of formative institutions.

Non-tribal associations are conducive to elimination of tribal and regional attitudes of the mind. Both tribal and non-tribal associations are both products and instruments of further change. The functions of these two types of associations are often similar, especially with regard to adaptation, integration and the representation of special interest. They can replace multi-functional structures such as the extended family or age grades that form the bases of traditional village life in Nigeria.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER IV

IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND TOWN LIFE ON AN INDIVIDUAL

In order to illustrate the potential impact of migration and town life upon many individual Nigerians, this chapter examines selected differences between urban and rural Nigeria. These differences which tend to be stated in terms of polar opposites to indicate potential disjunctions (although the real rural/urban differences are often considerably less extreme) are in social control, family composition, status and personal aspiration. The final section of this chapter suggests the potential impact of these differences.

Disjunction in Social Control

Social control functions to condition and limit an individual's actions by the groups, community and society of which he is a member (13, p. 650). Social controls can conveniently be described in terms of their content, origins, and agents of enforcement. In rural Nigeria the content of social control tends to encourage placing collective interests first, acting toward other people according to their relationship to the individual or his group, evaluating people according to their ascribed qualities (e.g., age might bring high prestige, regardless of ability), and having relationships with others which are broad in scope (for example, a personal
relationship might encompass expectations concerning political, economic and social behavior). Religious beliefs are central to Nigerian traditions and, as a result, change is relatively slow. Hanna argued that agents of social control in the whole of rural Africa (as applicable to Nigeria) fall into three categories: the individual, since group norms are usually learned, formed by habits or internalized after a lifetime of relatively homogeneous socialization; those who engage in special activities, such as magicians and practitioners of witchcrafts; and the primary group of association which comprises the multifunctional network that is pervasive in the individual's social, political, cultural, and economic affairs (4, p. 50). Individuals and groups combine as agents. As the Ottenbergs write: "Social control and behavior are clearly linked to an individual's sense of reciprocity with the groups to which he belongs. This is certainly more important in Africa than any sense of obligation to laws in the abstract" (8, p. 57).

Because the residents of a Nigerian town represent many tribal groups, there is no single set of standards shared by a large majority of townsmen. Instead, there are many partially overlapping sets. In the more modern business and residential sectors of town, modern western perspectives and practices are prevalent. But elsewhere, varying traditional norms mingle with social controls from the modern sector.
The content of urban controls tends to encourage individual interests, universal standards (e.g., everyone has to pass the same test), performance evaluation (i.e., what one does rather than who one is), and relationships with other people based on specialized interests (e.g., politics with politicians and economic transactions with businessmen, although politics often develop economic interests and businessmen exert pressure on politicians to protect vested interests (4, p. 51). The origins of urban controls are tradition, legislation by modern authorities, and the economic market. If the content originates in either of the latter two, change can be relatively rapid. The agents of control are the voluntary associations (tribal and non-tribal groups), specialized structures such as the police and courts, and the competition of the modern market economy.

There are many reasons why it is relatively difficult for Nigerian town residents to anticipate and meet the need of a wide variety of other townsmen. An Ibo living in Lagos may have to work for a Yoruba man, buy cloth from a Fulani, purchase meat from a Hausa man and so forth. Although the four persons in this example undoubtedly share norms by virtue of their common residence in Lagos, significant differences also exist.

Another difficulty stems from the fact that the socialization to norms that has taken place over a lifetime in the in-migrant's rural home cannot suddenly be revolutionized so
that a new set of norms appropriate for modern urban life
can most effectively guide his behavior when he arrives in
the urban area. Usually a lengthy relearning process is
necessary. Yet, the migrant does not arrive in town by stages.
Sometimes within an hour he may journey from a rural area,
little touched by westernization, to a modern town.

Hanna cited another difficulty of the African town re-
sidents to anticipate and meet the need of a wide variety of
other townsmen which also has applicability in Nigerian towns.
This is the difficulty concerning the agents of socialization
and reinforcement. The cohesive extended family of rural
areas almost always fragments when some members move to town;
nuclear families also may be divided. The principal exceptions
exist in modernizing an old town, such as Ibadan. As a result,
man's most important agent of socialization and reinforcement
is impaired (4, p. 52). A special aspect of this difficulty
is the occasional repudiation of parents by the first genera-
tion of town-dwelling youths because the former are peasants;
often this rejection takes place before new urban norms have
become operative, leaving the young people only partially
socialized to either rural or urban life.

Finally, conflicting norms may create difficulties because
the town-dwellers have probably been brought up to know many
rural-traditional norms as well as several sets of urban-
modern norms. The latter may have been acquired through the
voluntary associations such as tribal and the non-tribal
associations or through school education or as a result of having spent a period at one time and place. Thus the individual can draw upon two or more sets of norms at one time and place. There will, undoubtedly, be decisions that can be made in accordance with one set of norms or another, but not all, because the norms are not compatible. Such conflicts, although they can impair the townsman's ability to anticipate and meet others' expectations, are not invariably perceived and, therefore, not troubling to the townsman. And even when the conflict is perceived, the townsman can sometimes restructure it (8, p. 57).

All these difficulties do cause a relatively heavy burden being placed upon the voluntary associations and the formal specialized agents of social control such as the police. They also demonstrate conclusively that rural and urban residents experience a disjunction in social control.

Familial Disjunction

The effect of urbanization upon the Nigerian family has been extensively investigated within the last ten years. The basis for many of the earlier studies was Wirth's analysis of urbanism as a way of life written in 1938. According to Wirth's analysis, the city is a social organization that substitutes secondary for primary group relationship (12, p. 20). Though dependent on more people for the satisfaction of his wants, the urbanite, unlike his rural counterpart, is not dependent upon particular persons, and his dependence is
limited to a highly fractionalized part of other persons' attitudes. Contacts are segmental and of secondary character. No group can claim the complete allegiance of the individual. The city's effect on the family, consequently, is to strip it to its bare essentials. The nuclear family of father, mother and children replaces the extended family. The family, as a unit of social life, is emancipated from the larger kinship group characteristic of the country, so that relationships based on the extended family disintegrate in the city (12, p. 21).

Urban studies in black Africa, have shown that kinship ties continue to exist in the city. In fact, the concept of the extended family itself developed from studies of African people. Life in the tribal villages follows a traditional pattern. The person is important only as he contributes to the extended family unit. In return, he is given the security of not one, but several fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles and grandparents. Such a social organization results in strong group solidarity with an attendant communal spirit. The best test of the hypothesis that the extended family structure will not be present in the African city would appear to lie in data from a long-settled, stable urban community. Otherwise, it could be argued that the extended family would occur in a city largely because its population is made up of recent migrants from villages who have not had time enough to be influenced by urbanisation. Unfortunately for such a test, most of the cities of Nigeria are experiencing their greatest
growth at the present time due to in-migration. Lagos, for example, with a population of 250,000 in 1952, had trebled in 25 years. In 1950, over one-half of its population was estimated to be immigrant (5, p. 22).

Other examples of long-settled urban people exist among the Yoruba of Nigeria. Though living long before colonial times in cities of up to 100,000 residents, the Yoruba have maintained their traditional extended family patterns (1, p 448). Individuals continue to feel strong obligations to give economic assistance to relatives while maintaining social ties, and the customary residential unit remains the lineage. For these reasons, Bascom (1), although noting the weakening of kinship bonds, has declared the city dwellers need not feel lonely or insecure.

In Lagos, a city now subject to industrial influence, the kinship group remains important though it is teeming with political and business activities of the most modern kind. This was demonstrated in the study Morris made in 1958-59 of a slum area in central Lagos in which he found the extended family existing. For his research, he interviewed 372 men and women--110 households--intensively. There were still four properties on the four streets Morris surveyed in detail where the children of the founder of the family property followed the traditional custom and occupied it together with their families and descendants. Tenants, however, constituted sixty per cent of the population of the area. Though they
were less apt than owners to have relatives living with them, thirty-eight per cent had at least one brother or sister in the same residence, and among an additional twenty-three per cent a half-brother or sister was present. Moreover, members of extended families when living apart were usually within a ten to fifteen minute walk from each other and showed a high degree of mutual affection. Friendship networks were maintained by daily meetings which served as opportunities to pass on family news and to discuss family problems (7, p. 49).

As for assistance patterns, the residents of central Lagos, like their rural counterparts, continued to regard the needs of their kinfolk as their first obligation. They supported aged aunts and cousins as well as parents. So it was customary to present their elderly kinsmen with gifts in cash or kind when visiting them. In addition, they often contributed to the marriage payments of younger brothers, reared nieces and nephews and helped married sisters. Such assistance, coupled with open-handed hospitality and gifts to relatives still living in the country, often proved a financial burden on the urban dwellers. Over one-half of the persons Morris interviewed, for example, spent at least one-tenth of their income assisting relatives. Their aid, however, was not begrudged. The "sense of mutual obligation of the family group is the outstanding loyalty of Lagos social life," Morris concluded. Its residents, therefore, rather than owing their primary
loyalty to themselves or to their conjugal families, identified with the extended family.

When one turns to description of Nigerian cities in general, some of them are reminiscent of Wirth's analysis. For example, kinsmen constituted only a small number of those with whom the Nigerian urbanite interact. The extended family as a residential unit is breaking down. Other relatives are rarely found in the nuclear family's town dwelling. Smythe, who had done field research in West Africa, wrote that emphasis on extended family loyalty, obedience to the tribal elders and devotion to clan and tribe were giving way to the African's desire for cars, a good job having status, a nice home and especially money (11, p. 202).

The economist, Okigbo, after noting that Nigerian society was formerly based on family linkages, declared that it still retained some of its solidarity. But he added that the extended family structure had felt the impact of growing individualism and new alignments based on similarity of outlook and education. With the rise in living standard, obligation to meet the need of poor and non-productive relatives had become an unpleasant duty. Evasions of such responsibilities, in his observations, were more common than formerly (9, p. 424). He also noted in his interviews with about 400 individuals in Nigeria that in some areas of the country the younger generation, perhaps the third and fourth generation of city dwellers, was rebelling against the extended family system.
Another aspect of familial change in Nigeria is the traditional concept of marriage. In most rural areas in Nigeria, marriage was not just a union or contract between two persons; it often amounted to what was virtually a permanent, formal agreement between two extended families, and as such, had important social, economic, political and religious ramifications. Consequently, marriages were arranged with great care and their dissolution usually occurred after family mediation failed. In the urban areas in Nigeria, studies have shown that heterosexual relationships are determined more by the two immediate participants than was formerly the case (4, p1 60).

This individualization of the marital decisions stems not only from the geographic dispersion of families but also from fundamental changes in the operative values of the urban residents. As an example, the roles of some women have been transformed by advanced education and entry into modern occupations such as nursing and teaching.

Elite and Status Disjunction

The determinants of status in general and elite membership are often quite different in relatively traditional rural areas and in relatively modern towns. For the individual Nigerian, migration to a town and the broader societal pattern of urbanization usually lead to changes in the relative importance of the two status systems. In rural Nigeria, a
person's social status tends (relative to urban areas) to be determined in the first instance by ascriptive qualities such as the family, sex, and age. Positions of leadership are frequently inherited through a high-status kin group; within kin groups age is often the principal determinant of status. Ki-zerbo generalizes that in Africa "the hierarchy of power, of consideration and of prestige, was in direct rapport with the hierarchy of age. The council of elders in traditional Africa was the supreme political master of the city or the 'tribe'." (6, pp. 268-269).

In Nigeria's rural areas, wisdom and, therefore, the right to participate in decision making are often believed to be determined by the experience of age; only over time can one gain the necessary knowledge of the soil, magic, custom and rituals.

The Ottenbergs state that:

Most African societies are flexible enough to allow for particular skills in leadership, such as oratorical talent or the ability to bring about the settlement of disputes, so that individuals who would otherwise have an inferior position within a society or kin group may sometimes find a political role themselves. Achievement for individuals in the political field is thus possible (8, p. 47).

Wealth (number of wives, cattle and, nowadays, money and what it can buy) may be an influencing factor, indeed, in the Ibo tribe of Southeastern Nigeria; it is one of the prime indicators of a man's ability and, therefore, of his right to high status.
Ascriptive recruitment to elite status in rural areas in Nigeria has been modified by the impact of modernity. Coleman observes that "the new classes emerging from the Western impact have not only moved into the upper strata in territorial stratification system; they have also displaced the upper strata in traditional societies" (2, p. 283).

Also, some traditional rulers have obtained a modern education and other new objects of valuation in order to protect their position. The degree of change in recruitment qualifications tends to be a function of traditional patterns and the form of colonial rule imposed; thus, the indirectly ruled Hausa-Fulani states of Northern Nigeria have yielded more slowly to the impact of modernity than the more directly ruled, egalitarian, and more loosely stratified Yoruba and Ibo.

Within the urban community, a traditional rural background offers little precedent for confronting the urban problems and may actually be dysfunctional to some urban problem-solving. The position of elders is undermined in the urban environment by changed requirement. The new urban elites sometimes emerge from those who are disaffected from traditional values and elites and at the same time are attracted to new life styles and viewpoints. These urban elites tend to obtain their high position on the basis of achievement in addition to (or rather than) ascription. In other words, relevant performance usually is a more important determinant
of success in towns than in rural areas. However, the frequent charges of tribalism and nepotism printed in Nigerian publications and voiced by Nigerian leaders are indications that selection based upon ascription remains operative.

Also, the Nigerian urban elites tend to be employed in occupations that developed as related to European influence in Nigeria. They are school teachers, medical doctors, government administrators, cash crop farmers. In Onitsha, for example, Hanna wrote that the occupational composition of the 1958 executive committee of the local branch of a major national political party included five professional men, ten educators, nine businessmen, four junior functionaries, seven petty traders, and one housewife (4, p. 65).

Another characteristic of Nigerian urban elite is their greater specialization than their rural counterparts. In the towns, there are educational leaders, key businessmen, leading politicians and so forth. Furthermore, there is a greater developmental problem toward increasing specialization.

Aspirational Disjunction

The inability of most Nigerian townsmen to achieve the heights of their aspiration in the revolution of rising expectations is of considerable importance in urban social and political life.

In the rural areas, the probability of achieving aspirations are more realistic due to the fact that the distribution
of values is more traditionally determined. The most dissatisfied villagers have emigrated, and alternatives are less visible. In the new towns, however, people are being re-socialized, especially to aspire to a higher standard of living. Yet, the conditions of life in these towns clearly do not meet the ideal held by most townsmen. Many townsmen want to possess the symbol and substance of urban life, but the opportunity to do so is limited. Writing about urban life in Black Africa, Hanna said that

> feelings of relative reward are replaced by feelings of relative deprivation as urban living makes socio-economic inequality more visible. The rewarding comparison with a rural life fades into the past, and gives way to a damaging comparison with higher standards of living (4, p. 62).

Those who can look forward to an improving status, pay and standard of living are mainly the educated Nigerians.

At the first level of analysis, the primary barrier to aspirational fulfillment is the lack of financial capital. At another level, two additional barriers are considered by Hanna. One barrier is virtually unbounded aspirations and perpetual frustration of relative normlessness. Dunkheim argues that "when the integrating and regulating norms of a society are upset, aspirations are unbound and, therefore, impossible to fulfill" (3, p. 133). For example, the man who has a bicycle and a primary school education will likely aspire to have an automobile and a high school education. Thus, in the extreme, the wide gap between aspirations and realization continues.
Unequal distribution of wealth in Nigeria is another barrier to aspirational fulfillment. Inequality of wealth which originated during the colonial administration has been the characteristic of the whole of Africa and it has racial over-tones when Europeans' per capita income was much higher than that of the African (4, p. 68). Since self-government, many privileged elite positions have been shifted from the Europeans to the Africans, and in Nigeria for example, a new Nigerian privileged stratum with vested interests has developed, while an average Nigerian, on the other hand, has experienced relatively little material improvement. Currently, the elite-mass gap is great and continues to be greater every day.

Impact of Disjunctions

Noting the disjunctions already discussed, it is likely that the culture shock of a shift from rural to urban life, as well as the future shock of continuing urban change, may lead to increased personal anxiety and stress for urban migrants in Nigeria. Other possible responses include conflict management and withdrawal. Hanna noted that the degree of anxiety and stress is, of course, conditioned by the causes of migration, the migrant's cultural background, characteristics of the particular urban milieu and the migrants' personal resiliency (4, p. 68). Old ways are found to be inadequate in urban areas and new ones must be learned.
There is little evidence about the relationship between (a) anxiety and stress, and (b) years of urban residence. However, a random sampling of ninety persons were interviewed in Sapele, Nigeria's third largest port and the hub by Imoagene. The following interview schedule was used:

1. Do you feel very much attached to the community?
2. Are the people here generally critical of you and unfriendly? Have you found life better than you expected?
3. Do many people thing themselves too nice for you? Would you like to settle in this community for the rest of your life until retirement?
4. Are trustworthy friends hard to find here?
5. If ever you moved from this city, would you ever like to return to it?
6. Does everyone here try to cheat you?

The answers were rated as "Certainly Not," "No," "Not Decided," and "Yes."

The result yielded the opinions of two distinct groups of people (a) non-members of clan/village unions, (b) members of unions. It was found that sixty-five per cent of (a) had a mean score of urban adjustment of 19.5, while twenty-five per cent of (b) had 17.2. It was observed that (1) members of clan/village unions were significantly better adjusted to urban milieu than non-members, (2) urban adjustment is a function of length of urban residence (10, pp. 29-28).
A possibility raised by these results is that clan unions have functionally replaced extended family units within whose tradition of social co-operation the migrants were brought up. The unions provided socio-economic and psychological security, and virtually guaranteed guardianship from shelter to employment during the early, most critical stage of settling in. They increased the rate of adjustment to the problems of the city.

On the other hand, non-members, by reason of their constant need to grapple with diverse and strange social problems in an unfamiliar setting, are apt to remain frustrated for many years. If the townsman's attempt to cope with adjustment problems fails, the resulting anxiety and stress may be managed by means of aggression against society or self. Alternative means of coping are conflict resolution (e.g., role segmentation and withdrawal for example, returning to one's rural home).

Adjustment to urban life is occurring within Nigeria because rural areas are incorporating more and more elements of the new urban life styles and world views. Urbanization or rural parts of Nigeria has been caused by two types of change agents: foreigners such as missionaries and Nigerians who left the village and either returned or kept in communication with people in their rural home.
Conclusion

In this chapter, the impact of migration and town life upon Nigerians is identified as differences between urban and rural Nigeria. These differences are shown in terms of polar opposities to indicate potential disjunctions which are in social control, family composition, status and personal aspirations.

Social control functions to condition and limit an individual's actions by the groups, community and society of which he is a member. In rural Nigeria, the contents of social control tend to encourage placing collective interests first, acting toward other people according to their relationship to the individual or his groups, and evaluating people according to their ascribed qualities such as age. In the Nigerian towns, because the residents represent many tribal groups, there is no single set of standards shared by a large majority of townsmen. Instead, there are many partially overlapping sets. Also, the contents of urban control tend to encourage individual interests, universal standards, performance evaluations and relationships with other groups based on specialized interests. The origin of urban controls are tradition, legislation by modern authorities and the economic market.

There are many reasons why it is relatively difficult for Nigerian town residents to anticipate and meet the need of a wide variety of other townsmen such as the difficulties concerning the agents of socialization and reinforcement and
conflicting norms. These difficulties demonstrate conclusively that rural and urban residents experience a disjunction in social control.

Town life also has effects on the Nigerian family. One aspect of familial change in Nigeria is the traditional concept of marriage. Unlike the rural areas, individualization of the marital decisions which stems not from the geographic dispensation of families but also from fundamental changes in the operative values of the urban residents does take place in the urban areas. The extended family structure had also felt the impact of growing individualism and new alignment based on similarity of outlook and education. With the rise in living standard, obligation to meet the need of the poor and non-productive relatives had become an unpleasant duty.

The determinants of status in general and elite membership are often quite different in relatively traditional rural areas and in modern towns in Nigeria. In the rural part of Nigeria, a person's social status tends to be determined by ascriptive qualities such as the family, sex and age. Within the urban community, a traditional background offers little precedent for confronting the urban problems and may actually be dysfunctional to some urban problem-solving. The urban elites tend to obtain their high position on the basis of achievement in addition to (or rather than) ascription. In other words, relevant performance usually is a more important determinant of success in towns than in rural areas.
The inability of most Nigerian townsmen to achieve the height of their aspiration in the revolution of rising expectations is of considerable importance in urban social and political life. In the towns, resocialization is taking place, yet the conditions of life in these towns clearly do not meet the ideal held by most townsmen. The opportunity to meet these ideals is limited in the towns. Those who can look forward to an improving status, pay and standard of living are mainly educated Nigerians. The primary barriers to aspirational fulfillment are the lack of financial capital, unbounded aspirations and perpetual frustration of relative normlessness, and, finally, unequal distribution of resources.

Noting the disjunctions already discussed, it is likely that the culture shock of a shift from rural to urban life, as well as future shock of continuing urban change, may lead to increased personal anxiety and stress for urban migrants in Nigeria but voluntary associations such as clans have functionally replaced extended family units within whose tradition of social cooperation the migrants were brought up in the towns. These associations provide socio-economic and psychological security, and may guarantee shelter and employment soon after migration. In other words, they often facilitate rapid adjustment to the city problems. Also, rural areas are incorporating more elements of the new urban life-style and world views through foreigners, such as missionaries and Nigerians, who left the village and either returned or kept in communication with people in their rural home.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has been concerned with the description of urbanization and tribalism in Nigeria (1911-1963).

There were relatively few towns in Nigeria before its colonization by the British. The lack of urban growth was due to a complex set of factors, some of which were the generally sparse populations and the many indigenous social organizations which did not require urban centers.

Since the coming of the Europeans and especially since the scramble for African territories that followed the 1884-1885 Congress of Berlin, new towns began to emerge in Nigeria and many of the new towns were industrial-mining complexes linked to an European economy between the European metropole and Nigerian hinterland. The dramatic growth of new towns in Nigeria following World War II is illustrated by population changes over time.

A basic distinction among Nigerian towns is that between Northern and Southern towns. This is a distinction related to the design and architecture of the houses and derives in part from the influence of climate as well as history.

The percentage of Nigerians living in urban areas is rapidly increasing. Evidence of this increase is displayed
by using a relatively early year as the base for comparison. For example, the population of the city of Lagos is found to have increased from 99,690 in 1921 to 665,246 in 1963. Most of these increases have been caused by the heavy influx of people from other parts of the country and beyond. Increase of natural growth was also a product of the migration into the urban areas of young adults of reproductive age whose fertility was high, and the decrease of infant mortality in recent years.

In Nigeria the basic cause of migration to the urban areas has been the revolution of values brought about by the European presence, which introduced a new set of values and established an infrastructure providing Nigerians with opportunity to obtain what was newly valued. The revolution has meant that many Nigerians incorporate new values that encouraged an urban presence. Apart from European influence in Nigeria, which has been greatest, various other influences have been operative; the most important of which has been the Arab-Muslim impact.

The predominant motive behind most decisions to migrate to urban areas in Nigeria is the economic need and desire. Greater earnings in cash and/or in kind are desired for a variety of purpose, such as for provision of daily needs, the purchase of more sophisticated material goods and the satisfaction of non-material wants such as education. Also relative rural deprivation creates another economic motive for
the migration of Nigerians to urban areas. Excitement and the benefits of modernity readily available in the urban areas make people want to migrate to the urban areas. The excitement of the town must be qualified by the knowledge that many Nigerians never reside in them; those who do usually visit the home villages regularly and most town-dwellers sooner or later hope to return home permanently. Most Nigerians retain link with their rural homes.

Theorists of Western urbanism have stressed that voluntary associations (both tribal and non-tribal association) are an important distinctive feature of contemporary social organization and this is found to be particularly true within the contemporary urban setting in Nigeria. Urban tribalism has been defined as a means of classifying the multitude of Nigerians who live together in cities and towns and that this classification is the basis on which a number of new Nigerian groupings such as burial and mutual help societies are formed to meet the need of urban life. Tribal group membership powerfully influences the perspective and practices of the residents of Nigerian towns and these tribal groupings help maintain and structure the boundaries of culture and interaction.

Tribal practices vary according to the personality characteristic of individual townsmen, the socio-cultural characteristic of tribal groups, the situation in which the townsmen find themselves, and the structural position of the relevant townsmen. The bases of sustained tribalism in Nigerian towns
were due to the fact that to many Nigerian town-dwellers, the prevailing urban discontinuities and conditions are potentially stressful. Strangers and new situations must constantly be confronted and the important intervening factor in these new relationships include a sense of continuity, assistance, and resocialization.

Along with the tribal practices and perspectives can be found the non-tribal practices and perspectives such as labor union, residential clustering. The presence of non-tribal practices in Nigerian towns provides an important indicator of an individual's relationship to modern urban society and of the nature of the society itself. For the individual Nigerian, these usually represent new involvements, sometimes reflecting alienation from former alternatives. At the societal level, these patterns indicate the direction of change and the inherent character of formative institution.

Non-tribal associations are conducive to elimination of tribal and regional attitude of mind. Both tribal and non-tribal practices and perspectives are products of change as well as instrument of further change. The function of these two types of associations are often similar, especially with regard to adaptation, integration and the representation of special interest. They can replace multi-functional structures such as the extended family or age grade associations that form the bases of traditional village life in Nigeria.
In migrating to the urban areas, many Nigerians have to cope with potential disjunction between their current urban environment and the rural environment into which they were initially socialized. In Nigeria, even though there are probably few or no rural areas which are unaffected by the introduction of Western culture, and particularly a money economy, it is the towns, the hot-houses of change, where the Western ethos exerts its strongest influence. These differences which tend to be stated in terms of polar opposites to indicate potential disjunctions are in social control, family composition, status and personal aspiration. The impact of the disjunctions on the urban migrant was in terms of culture shock of a drift from rural to urban life as well as future shock of continuing urban change which may lead to increased personal anxiety and stress. Through membership in a tribal union or association which has functionally replaced extended family units within whose social cooperation the migrants were brought up, the migrant could cope with adjustment problem.

The tribal associations speed up the rate of adjustment to the problems of the towns. Also the rural areas are incorporating more and more elements of the urban lifestyles and world views, especially through expatriates such as the missionaries and Nigerians returning to the rural areas of keeping in communication with people in their rural homes.
Conclusion

Nigerian social change might be seen as an historical process of adaptation to new conditions of life and labor. These new conditions originate basically in something not related to Nigeria itself, namely, the industrial economy of the West. This market economy, along with other factors of Western contact, has extended the local scale of relationships and has brought indigenous societies into a wider social system than that of the tribes. It also involves a greater specialization of institutions, thereby, giving rise to a larger variety of new social groupings and networks than in the traditional system. At the same time, there is cultural and social continuity, because much of the older way of life persists despite migration and other factors.

In this context, therefore, adaptation proceeds through modification of the traditional institutions and their combination with Western cultural values, technology, and economic practices into a new social structure.

Both tribal and non-tribal associations assist the adaptive process of urban condition by providing a new basis for social organization, which is all the more important because of the town's lack of integration in comparison with the rural areas. Divided by traditional attitudes as well as by language, custom and religion, the towns can have no single system of social norms, nor can the town's own civic institutions give the lead when for most of the migrants.
the town in which they do their business is not a permanent home. They may own property, may make repeated visits, spend part of the year there, but without acquiring any feelings of attachment. Their basic life remains in some other part of the country—among their natal descent group.

Owing to the clash of modern with traditional ideas of marriage, family institutions are under a special strain. In these terms, the towns present a picture of conflicting as well as changing standard. It implies a social and psychological situation which might amount to Dunkheim's notion of anomie were it not that tribal associations provide a link between the traditional and the urban way of life.

Tribal unions blend apparently divergent aims and interests. On the 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. What is significant about this duality is that by continuing such familiar norms as kinship, the provision of burial rites, the associations make the new innovations seem less strange. They build for a migrant or town resident a cultural bridge and in so doing they convey him from one kind of social world to another.

Urban tribal association aids the migrant's adaptation to the urban life by providing him with information about what is going on in the town. It will probably be sometime before he adjusts to the ideal urban life, being controlled
not by individuals, but by organizations, government departments, business firms and so on. Tribal practices keep him in touch not only with its own people at home but with the town's institutions.

Associations which have a tribally mixed membership enable the migrant to meet on friendly terms people of different origin. By assigning to him some common task in the society's activities, they accustom him to the idea of co-operation with strangers. They help the migrant in this way to add to his stock of language and to adjust to a cosmopolitan atmosphere. The non-tribal associations such as the labor unions also help to protect the member's occupational interests.

Urban life is characterized by a specialization of function. Instead of being carried on by the kin group and the tribes, activities of the town are divided among a larger number of institutions. There are mines, factories, shops and offices to organize economic production and conduct business; schools to undertake education and training of the young; churches and mosques have charge of religion; law and order are the responsibility of the judges and of the police and; with the new emphasis on individualism, the trend is toward the small elementary family.

Tribal practices serve as an adaptive mechanism in relation to these new institutions by facilitating role segmentation. In other words, it helps to adjust the rural migrant
to his fresh status as a townsman, as a member of multi-tribal community and as a bread winner.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


__________________________


Articles


Reports


Unpublished Materials