

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

SPONTANEOUS URBANIZATION IN NIGERIA:

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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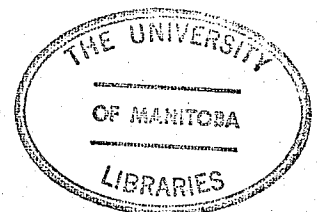
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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

This thesis falls four-square into the volume of studies that have been conducted on the trend of Third World urbanization. However, in this study, much attention has been focused on the Nigerian urbanization processes.

The purpose of the study is twofold. Firstly, to investigate those factors that are responsible for the centralization of urban growth in Nigeria. This involves an examination of the causes, the source of the urban population and the implications of such urbanization trends in Nigeria. Secondly, to investigate those policy actions that relate to urban and regional development which have been implemented and those already proposed for implementation in Nigeria and to recommend some policy measures that could facilitate the integration of the Nigerian space-economy.

Those policy measures that appear in this thesis in the form of recommendations, if implemented, will not only enhance the growth of the nation as a whole but will also aid in the restructuring of the existing spatial system and influence the distribution of both economic development and urban population in the country.

The experience of some of the other Third World countries has shown that a nation can transform its spatial system if the planners and policymakers in that country are

able to initiate the requisite policies and programs that suits the prevailing conditions in that particular country. It seems most likely that the introduction of a regional development strategy in national planning in Nigeria is the only strategy that would bring about changes commensurate with social equity in the trend of urbanization in that country.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

The problem explored in this thesis has, for many years, obsessed researchers not only in the field of urban and regional planning but also those in geography, sociology and public administration. It is the problem of identifying and explaining those forces that are responsible for inequalities in spatial developments. This issue involves those factors that encourage massive concentration of both economic development and population in a few geographical areas, and the effect of such developments on both the core regions (developed areas) and the peripheral regions (undeveloped areas) in any given country. This study is also concerned with this fundamental issue but with reference to an African context, namely, Nigeria.

Historically, in the past two or three decades Nigeria has experienced rapid commercial, manufacturing and urban growth concentrated in four main areas:

- (1) In the southwest, the port-city, federal capital and industrial complex of Metropolitan Lagos and the city of Ibadan;

- (2) In the north inside a central close-settled zone which embraces the cities of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna;
- (3) In the southeast in a well-knit network of urban places dominated by Port Harcourt, Onitsha, Aba and Enugu;
- (4) In the mid-southwest concentrating on the closely located urban places of Benin, Sapele and Warri (see Fig. 4).

Following from this spatial polarization, development and expansion of the smaller cities and villages has been minimal or non-existent with the result that massive flows of human capital and other resources have quit the peripheral regions and migrated to the aforementioned core regions. Given these conditions, this study is based upon the hypothesis that the introduction of regional planning strategies in national development planning in Nigeria will not only enhance a balanced and equitable development between the urban and rural sectors but will, as well, move towards an elimination of the negative socio-economic and political effects that emanate from disparities in spatial development.

Objectives

It is with regard to the above situation that the following objectives have been set for this thesis.

1. To determine those factors that have caused the pronounced centralization of urban growth in Nigeria.

2. To appraise the efforts that have already been made in Nigeria to facilitate or encourage growth in the other areas outside the core regions.
3. To investigate the urbanization processes in the other Third World countries and those policy actions which have been implemented in those countries in order to achieve the type of spatial development that will lead to greater equity in social well-being.
4. To determine a set of recommendations that would enhance equitable distribution of both population and development instead of the present trend of directing economic opportunities and population to only a few centers in Nigeria.

Approach

The approach used in an attempt to fulfill the objectives set above was actually based on case study of the urbanization processes in both Nigeria and the other Third World countries. With respect to the pattern and processes of urbanization in the other developing nations, an inquiry of a more generalized nature was carried out based on the following terms of reference: determination of the nature and characteristics of urbanization in the Third World as a whole; the implications of such urbanization trends; and the policy actions which have been implemented in some of the developing nations which aim at ameliorating the negative effects of such urbanization trends.

The rationale adopted was such that the findings derived from the investigation of the urbanization phenomenon in the other Third World countries would provide an insight into the specific case of Nigerian urbanization. This approach also provided a sound basis of comparison of the policy actions that were implemented in some of those countries in response to the spontaneous urbanization which they experience. Lessons from this survey were then utilized as a framework with which to evaluate those policy actions that have been implemented or proposed to be implemented in Nigeria.

With regards to the information on the trend of urbanization in Nigeria and its implications, a thorough research of all available literature pertaining to the problems was carried out. This was supplemented by government documents, such as the National Development Plans and statistical data; interviews with government officials and researchers in some of the Nigerian universities; and of course, by personal observations and field investigation.

The analysis of information assembled through these sources provided the picture of urban and rural population distribution in Nigeria; some aspects of Nigeria's development with regards to spatial distribution of economic development in the country, the disparities in the socio-economic infrastructure and development between states (administrative regions), between regions and between urban centers and

rural areas and the extent to which regional planning strategies have been utilized in national development planning in the country. Although the role of the urban system in facilitating development is of prime concern in this thesis, no attempt will be made here to consider internal urban structures.

The thesis is organized into chapters in the following manner. Chapter II deals with the urbanization processes in the Third World. It examines the current pattern of urbanization in less developed countries as well as those factors that are responsible for the trend of urbanization in those countries. Another concern of the chapter was to describe the theoretical framework for studying the Third World urbanization trend as well as investigating some of the ensuing implications.

Chapter III examines the patterns and processes of urbanization in Nigeris. The demographic dimensions of the four major administrative regions in Nigeria were analyzed so as to determine the urban and rural population distribution in each of those regions. The geographic distribution and economic development of the Nigerian cities were also examined with the aim of ascertaining if there is a balance in the spatial distribution of cities between the various regions and also to establish where urban population concentration has been most pronounced along with the factors that have encouraged such urban hypertrophy in the country. It also examined the implications and consequences of such urbanization trends.

Chapter IV investigates the planning responses to the spontaneous urbanization problems in the Third World. Both the rural and urban development policies and programs which have been implemented in some of those countries were discussed.

Chapter V presents a comprehensive framework for regional planning in Nigeria. A discussion on those policies that relate to urban and regional development which have been implemented and those under proposal in Nigeria were carried out. This is followed by a summary of the entire study and some set of recommendations which are case-specific in nature and which, if adopted, will aid the integration of the Nigerian space economy.

In short, this study can be said to focus on two things. The first is the search to understand the patterns of spatial development in Nigeria and the forces that have joined to shape such pattern of spatial development. The second is the search for suitable strategies that would enable a complete reorganization of the existing spatial development and enhance both the total overall growth of the country as well as regional equity in development. In promoting a more even balance in development among the regions, the ultimate goal of fostering social well-being can only be enhanced.

CHAPTER II

URBANIZATION PROCESSES IN THE THIRD WORLD¹

The Current Pattern of Urbanization

in Less Developed Countries

The process of urbanization in the Third World countries is a variegated phenomenon. If individual countries are examined, the degree of urbanization varies considerably. However, a feature common to urbanization in the Third World countries is extreme concentration of population and economic development in a few large cities. This phenomenon, in fact, has encouraged a massive flow of population from the economically marginal regions (rural and small towns) to the more developed areas (primate centres) in these countries.

¹The common concept "third world" is used synonymously with "less developed countries", "developing nations", "under-developed countries" and "rapidly developing nations". The United Nations group of experts have defined these countries as "... countries in which per capita real income is low when compared with per capita real income of the United States, Canada, Australia and Western Europe. Unlike the United Nation's definition, some authors have indicated that the Third World includes all the countries of Africa, Middle East, Asia and Latin America, with exception of countries like South Africa, Israel and Japan. On the other hand, some have also excluded the Communist countries of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba from the list of the Third World countries. The reason for the exclusion of the Communist countries from the Third World is because they believe that their problems of development are tackled in a different manner from the way they are tackled in the Non-Communist Third World countries.

The actual recognition of the problems associated with the trend of urbanization in these economically less developed parts of the world occurred over the last decade or two. As a result, this phenomenon has elicited a series of studies, especially by United Nations workers and scholars from various academic disciplines. Generally, these studies aim at determining the character and the main aspects of the urbanization phenomenon in the various Third World countries.

One important result that has come out of these studies is that "the urbanization processes in the less developed regions today have been recognized as largely irreversible in character".² Attempts to slow down the growth of the large cities or to keep the rural population on the land are generally seen as unsuccessful. It should be emphasized that many writers on Third World urbanization stress that such urbanization trends will continue to persist unless these countries manage to come up with comprehensive policies and programs to suit their particular circumstances.

Experts generally have the opinion that those policy actions must be cognizant of the degree and character of existing urban growth and the stage of economic

²Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning"
International Social Development Review, No. 1, Department
of Economic and Social Affairs. United Nations, New York,
1968, p.5.

development in each of these countries. As noted earlier, perhaps the most noticeable feature of Third World urbanization is the rapid growth of their primate cities. The terms "subsistence urbanization" and "overurbanization" have been used by many authors in describing the nature of urbanization in these underdeveloped countries. These terms are synonymous. Breese defines subsistence urbanization as an urbanization of high density of individuals living under conditions that may be even worse than the rural areas from which they have come and not having available the kinds of work or the means of support which permit them to do more than merely survive.³

De Sousa and Porter have mentioned that the term "overurbanization" implies that for a given level of economic development there is an "optimum" level of urbanization. They also assert that overurbanization in the less developed nations is the result of excessive migration of rural people to cities, which do not provide adequate employment opportunities.⁴ This situation is, however, one of the remarkable differences between the Third World urbanization and that of the developed parts of the world.

³Breese, G. 1966: Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice Hall, p.5.

⁴Anthony R. de Sousa and Philip W. Porter, The Underdevelopment and Modernization of the Third World, Commission on College Geography (Resource Paper No. 28) Association of American Geographers, Washington, D.C., 1974, p.56.

Although the Third World countries are the least urbanized as Table I depicts, their rate of growth is, and is expected to continue to be, the most rapid in the world.

According to a recent United Nations projection, the proportion of urban residents within less developed nations is expected to rise from approximately 15 per cent in 1950 to 40 per cent by the year 2000. This implies that the total urban population of less developed nations will increase sixfold over the period 1950-2000.⁵ Another projection based on the proportion of people living in urban places of all sizes shows that by 1980 the percentage of urban population in underdeveloped countries would be far higher than the United Nations projection for these countries for the year 2000. This second projection claims that the proportion of world urban population in underdeveloped countries was 27 per cent in 1920, 44 per cent in 1960 and it is expected to reach 66 per cent by 1980.⁶

One striking feature of urban growth in the Third World countries is that it tends to concentrate in one or a

⁵Henry Rempel and Richard A. Lobdell, The Rural Impact of Rural-Urban Migration, a report prepared for the Rural-Urban Branch, Employment and Development Department of the World Employment Programme, International Labour Office, Geneva. Department of Economics, University of Manitoba, April, 1976, p.10.

⁶Anthony R. de Sousa and Philip W. Porter, op. cit., p.57.

TABLE I

Population (millions) Residing in Large Cities (more than 500,000) in the Underdeveloped World and Three Selected Regions (1920-1960)

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	Absolute Increase	Percentage Increase
World Total	106.6	143.3	181.1	228.2	353.6	247.0	231
Europe	51.7	62.4	68.4	71.3	82.8	31.1	60
Other More Developed Regions ¹	41.2	60.3	77.3	101.5	140.2	99.0	241
Underdeveloped World	13.7	20.6	35.4	55.4	130.6	116.9	836

Source: Anthony R. de Sousa and Philip W. Porter, "The Underdevelopment and Modernization of the Third World", Commission on College Geography (Resource Paper No. 28) Association of American Geographers, Washington, D.C. 1974, p.54. Extracted from the United Nations, "Growth of the World's Urban and Rural Population, 1920-2000, New York, 1969.

¹These include Japan, North America, Soviet Union, temperate South America, Australia, and New Zealand.

few large cities. Table I outlines the results of a study undertaken by the United Nations in 1969. It shows the pace at which urban growth occurs in both the underdeveloped and developed countries. This study confirmed that urban growth is occurring more rapidly in the underdeveloped countries than in the developed countries. In 1920, for example, 13.7 million (12.8 per cent) of the Third World's population resided in large cities of more than 500,000 while 41.2 million (38.6 per cent) and 51.7 million (48.4 per cent) respectively of the population of other more developed regions and Europe resided in the cities of the same size.

This situation, according to the data in Table I, changed quite drastically in 1960. In that year, the proportion of population in large cities of more than 500,000 ranged from 23.4 per cent, 36.9 per cent and 39.6 per cent respectively for Europe, underdeveloped world and the other more developed regions. This shows that the population of the underdeveloped countries residing in cities of 500,000 increased more rapidly than those in the other two global areas. Another issue that came into focus from comparing these three regions is that the urban population growth in the Third World countries is disproportionately concentrated

in the larger cities.

It is also very important to note that the degree of urbanization varies considerably within the components of the Third World. Nations themselves also exhibit distinct variation in their level of urbanization. Evidence in support of this heterogeneity in trend appeared in Rempel and Lobdell's study on rural-urban migration in the Third World.⁷ These authors surveyed 78 underdeveloped countries selected from the three continental divisions of the Third World in an effort to determine the variation in the degree of urbanization and the rate of rural and urban population growth in these areas.

Table II is a summary of the data collected by Rempel and Lobdell. It confirms that South America is more urbanized than Africa and Asia. In 1970, for example, 55 per cent of the population of South America resided in urban areas while only 26 and 22 per cent respectively of the population of Africa and Asia did so.⁸ The percentage of population classified in this table as non-rural for these regions for the period 1950-1970 has indicated that this ranking has consistently remained the same.

As indicated previously, considerable variation exists in the level of urbanization at the national scale.

⁷ Henry Rempel and Richard A. Lobdell, op. cit.

⁸ Ibid., p.9.

TABLE II

The Extent of Urbanization and the Rate of Growth of Population
for 78 Less Developed Countries, 1950 - 1970

Regions	Per cent of Total Population Classified as Non-Rural			Annual Average Growth Rates (per cent)					
	1950	1960	1970	1950 - 1960			1960 - 1970		
				Total Population	Rural Population	Non-Rural Population	Total Population	Rural Population	Non-Rural Population
Total (n=78)	16.9	21.2	26.2	2.20	1.67	4.53	2.11	1.44	4.29
Africa (n=36)	18.1	21.6	26.1	3.08	2.63	4.91	2.72	2.12	4.67
North Africa & the Middle East (n=12)	26.3	31.8	37.6	2.53	1.73	4.52	2.60	1.70	4.32
Sub-Saharan Africa (n=24)	11.8	14.4	18.1	3.49	3.19	5.55	2.81	2.35	5.21
Asia (n=17)	13.5	17.2	21.6	1.95	1.50	4.44	1.86	1.31	4.20
Asian Islands (n=6)	16.7	19.6	22.6	2.38	2.02	4.05	2.70	2.31	4.19
Asian Mainland (n=11)	13.2	16.9	21.5	1.90	1.45	4.49	1.76	1.20	4.20
South America (n=25)	40.5	47.6	54.6	2.82	1.50	4.51	2.85	1.38	4.27
Caribbean & Central America (n=15)	38.1	44.0	50.2	2.82	1.79	4.32	3.34	2.15	4.70
Mainland South America (n=10)	41.5	49.3	56.8	2.81	1.36	4.58	2.61	0.98	4.08

Source: Henry Rempel and Richard Lobdell, The Rural Impact of Rural-Urban Migration. A report submitted to the Rural-Urban Branch, Employment and Development Department of the World Employment Programme, International Labour Office, Geneva, Department of Economics, University of Manitoba: April, 1976. This data was computed by these authors from various tables provided in K. Davis, World Urbanization, 1950-1970, 2 Vols., Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1969.

The table indicates that twelve North African and Middle East countries were approximately twice as urbanized as some twenty-four countries of Sub-Saharan Africa during the period 1950 to 1970. The ten mainland South American republics were found to have exhibited a relatively higher degree of urbanization than the fifteen nations of the Caribbean and Central America. It was also discovered that the eleven nations of the Asian mainland showed a lesser degree of urbanization than the six island states of Asia.

Despite the variation in the degree of urbanization at the national and supra-national scale in the Third World, the rate of growth of their constituent urban populations was found to be much the same. The data in Table II shows that the rate of growth of urban population has been fairly uniform across continents and nations, ranging from 4.1 per cent to 5.5 per cent from 1950 to 1960, and 4.2 per cent to 5.2 per cent from 1960 to 1970. It is very interesting to note that Sub-Saharan Africa registered the highest rate of growth of urban population during the period of 1950 to 1970 while the six island states of Asia had the least during the period 1950 to 1960 and the ten mainland South American countries had the least during the period of 1960 to 1970.

Furthermore, it must be stressed that at the continental level Rempel and Lobdell found very little variation for the rate at which their urban population grew during the period of 1950-1970. For example, in the period

1960-1970, the average annual growth rate of urban population was 4.7 per cent, 4.2 per cent and 4.3 per cent respectively for Sub-Saharan Africa, the Asian nations and for the whole of South America.

The various rates of urban population shown for these territories is astronomically high when compared with Western Europe which experienced its fastest urban population growth in the late 19th Century. For Western Europe, during that period, the rate of its urban population growth was 2.1 per cent.⁹ This contrast between Western urban development and that taking place currently in the Third World is largely responsible for de Sousa and Porter's comment that "the urbanization in underdeveloped countries today is different from the urbanization which took place in North America during the 19th Century". They also emphasized that urban and national development in the Third World countries will not repeat the 19th Century Western experience.¹⁰

It is equally essential to point out that despite the phenomenal growth of urban population in most of the Third World countries, depopulation has not occurred in their rural areas. As shown in Table II, the rates of

⁹ Anthony R. de Sousa and Phillip W. Porter, op. cit., p.54.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.53.

growth of rural population for the 1950 to 1970 period did not vary substantially neither at the supra-national nor national levels. The rate of rural population growth was fairly uniform at both levels, ranging from 1.5 per cent to 3.2 per cent during the period 1950 to 1960 and also 1.0 per cent to 2.4 per cent during the period 1960 to 1970.

The Rempel and Lobdell study shows that there is no reason to expect that the Third World rural population will decline before the year 2000. These authors mention that only 4 out of the 78 countries surveyed experienced some decline in their rural population. The most striking of these is Uruguay where the rural population apparently declined by 3 per cent during 1950 to 1960 and by a further 36 per cent during 1960 to 1970. Across the decade of the 1960's, the rural population of Venezuela was reported to have declined by 11 per cent, that of Chile by 10 per cent and that of Liberia by 4 per cent.¹¹

This section has dealt with the trend of urbanization in the Third World, focusing on the pace and scale of urbanization in different parts of the Third World. Also, some reference was made to the urbanization in the more developed nations. As indicated by the above discussion there is a marked difference between the type of urban-

¹¹Henry Rempel and Richard A. Lobdell, op. cit., p. 13.

ization that is presently taking place in the underdeveloped countries and that which took place in the developed nations during their 19th Century development. Furthermore, it is evident that urban growth is currently occurring at a more rapid rate in the underdeveloped world than ever was experienced in the developed world.

The most important aspects of the Third World urbanization highlighted in this section are:

1. The proportion of the population urbanized varies from nation to nation and from continent to continent.
2. The rate of growth of urban populations is relatively uniform across nations in the Third World.
3. The population of the rural areas is growing rapidly which is an indication that the phenomenal growth of urban population in the Third World countries will persist because of the potential for on-going rural-to-urban migration.

Factors Responsible for the Third World Urbanization Trend

Having presented the current picture of the Third World urbanization in the preceding section, an attempt will now be made to identify those factors that have contributed to the rapid pace of urban growth in the Third World. In other words, a documentation of those conditions seen as having encouraged the spatial inequalities in population distribution in the Third World countries

will be presented.

Some scholars believe that the pattern of population settlement in Third World countries are heavily dependent upon both the initial history of their establishment and the subsequent interaction of socio-economic forces that prevail in them, including the forces promoting migration. Thus, the rapid urban growth experienced in these countries is caused by a myriad of forces of which migration can be regarded as the major contributing factor capable of being monitored. This is by no means to assert that natural increase in population does not play a significant role in the growth of the Third World cities. For example, in Bogota, one of the fastest growing cities of the world, the growth has, in the past, been attributed almost equally to migration and to "natural" excess.¹² Abu-Lughod has also disclosed that the population increase in Cairo, the largest urban area in Egypt, is now growing substantially from natural increase at a rate almost one-third higher than that of the rural areas.¹³

¹²Lauchlin, Currie, Taming the Megalopolis: A Design for Urban Growth, (New York: Pergamon Press Ltd., 1976), p.55.

¹³Abu-Lughod, Janet, "Urban-Rural Differences as a Function of the Demographic Transition: Egyptian Data and Analytical Model", in The American Journal of Sociology, 69, 1964, p. ; also cited in McGee, T.G. The Urbanization Process in the Third World: Explorations in Search of a Theory, London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1971, p.23.

However, it must be stressed that both natural increase and migration contribute to urban growth in the Third World countries. But, it could be argued that in most cases, migration plays a more important role in the growth of urban population than the natural increase. For the smaller urban areas in African countries during 1950-60, the contribution to the growth of the population by migration is estimated to be over 60 per cent, and for the large cities over 75 per cent.¹⁴

The causes of migration are sometimes described by a simple "push-pull" model. Push factors are said to be the result of the following:

1. Population pressure in the rural areas,
2. Decline in some countries of available agricultural land area per capita at low levels of rural income,¹⁵
and
3. Lack of employment opportunities in rural areas.

"Pull" factors have been described by Sousa and Porter as the attraction of "bright lights" that draws

¹⁴"Size and Growth of Urban Population in Africa", United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Demography and Social Statistics Section, Statistics and Demography Division, in The City in Newly Developing Countries, (ed) Gerald Breese, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969, p.144.

¹⁵The Task Ahead for the Cities of the Developing Countries, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 209, Urban and Regional Economic Division, July 1975, p.1.

migrants towards the city for economic and personal reasons such as improved living conditions and life chances.¹⁶

The "push-pull" paradigm has appeared in numerous studies and articles as being the most suitable explanation of the migration phenomenon. However, McGee has argued that the simple push-pull hypothesis is not an adequate explanation for the process of migration. Consequently, he has pointed out that:

It is a condition of society which is responsible for increased mobility - increased education facilities and improved communications makes the rural dweller far more aware of the urban environment. The growth of nationalism acutely fostered by the new governments makes the rural dweller more aware of the role he has to play in the new state. Political instability associated with the process of imposing national unity frequently forces the rural dweller into the city.¹⁷

Therefore, the push-pull model could be more suitable in explaining the phenomenon of urbanization in the more developed countries than that of the developing nations. A number of carefully elaborated empirical studies have given substance to this generalization. McGee's study on the Far Eastern countries, for instance, has indicated that the push-pull

¹⁶Anthony R. de Sousa and Philip W. Porter, op. cit., p.56.

¹⁷McGee, T.G. The Urbanization Process in the Third World: Explanations in Search of a Theory, London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1971, p.116; Anthony R. de Sousa and Philip W. Porter, op. cit., p.56.

model requires substantial modification when utilized in explaining the phenomenon of urbanization in the Third World countries.¹⁸

With respect to how this model relates to the urbanization processes in both underdeveloped and developed nations, it has been noted that the earlier urbanization of the industrially advanced countries was mainly activated by the pull factor, whereas the current urbanization in the less developed countries is activated mainly by the push factor.¹⁹ This position is held by other authors as well.

According to Brown:

Throughout most of history migration from the countryside to the city was largely a response to opportunities in the city. Rapid urbanization was then an indication of industrialization and progress. Today, however, migration to the cities is increasingly becoming an indication not of economic development, but of rural frustration.²⁰

However, what is evident in this discussion is that those factors that encouraged migration in the developed nations do not necessarily apply to the case of the Third World. This situation calls for considerable caution when

¹⁸McGee, et. al., op. cit., p.117.

¹⁹Gerald Breese, op. cit., p.143.

²⁰Brown, L.R. "The Social Impact of the Green Revolution", International Conciliation, No. 581 (January, 1971), p.5; Henry Rempel and Richard Lobdell, op. cit., p.47.

making any generalization for the less developed nations on the basis of what has happened in the developed nations.

The following may be cited as among the principal factors that contributed to the rapid urban growth in the developing nations:

1. Decline in the cost of transportation and improved communication which has led to a greater awareness of the urban environment by those people living in the rural areas;
2. Colonial and neo-colonial influence on spatial development in the Third World, - on the location of infrastructural development, railroads, public utilities, exploitation of natural resources and the settlement patterns that exist in most countries of the Third World; and
3. Wide spread adoption of formal, non-rural oriented educational curricula.²¹

Findley contends that the inappropriateness of education for rural lifestyles is a major cause for the high rate of outmigration among school leavers. She based her argument on the experience in some Third World countries

²¹Sally E. Findley, Planning for Internal Migration: A Review of Issues and Policies, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20233, November, 1976, p.157.

like Nigeria, Ghana, Brazil, Honduras, Thailand, India and Egypt, where policies that spread formal educational curricula into the rural areas have stimulated outmigration.²² It must be stressed that young graduates with formal education (especially secondary school education) have no prospect in the rural areas where employment opportunity is virtually nonexistent. As will be debated in one of the up-coming sections, employment in government, private enterprise and commerce are concentrated in the Third World cities, especially in the large cities. Therefore, aspiring graduates from the rural areas have no other choice than to move to these cities to seek employment.

Before tying together all those factors that have been mentioned as being responsible for the rapid growth of the Third World cities, and before demonstrating their inter-relationships a theoretical conception of urbanization would appear to be in order, so as to provide a wider perspective of the situation.

²² Ibid, p.157

Theoretical Framework for Third World Urbanization

A review of the literature has revealed that no theory has received the general approval of scholars as the favoured theory of urbanization. Despite the disagreement among scholars on this issue, they all agree that there is a need for such a theory. However, some authors have made remarkable contributions in this direction. Among them are Bertram Hoselitz, Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, who were identified by Friedmann and Wulff as the main initiators of the search for a general theory of urbanization.²³

As disclosed by Friedmann and Wulff, Hoselitz was the first author to look at urbanization in the context of national economic development.²⁴ He propounded the popular concepts of generative and parasitic cities. He used these concepts to describe the role which cities play in economic development within the areas they are situated. By the term "generative cities" he referred to cities that contributed to economic growth in the region of country in which they

²³ John Friedmann and Robert Wulff, "The Urban Transition: Comparative Studies of Newly Industrializing Societies" in Progress in Geography, (eds) C. Board, R. J. Chorley, P. Haggett and D. R. Stoddart, Vol. 8, London, Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1976, p.34.

²⁴ Ibid, p.34

were located, while "parasitic cities" are those that had the opposite effect.²⁵

Redfield and Singer's contribution was their theory that shows that cities could be dichotomized into centres of orthogenetic and heterogenetic transformation. They, however, indicate in their study that in the heterogenetic transformation the city and its hinterland become mutually involved.²⁶ Thus, cities of heterogenetic transformation could be referred to as cities where diffusion of innovation to the surrounding regions is possible, whereas cities of orthogenetic transformation will not permit the diffusion of modernization to their peripheral regions.

It is important to note that the above hypothesis has been supported by Hoselitz. He indicates that if we apply the definition of generative and parasitic cities to the classification of cities which Redfield and Singer have presented, we must conclude that cities of heterogenetic transformation tend to generate cultural change, whereas cities of orthogenetic transformation tend to limit, and in the extreme, may fully impede cultural change.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid, p.34.

²⁶ Redfield, R. and Singer, M. "The Cultural Role of Cities" Economic Development and Cultural Change, 3, 1954, p.59.

²⁷ John Friedmann and Robert Wulff, op. cit. p.35.

In short, Hoselitz seems to imply that cities of heterogenetic transformation are prime movers in developmental change. He sees the cities of heterogenetic transformation as generative cities, in terms of the role they play in economic growth, but does not rule out the possibility of these cities being parasitic.

McGee is another author whose contribution to the theory of urbanization needs to be mentioned. His theory of dependency or, more accurately, of "dependent capitalism", as disclosed by Friedmann and Wulff, seems to account for certain forms of spatial development in the Third World countries.²⁸ Unlike Hoselitz and Friedmann, he is not of the opinion that heterogenetic cities are, on the whole, more likely to be generative of economic growth than parasitic.²⁹ And more importantly, he does not consider the Third World cities as being capable of generating the type of innovation and social change that could be transmitted into their peripheral regions.

Yet many scholars see cities in the underdeveloped countries as "beach-head" centers of modernization which act as catalysts for economic growth; the centers from which the benefits of modernization flow outward to revitalize the stagnating agricultural sector.³⁰

²⁸Ibid, p.14.

²⁹Ibid, p.36.

³⁰McGee, T., op. cit., p.13.

Logan emphasized that Hoselitz stressed some twenty years ago that, "They (the cities in underdeveloped societies) exhibit a spirit different from the countryside. They are the main force and the chief locus for the introduction of new ideas and new ways of doing things. One must look, therefore, to the cities as the crucial places in underdeveloped societies in which the adaptation to new ways, new technologies, new consumption and production patterns and new social institutions are achieved."³¹

McGee has condemned this notion of Hoselitz and others by pointing out that:

"in the context of the Third World countries, it seems that a theoretical framework which regards the city as the prime catalyst of change must be disregarded. And further, that to understand the role of cities properly, one must investigate the condition of underdevelopment which characterizes these countries, of which the cities are only a part."³²

He sees the Third World cities as being parasitical on the populations in their periphery. This situation actually manifests itself in the dual society that exists in the less developed countries. This view has been put forward most persuasively by Misra who argues that the

³¹Logan, M.I., "The Spatial System and Planning Strategies in Developing Countries", The Geographical Review, 62, 2 (1972), P.240.

³²McGee, T., op. cit., p.31.

links between the Third World cities and their hinterlands are exploitative in nature and are thoroughly disadvantageous to the rural areas. He also stresses that this is the major reason why spillover effects are confined to a very narrow zone around the centres.³³ Similar results are reported for India,³⁴ Nigeria,³⁵ Senegal and Egypt,³⁶ and Latin America.³⁷

Despite the numerous theories that have emerged in relation to urbanization, Friedmann's "core-periphery concept" is more popular than the others. However, a brief review of literature pertaining to the core-periphery concept has shown that it has been applied by some regional analysts in other studies which are not necessarily related to urbanization.³⁸

³³Misra, R.P., "Growth Pole Policy for Regional Development in T.B. (ed), Lahiri, India" in Balanced Regional Development: Concepts, Strategy and Case Studies, Calcutta: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., May, 1972, p.49.

³⁴Ibid

³⁵Mabogunje, A.L. Urbanization in Nigeria, London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1968, Ch. 12.

³⁶Salah El-Shakhs and Robert Obudho, (eds), Urbanization, National Development and Regional Planning in Africa, New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974.

³⁷Walker, J.P., "The City as a Source of Regional Economic Disparity in Latin America", Review of Social Economy, 31 (April, 1973).

³⁸Such as Mier and Baldwin's study, and others that would be discussed later in this section.

One objective which these authors, including Friedmann, have in common is their effort to establish the functional relationship between two regions: the core and the periphery. Perhaps, a definition of core and peripheral regions would enhance our understanding of the functional relationship between these two regions that make up a complete spatial system. Core regions are defined as territorially organized subsystems of society which have a high capacity for generating and absorbing innovative change while peripheral regions are subsystems whose development paths are determined chiefly by core region institutions with respect to which they stand in relation of substantial dependency.³⁹

Friedmann has pointed out that Mier and Baldwin were the first authors to establish the existence of a core-periphery structure on a global scale. He also discloses that Raul Prebisch of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) has used it (i.e. the core-periphery model) as part of a fundamental explanation of Latin America's persisting economic backwardness compared with Western Europe and North America.⁴⁰ Similarly,

³⁹ ¹ Friedmann, John, Urbanization, Planning and National Development, London: Sage Publications, Inc., 1973, p.67.

⁴⁰ ² Friedmann, John, Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1966, p.10. Referring to Gerald M. Meier and Robert E. Baldwin's study on Economic Development: Theory, History, Policy (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957) Part II; and Raul Prebisch, The Economic Development of Latin America (New York: United Nations, 1950).

Friedmann has used the core-periphery model to explain the complex processes that are involved in urbanization.

Friedmann and Wulff have noted that:

At whatever scale of analysis - international, national or regional - core and periphery stand by definition in an asymmetrical relationship of dominance/dependency that is articulated through four major spatial processes: decision making and control; capital flows; innovation diffusion; and migration. Corresponding to each of these processes are spatial patterns: the spatial distribution of power, systems of activity location, modernization surfaces and settlement patterns.⁴¹

Of these four major spatial processes, decision making and control processes are the most critical to which all others are ultimately related. As mentioned earlier, the core-periphery paradigm aims at sorting out the relationships between these complex spatial processes that are associated with urbanization. In contrast to the usual paradigm in the social sciences, it suggests that the nature of these relationships in space are inherently imbalanced and conflicting.⁴²

Another remarkable attribute of the core-periphery paradigm is that it provides one with the opportunity of looking at both the exogenous and endogenous forces that

⁴¹Friedman, John and Wulff, Robert, op. cit. p.11.

⁴²Friedman, John and Wulff, Robert, op. cit. p.12.

have created the imbalance in spatial development in the Third World countries. However, the remainder of this section will be devoted to the discussion on the core-periphery relationship and how such development influenced the Third World spatial system.

As mentioned earlier, those spatial processes of innovation diffusion, migration and investment, that were identified in the urbanization processes are greatly influenced by the "control" process. Perhaps Friedmann's explanation of linkages between these processes will adequately explain the amount of influence which the control process has over the other processes.

He has stated that:

the volume of controlling decisions that emanates from the core is greater than the reciprocal volume of controls from periphery to core. This causes a net flow of capital from the periphery which, in turn, gives rise to a net flow of migrants into the core area. At the same time a continuous stream of innovations diffuses from the core to the periphery where it ultimately helps to create conditions that lead to demands for at least a partial restructuring of the fundamental dependency relation.⁴³

It is clear from this quote that the decision making and control process that determines the functioning

43 1
Friedman, John, op. cit., p.69.

of the other processes addresses itself to colonialism that influenced the nature of the Third World spatial system. Colonialism as used in this case, refers to external and internal colonialism. External colonialism refers to the control of a weak country by one that is stronger, and internal, where it concerns the control of peripheral regions by a national core.⁴⁴

The most important factor which to a great extent can account not only for the fact that the Third World is the least urbanized region in the world and also for the fact that a great proportion of the urban population growth has tended to concentrate in one or a few large cities, relates directly to the colonial control over this part of the globe for so many years. In fact, most of the literature surveyed suggests that the principal reason why these problems have continued to exist in the Third World countries following their independence is related to the strong economic ties that exist between these countries and their former colonial metropolises. And, also that the spatial system that evolved in these countries during the colonial period, which was deliberately created to serve the colonialist economic interests are still retained, without any modification to suit their respective development.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.74

The key components in the spatial system that was created by the colonial administration in these Third World countries are the railway transportation networks and the towns that owed their origin to these transportation networks. These towns generally served as transmission centres for the dispatch of raw materials from the interior to the coasts for onward shipment to the major markets in the international capitalist centres. It must be pointed out that only those regions that manifested high potential in the production of agricultural commodities or in natural resources during the colonial period were linked with transportation networks. The other regions, meanwhile, remained isolated and experienced the backwash effects of development, including a loss of productive human resources, a movement of people out of the indigenous settlements to the growing towns, be they on the railway transportation lines, those closely associated with resources, or those located at the ports.

It must be emphasized that even after the attainment of independence the very spatial systems created by the colonial regimes in these countries have been nurtured and encouraged to flourish by the local elites. As a matter of fact, in most cases the policies and programmes instituted by these elites are viewed as being intentionally made to encourage growth in one (capital city) or a few

cities at the expense of the other regions. At the same time the elites' own needs for consumption are met by implementing industrialization policies in these favoured places based on the concept of import substitution.⁴⁵

The important point that needs to be made here is that most developing countries which have strived to attain a high rate of economic growth through industrialization have tended to concentrate their limited resources in their capital cities. As Friedmann and Wulff point out, policies of this nature contribute to growing primacy in the distribution of city sizes because the principal domestic market is concentrated in the city where the elites reside and processes of "circular and cumulative causation" tend to sustain accelerated growth at this location.⁴⁶

In a similar vein, Sousa and Porter have cited Myrdal as arguing that once growth has been initiated in favoured locations, in a free economy, inflows of labour, skills, capital and commodities develop spontaneously to support them. They also note that these flows induce backwash effects, amplifying inequalities between expanding and other regions. Further, they maintain that if events

⁴⁵Friedmann, John and Wulff, Robert, op. cit. p.13.

⁴⁶Ibid, p.13

follow an uncontrolled course, backwash effects perpetuate growth in expanding regions and retard growth elsewhere.⁴⁷

Of course, this type of polarization in economic development in these countries could lead one to argue that their capital city-hinterland relationship is similar to a colonial situation in that lack of infrastructural development has kept their hinterland in a permanent state of backwardness. It is interesting to note that despite the inequality in spatial development, the capital cities in many of these Third World countries have continued to receive the best infrastructural facilities and a disproportionate share of industries compared with the other regions.

Explicit support for this position is provided by Mabogunje's study on manufacturing in tropical Africa.⁴⁸ This study discloses the following percentage distributions of manufacturing for the capital cities of 23 African countries:

⁴⁷Anthony R. de Sousa and Philip W. Porter, op. cit., p.62.

⁴⁸ ¹Mabogunje, L. Akin (1973), "Manufacturing and Geography of Development in Tropical Africa, Economic Geography, 49, pgs. 1-19. Tropical Africa, in this case, refers to the thirty-one countries of Africa situated within the tropics. According to Mabogunje, it excludes those areas that were still under colonialism when this study was conducted, such as: Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

TABLE III

<u>Per Cent of Total Manufacturing in the Capital</u>	<u>Number of Countries</u>
80 - 100	7
60 - 79	5
40 - 59	4
20 - 39	6
20	1

Source: John Friedmann and Robert Wulff, op. cit., p.19. This data was computed by these authors from the table provided in Akin. L. Mabogunje's study on "Manufacturing and Geography of Development in Tropical Africa", in Economic Geography, 49, 1973, p.11.

Mabogunje has indicated that such a high degree of spatial concentration of industrial activities in the primate cities of the tropical African countries is due to the concentration of markets, good infrastructural facilities and also the high access which these cities provide to the interior of their countries. He notes that another advantage which these cities have over other locations is that they serve as the major ports as well as the administrative capitals for their respective countries. However, such a pattern of development is also common in the other less developed countries of Asia and Latin America. For

example, Laquin has found that Metropolitan Manila accounts for over 50 per cent of the total Filipino industrial payroll.⁴⁹

The role of cities (particularly the primate cities) in economic development in the Third World countries has been the subject of much debate among authors. Most of the literature reviewed for this study has stressed that these cities are parasitical on the other regions and in fact contribute to their backwardness. For instance, in her study, Findley indicates that Johnson's study of Indian urbanization patterns and Wilkie's study of Mexico shows that even small cities in these countries are handicapped in their efforts to attract industry or migrants because they lack many of the necessary support services and the economic resources to provide them.⁵⁰

The foregoing is by no means a sound basis for concluding that polarization of development affects only the peripheral regions. Evidence has shown that these primate cities do have their own problems whose causes are directly linked with the polarization phenomenon. This issue will be discussed in detail in the next section. What is more important, however, is that the existing spatial

⁴⁹ Sally E. Findley, *op. cit.* p.96.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.96; Referring to E.A.J. Johnson's, study on Market Towns and Spatial Development in India, National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), New Delhi, October 1965; and Wilkie W. Richard, Urban Growth and the Transformation of the Settlement Landscape of Mexico - 1910-1970, Paper presented at the IV International Congress of Mexican Studies, October 17-21, 1973.

system in the Third World countries has prevented the spread of development benefits and has led to regional imbalances in them. As a result the level of living and income gap between the core regions and the peripheral regions have encouraged massive migration from the periphery to the core. This phenomenon has led to what was earlier described as subsistence urbanization.

Some Implications of Third World Urbanization Trends

The previous sections have pointed out a number of characteristics that typify urbanization in the Third World countries. The discussion in this section will concentrate on the implications of such urbanization processes for national development. Firstly, it has been established that larger urban centers in the Third World countries are growing more rapidly than the smaller urban centers and in most cases it is the primate city which captures the lion's share of this rapid growth. Secondly, it has been pointed out that despite the substantial growth of urban population in these countries, with the exception of Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile and Liberia, depopulation of the rural areas has not really begun to occur. Thirdly it has been shown that the colonial mode of spatial organization that exists in these nations is a strong factor that still regulates their spatial distribution of population and economic development.

It should be noted, however, that the phenomenal growth experienced by the large cities is not only caused by rural migration but also through migration from the smaller cities. Therefore, it must be stressed that it is not only the rural areas that are affected by the growth of the large cities in the developing nations. The smaller cities, especially those which were established by the colonial regimes for the purpose of resource exploitation, are now losing their population to the large urban centres.

Almost all the literature reviewed for this study focused their discussion on the effect of the large cities on their peripheral regions (in most cases rural areas) without seriously considering their impact on the smaller cities. Although, they did point out that the extremely rapid growth of the primate cities in the Third World countries had engendered stagnation or population decline in these smaller cities.

The decline in population of these smaller cities affects immensely the local business that operates in them. In many cases most of the investors that depend on the local market are forced to fold up their business or to move elsewhere taking with them the employment opportunities inherent to their firms. While the relocation of business results in a more staid and conservative climate in these smaller cities it certainly reinforces the tendency to

out-migration among the members of the labour force as a reverse employment multiplier begins to operate. This phenomenon of self-reinforcing imbalance in the system is described by Gunnar Myrdal as "circular and cumulative causation" where disequilibrium, such as decline, provides the condition and stimulus for further decline.

Such population erosion does not only affect the economic base of these towns, it also has serious implications for their educational and health facilities. These facilities become obsolete as the population of the users continue to decline. These towns that undergo transition share a number of characteristics with most of the rural communities in the Third World countries: aging populations due to migration selectivity; erosion in both their financial and natural resources; alterations in the quality of the labour force, all of which reduces the probability of their future growth.

While the smaller urban centres are experiencing population decline the rural population in the Third World countries is increasing at an alarming rate. Such an increase is due to a high birth rate and from all indications this situation will not significantly change in the foreseeable future. This means that the reservoir of potential migrants to the urban areas is still relatively high.

As indicated earlier, the population explosion in the rural areas in the Third World countries is one of the factors that leads to migration. What is of more importance than the population increase, however, is the limited opportunities in the rural areas which compel the residents to make their way into the large cities. As stated by Schumacher:

Their work opportunities are so restricted that they cannot work their way out of misery. They are underemployed or totally unemployed, and when they do find occasional work their productivity is exceedingly low. Some of them have land, but often too little. Many have no land and no prospect of ever getting any. They are underemployed or totally unemployed, and then drift into the big cities. But there is no work for them in the big cities either and, of course, no housing. All the same, they flock into the cities because the chances of finding some work appears to be greater than in the villages where they are nil.⁵¹

Apparently, it is the most valuable human capital resources in the rural areas that are lost to the urban areas. This phenomenon is viewed as being detrimental to rural development due to the fact that the majority of those who migrate are often the better educated who have the greatest potential to transform the rural communities.

⁵¹Schumacher, E.F., Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered, London: Blond and Briggs Ltd., 1973, pgs. 143-144.



However, the basic fact is that these migrants find their way to the larger cities where they feel that the chances of securing employment are greater.

It is important to point out that the demographic growth of large cities in the Third World countries has not been matched by a corresponding growth of employment opportunity. As a result, many of the migrants who gain employment in these cities are underemployed while the less fortunate join the ranks of the unemployed. In fact, rapid growth in urban unemployment has been discovered as one of the pressing problems confronting cities in the developing nations.

The extent of this problem is well illustrated in the results of a household survey of Freetown, Sierra Leone, where it was found that the proportion of the labour force which was unemployed had risen from 10.6 per cent in 1960 to 15.5 per cent in 1967.⁵² Similarly for Nigeria, a labour force study which was undertaken in 1966/67 found 8 per cent level of urban unemployment compared to a 0.5 per cent level in the rural areas. This same study showed that 21 per cent of the unemployed had been in this state for between six

⁵² ²Akin L. Mabogunje, "The Urban Challenge in the Developing African Countries", ITCC Review, Vol. III, No. 2 (10), Tel Aviv, Israel: International Technical Co-operation Centre, April 1974, p.36.

months to one year, 26 per cent for between one and two years and 32 per cent for over two years.⁵³

This state of affairs is responsible to a great extent for the high incidence of crime, juvenile delinquency and prostitution among the migrants to these cities. Apart from the deleterious effect which rapid urban growth has on individuals in the Third World countries it also has some serious implications on the physical characteristics of their cities. The most pressing one, of course, is the environmental deterioration that is caused by general overcrowding and from pressure on housing facilities.

The African experience, as disclosed by Mabogunje, has shown that this takes the form of an over-use of old, mud buildings which should have been destroyed and rebuilt long ago.⁵⁴ He also notes that the shortage of living accommodations in most of the cities in Africa has led to the construction of squatter settlements at the periphery of the large cities. What makes the situation more serious is the fact that, in most cases, such construction is carried out on vacant public or private lands with little or

⁵³ Ibid, p.37.

⁵⁴ ³ Akin L. Mabogunje, "Urbanization Problem in Africa", in Salah El-Shakh and Robert Ubudho, (ed) Urbanization, National Development and Regional Planning in Africa, New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974, p.22.

no provision for the long term improvements necessary for development.

The rapid population growth of these cities has not only encouraged squatter settlements but has also engendered extreme overcrowding in the existing living accommodation. For instance, in 1961 the population of Metropolitan Calcutta was estimated to be 6.7 million, of which 70 per cent of the families were living in one room or less, while at least 2.2 million of these people were living in slums and uncontrolled settlements.⁵⁵ In a similar vein, Abiodun has shown that Lagos has an average of 3.8 persons per room and an extreme population density ranging between 5 to 7 persons per room.⁵⁶

It must be pointed out that the extreme concentration of people in the Third World cities also affects the effective operation of most of the essential urban services such as water supply, sewage systems, electricity, transportation, schools, hospitals, roads and telephone, etc. Mabogunje confirms that in large African cities the supply

⁵⁵Raanan Weitz (ed) Urbanization and Developing Countries, Report on the Sixth Rehovet Conference, New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1973, p.73.

⁵⁶Josephine Olu Abiodun, "Housing Problems in Nigerian Cities", Town Planning Review, Vol. 47, No. 4, (October, 1976), p.339

of electricity is characterized by frequent blackouts due to overloading. He also indicates that in these cities water supply is available only during certain hours of the day and that the telephone services are perfunctory and subject to delays and loss of use.⁵⁷ Similarly, Ragheb has reported that several Middle Eastern cities are faced with significant water shortages. According to his report, the daily shortage of water in Ankara is between 30,000 and 40,000 tons.⁵⁸ He also notes that (as was reported for the African cities) water supply is available only a few hours each day in some of the Middle Eastern cities.

Another deep rooted problem in the major cities in the Third World countries is traffic congestion. Many reasons can be deduced for this situation apart from poor land use planning. The major reason is the extreme concentration of both population and urban functions in few urban places. Lagos is a very good example where these factors have contributed immensely in escalating traffic congestion.

⁵⁷Akin L. Mabogunje, op. cit., p.37.

⁵⁸Isis Ragheb, "Patterns of Urban Growth in the Middle East", The City in Newly Developing Countries; Readings in Urbanism and Urbanization, ed. G.M. Breese, Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969, p.117.

For instance, during the peak hours in the writer's experience, it takes a car about two or more hours to travel a distance of five miles in that city.

These problems are compounded in the primate cities which in most cases are the capital cities of most of the Third World countries. These rapidly expanding cities have been said to be the most stress-inducing places in the world. Mabogunje has pointed out that the rapid rate at which most of these places have grown, their "explosion" beyond their legal administrative boundaries, the pressure being exerted on infrastructural facilities by the increasing number of their industries and many other problems make these cities areas of maximum frustration in many African countries.⁵⁹ Diseconomies of high population density are also reported in the exorbitant land costs in these cities.

The crucial issue, however, is how these problems could be resolved. It must be emphasized that as long as these Third World countries retain the colonial-type spatial system, which was deliberately created to facilitate the exploitation of their resources, the problems now faced by them can never be resolved. Structural transformation of the existing spatial systems in the Third World countries

⁵⁹ ³Akin L. Mabogunje, op. cit., p.23.

is imperative if any progress is to be made in solving some of the problems facing these countries. Structural transformation implies breaking down the spatial, economic and institutional barriers that limit a society's capacity for growth.⁶⁰

Logan suggests a number of items that need to be restructured in those societies whose spatial systems are very much externally oriented. According to him, the key components of their spatial systems that need to be restructured are the urban centres, the transportation network that links them, and the organizational structure that propels demand and other incentives through the system.⁶¹ However, very few Third World countries have come up with actions that are geared towards structural transformation of the spatial system they inherited from their colonial rulers.

The apparent reason for such action in the limited number of cases is to eliminate the spatial inequality in regional development that exists in them and also to organize their resources so as to meet the needs of

⁶⁰ Logan, M.I., "The Spatial System and Planning Strategies in Developing Countries", The Geographical Review, 62, 2 (1972), p.230.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.231.

their people as a whole. It seems that the only countries in the Third World that have made some progress in this direction are those that have a Communist system of government and those that claim to be socialistic.⁶² For example, Tanzania with its local brand of socialism has made some efforts towards restructuring its spatial system. Although, unlike its counterparts in the communist regimes, Tanzania's economy is still very much oriented towards the international capitalist system. This, in fact, is the greatest handicap which frustrates Tanzania's effort to attain its desired goal of transforming its spatial system.

Of central importance here is the influence which the spatial disintegration in most of the Third World countries has on their urbanization. As stated by Slater:

One of the achievements of countries such as Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam and China is that their previous spatial disintegration has been replaced by a system of spatial organization which utilizes to the fullest the resources of all the various zones of their territories so as to satisfy internal needs. As a result, inter-regional inter-dependencies and exchanges have evolved and matured as an important solidifying agent of national economic integration.⁶³

⁶²David Slater, "Underdevelopment and Spatial Inequality: Approaches to the Problems of Regional Planning in the Third World", Progress in Planning, (ed) D. Diamond and J. B. McLaughlin, Vol. 4, Part 2, Great Britain: Pergamon Press, 1975.

⁶³Ibid, p.158.

He also argues that so long as a space economy is internally atomized and externally tied, such development is not possible.⁶³

It must be stressed that spatial development as a residue of colonial exploitation is one of the major factors responsible for the rapid population growth of primate cities in the Third World countries. Therefore, any planning strategy that aims at controlling the growth of the Third World cities must be geared towards eliminating the dominance which their core regions have over their peripheral regions.

⁶³ Ibid, p.158

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS AND PROCESSES OF URBANIZATION IN NIGERIA

The preceding chapter provides the basis for analyzing the trend of urbanization in Nigeria. Therefore, the purpose here is to examine the Nigerian urbanization trend and also to determine whether those urbanization processes highlighted earlier as being operative in Third World countries are equally prevalent in the Nigerian case.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will describe the demographic dimensions of the four major regions in Nigeria in order to determine the urban and rural population distribution in those regions. The second section will deal with the geographic distribution of Nigerian cities with the aim of establishing two basic points. Firstly, to establish whether there is a balance in the geographic distribution of cities among the various regions in Nigeria. Secondly, to establish where urban growth has been most pronounced within the period 1952 to 1963 and also to point out those factors that have encouraged the rapid growth of those cities. Section three discusses the implications of such trends as they relate to national development.

Distribution of Rural and Urban Population

At the outset it is essential to provide some basic information about Nigeria. Presently it is the most populous country in Africa with a population of over 79 million¹ people. It must be stressed that the growth potential of this country's population is very high. With a medium growth rate estimated to be 3 per cent per annum the population is expected to pass the 90 million mark by 1980.² The rate of urbanization in Nigeria is also quite phenomenal as is the case in most Sub-Saharan African nations which are known to have the highest annual growth rate (over 5 per cent) in the Third World. Ajaegbu has pointed out that the rate of urbanization in Nigeria was estimated at about 5 per cent per annum between 1931 and 1953 and by 1963 urban population was increasing at over

¹This figure is based on the 1973 census result. However, it is difficult to confirm the accuracy of this figure since census taking generates one of the most recurring problems in the developing nations. For more details on the problems engendered by the 1963 Nigerian Census, see I.I. Ekanem, The 1963 Nigerian Census: A Critical Appraisal, Benin City, Nigeria: Ethiope Publishing Corporation, 1972.

² ³Mabogunje, Akin L., Growth Poles and Growth Centres in the Regional Development of Nigeria, a report prepared for the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Report No. 71.3, Geneva, 1971, p.11.

8 per cent per annum for the whole country.³

Despite the rapid urbanization that is taking place in Nigeria it still remains overwhelmingly rural in character. This point is clearly illustrated in Table IV which shows that about 90 per cent of the Nigerian population lived in rural areas in 1952 as against 81 per cent in 1963. However, it must be noted that the percentage of the rural population declined within this period while the urban population increased from 10 per cent in 1952 to 19 per cent in 1963 and this trend towards urbanization is continuing. Evidence from this table also provides strong support for the contention that the population of settlements ranked as urban (i.e. settlements with populations of 20,000 or more) in Nigeria are growing very rapidly. It indicates broadly that there has occurred a steady growth in the number of these settlements as well as in the percentage of the total population living in them. For example, in 1921 16 urban centres existed in Nigeria while in 1963 there were 178 such centres.⁴ However, the main issue is not the aggregate growth of urban

³ Ajaegbu, H.I., Urban and Rural Development in Nigeria, London: Heinemann Press, 1976, p.32.

⁴ See Table IV.

TABLE IV

Rural and Urban Growth in Nigeria 1921-63

Population	1921	1931	1952	1963
Total Population (000)	18,720*	20,056*	30,402	55,670
Urban Population (000) (Settlements with Population of 20,000 and above)	890*	1,343*	3,131	10,680
Rural Population (000)	17,830	18,713	27,271	45,000
Urban as % Total Population	4.8	6.7	10.3	19.2
Rural as % Total Population	95.2	93.3	89.7	80.8
Number of Urban Centres	16	24	55	178
Percentage Increase in the Number of Urban Centres	-	50	129.1	223.6

Source: (x) J. Heads, "Urbanization and Economic Progress in Nigeria", South African Journal of Economics, 27(3) September 1959, pgs. 229-237. The other figures were computed from the data provided in the Population Census of Nigeria, 1952-53 and 1963.

centres and urban population but the pattern of their distribution and its implications.

On the basis of these observations and of the more detailed discussion to be presented below, it must be emphasized that although the rates of urbanization in Nigeria have been quite phenomenal, at present it still is relatively "non-urbanized" in nature. This is particularly true when one compares Nigeria's situation with that of Canada which is one of the most urbanized countries in the world. In 1961, for example, when about 44 per cent⁵ of the Canadian population lived in twelve of their major cities only 7 per cent of the Nigerian population (1963 figures) lived in sixteen of the major urban centres in that country. Furthermore, in 1963 some 19 per cent of the Nigerian population resided in communities classified as urban while 70 per cent of Canada's inhabitants lived in urban centres in 1961.

It must be stressed that if an urban centre is to be defined as a large settlement of people of whom a significant proportion are occupied in specialized and non-agricultural activities and also provided with a piped

⁵ Lithwick, N.H. Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects, Ottawa: Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1970, p.73.

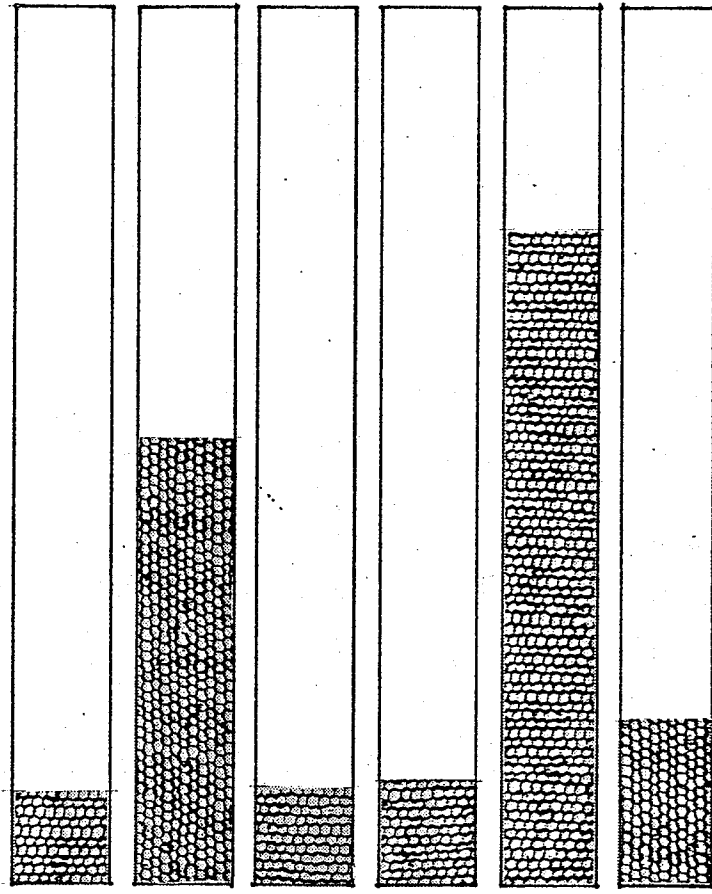
water supply, electricity, modern health and educational services, then more than 45 per cent of those communities classified as urban in Nigeria exhibit little or no urban features⁶ at all. For consistency, however, we have to accept the statistical definition of what is urban for this study.

Fig. 1 and Table V show the distribution of both the urban and rural population in Nigeria in 1953 and 1963. As mentioned earlier, about 90 per cent of Nigeria's population lived in rural communities in 1953 as against 81 per cent in 1963. At the regional level the corresponding figures were 96 per cent and 90 per cent for the North,

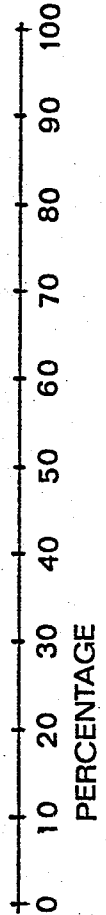
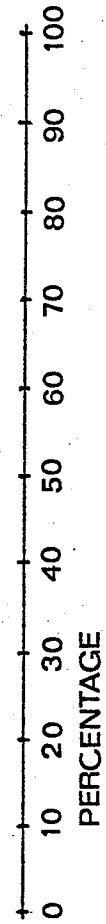
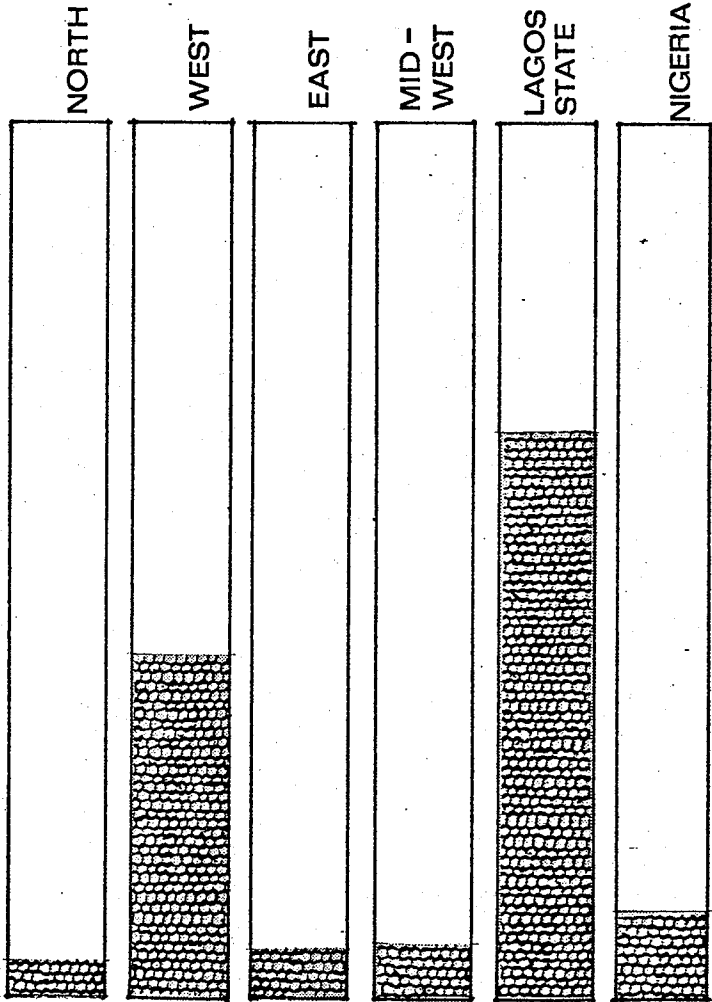
⁶For example, towns like Nnewi, Ihiala, Ijebu-Ode and Shagamu that were identified as some of the major cities in Nigeria, in Mabogunje's study on "Urban Land Policy and Population Growth in Nigeria", in S. H. Ominde and C. N. Ejiogu's Population Growth and Economic Development in Africa, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1972, p.237, supports the argument that the majority of the Nigerian rural communities are designated as urban despite a total absence of urban features in them. To include these communities in the urban category is to do a gross injustice to reality. This mistake is partly a result of the 1963 census which defines an urban area in Nigeria as one with a population of 20,000 or more inhabitants. With the rapid growth rate of the country's rural communities which stands at over 4 per cent per annum, it is very easy for those communities to obtain a minimum population of 20,000 persons without basically altering in appearance or assuming any of the functions generally associated with urbanism. In the case of Nigeria and other developing nations the definition of urban centre as a settlement with a population of 20,000 and over is not in order.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

1963



1952 - 53



URBAN

RURAL

SOURCE: Graphs adapted from Table 5. Distribution of rural and urban population according to regions in Nigeria.

61 per cent and 50 per cent for the West, 94 per cent and 89 per cent for the East, 93 per cent and 89 per cent for the Midwest and 36 per cent and 24 per cent for Lagos State. They also indicate that the proportion of the Nigerian population living in urban areas increased significantly between 1953 and 1963. Furthermore, they indicate that the rate of urbanization varies between the regions in Nigeria.

As was shown in Table IV, the population of the Nigerians who live in urban areas increased twelve-fold within a forty-two year period. However, the growth in the urban population during the 1953/63 period was more remarkable. During this period the urban population increased from 10 to 19 per cent of the country's total population. As may be seen in Table V, the percentage of the various regions' population which is urban varies considerably, ranging from 3.6 per cent in 1953 to 10.5 per cent in 1963 for the North, 39.1 per cent in 1953 to 50.5 in 1963 for the West, 6.3 per cent in 1953 to 11.1 per cent in 1963 for the East, 7.4 per cent in 1953 to 11.5 per cent in 1963 for the Midwest and 64.5 per cent in 1953 to 76.0 per cent in 1963 for Lagos State.

At the regional level the data in Table V shows conclusively that the most urbanized area in Nigeria is Lagos State followed by the Western region, each with over

TABLE V

Distribution of Rural and Urban* Populations According to Regions in Nigeria

Region	1952-53						1963							
	Total Pop. ('000)	Rural Pop. ('000)	Urban Pop. ('000)	No. of Urban Centres	% of Areas' Pop. Which is Rural	% Distr. of Rural Pop.	Total Pop. ('000)	Rural Pop. ('000)	Urban Pop. ('000)	No. of Urban Centres	% of Areas' Pop. Which is Rural	% Distr. of Rural Pop.	% of Areas' Pop. Which is Urban	% Distr. of Urban Pop.
North	17,007	16,402	605	13	96.4	3.6	29,809	26,688	3,121	69	89.5	10.5	59.3	29.2
West	4,175	2,544	1,631	27	60.9	39.1	9,490	4,700	4,790	72	49.5	50.5	10.4	44.9
East	7,218	6,762	456	10	93.7	6.3	12,467	11,081	1,386	30	88.9	11.1	24.6	13.0
Midwest	1,492	1,382	110	4	92.6	7.4	2,461	2,177	284	6	88.5	11.5	4.8	2.6
Lagos State	510	181	329	1	35.5	64.5	1,444	346	1,089	1	24.0	76.0	.8	10.3
Nigeria	30,402	27,271	3,131	55	89.7	10.3	55,670	45,000	10,680	178	80.8	19.2	100.0	100.0

Source: This data was computed from various figures provided in the population censuses of Nigeria, 1952-53 and 1963.

*The criterion for the selection of urban centre is based on the population of settlements of 20,000 and above. Refer to the discussion on this issue on p.56.

half of their populations in towns of 20,000 and over, while the least urbanized of the regions is the North. It is important to mention that the Midwest and East apparently experienced the greatest decline in their rural population during the 1953-63 period while Lagos and the West had the least decline in their rural population. Between 1953 and 1963 the rural population of the various regions declined by 6.9 per cent, 11.4 per cent, 4.8 per cent, 4.1 per cent and 11.5 per cent respectively for the North, West, East, Midwest and Lagos.

Table VI brings out a striking contrast in the annual growth rate of urban population of the various regions in Nigeria from 1952 to 1963; that is to say, even though the Northern Region was earlier mentioned as being the least urbanized of all the regions the annual growth rate of urban population for the region during the 1952-63 period was discovered to be the highest. As may be seen in the same table, the annual growth rate of urban population for all the other regions was fairly uniform ranging from 9.0 per cent to 11.6 per cent during the same period. Another significant observation can be made from the statistics presented in the table, namely, the urban population in the North grew at a rate of 16.1 per cent per annum which was far in excess of the 11.8 per cent rate at which the nation's urban population grew.

TABLE VI

Population Size and Change for the Various Regions and
Their Annual Rate of Growth, 1952-1963

Region	Population Size						Rate of Growth						Annual Rate of Growth					
	1952			1963			1952-1963		1952-1963		1952-1963		1952-1963		1952-1963		1952-1963	
	Total Pop. ('000)	Rural Pop. ('000)	Urban Pop. ('000)	Total Pop. ('000)	Rural Pop. ('000)	Urban Pop. ('000)	Total Pop. %	Rural Pop. %	Total Pop. %	Rural Pop. %	Total Pop. %	Rural Pop. %	Total Pop. %	Rural Pop. %	Total Pop. %	Rural Pop. %	Total Pop. %	Urban Pop. %
North	17,007	16,402	605	29,809	26,688	3,121	75.3	62.7	415.9	5.2	4.5	16.1						
West	4,175	2,544	1,631	9,490	4,700	4,790	127.3	84.7	193.7	7.8	5.7	10.3						
East	7,218	6,762	456	12,467	11,081	1,386	72.7	63.9	203.9	5.1	4.6	10.6						
Midwest	1,492	1,382	110	2,461	2,177	284	64.9	57.5	158.2	4.7	4.2	9.0						
Lagos State	510	181	329	1,444	346	1,089	183.2	91.2	233.7	9.9	6.1	11.5						
Nigeria	30,402	27,271	3,131	55,670	45,000	10,680	83.1	65.0	241.1	5.7	4.7	11.8						

Source: This data was computed from various figures provided in the population censuses of Nigeria, 1952-53 and 1963.

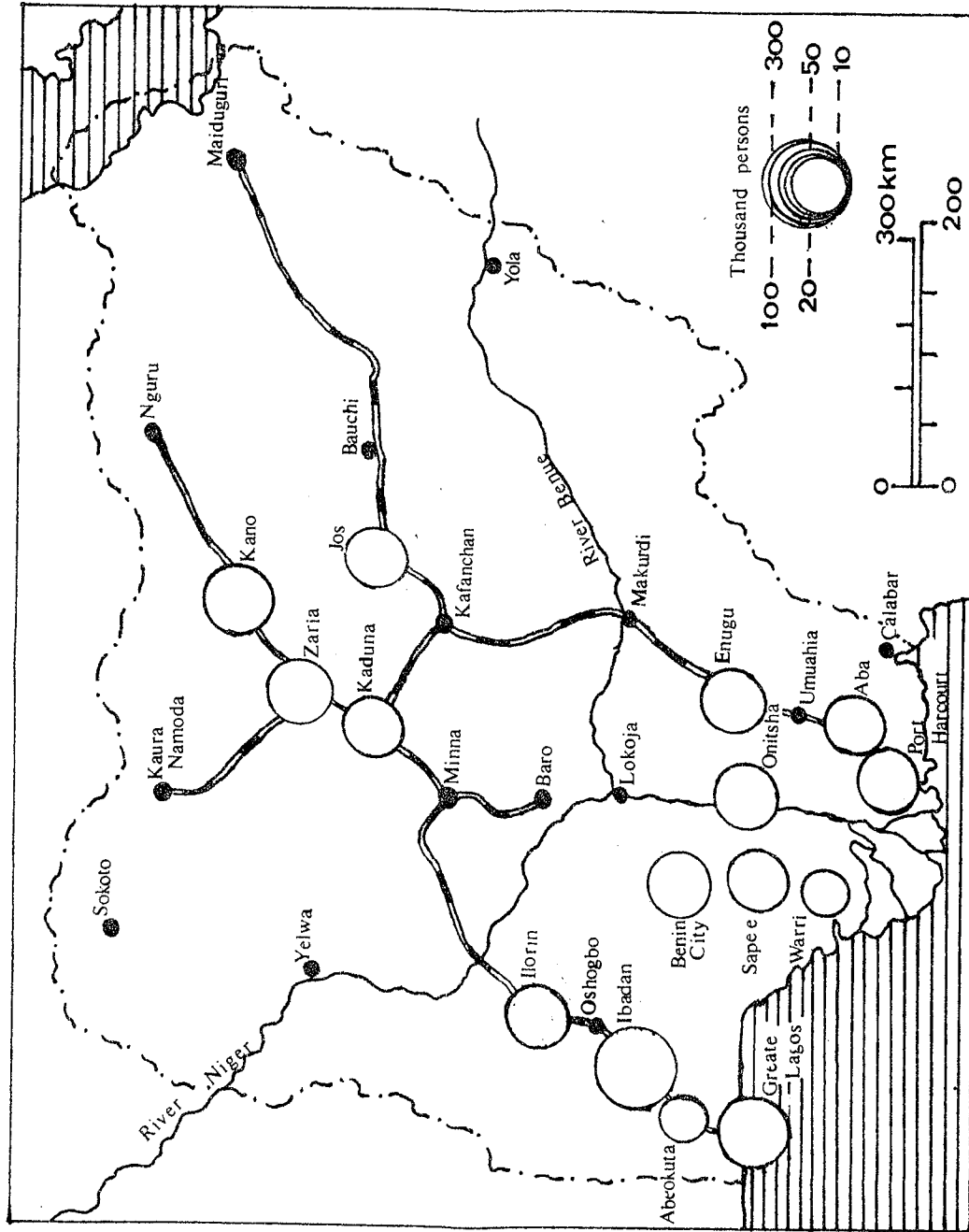
If individual cities are examined, their rate of growth varies considerably. (Figures 2 and 3 show the distribution of the Nigerian major cities and the changes in the population of those cities between 1952-63). In the North, the population of Kano grew from 127,205 persons in 1952 to 295,432 persons at the time of the 1963 census, which is an increase of about 8.0 per cent per annum. Kaduna, which was the administrative capital for the former Northern Nigerian government, experienced a more remarkable growth, from 44,540 persons in 1952 to 149,910 persons in 1963 at the high rate of over 13 per cent per annum. Zaria, which is the closest city to Kaduna, expanded from 53,974 to 166,170 at a rate of 11 per cent per annum.

The rapid growth of these cities (Zaria, Kaduna and Kano) can be attributed to the inflow of migrants from all parts of the nation. Of these in-migrants, 182,000 originated from Northern Nigeria (including 100,000 from the rural parts of the core area itself), over 33,000 from Eastern Nigeria, over 15,000 from Western Nigeria (including Ilorin and Kabba, divisions of Northern Nigeria) and nearly 2,000 from Midwestern Nigeria.⁷ Jos is another major city

⁷ Green, Leslie and Milone, Vincent, Urbanization in Nigeria: A Planning Commentary, An International Urbanization Survey Report to the Ford Foundation; New York, 1972, p.7.

FIG-2

NIGERIA: MAJOR CITIES AND THEIR POPULATION DURING THE 1952-53 CENSUS PERIOD



NIGERIA: MAJOR CITIES AND THEIR POPULATION DURING THE 1963 CENSUS PERIOD

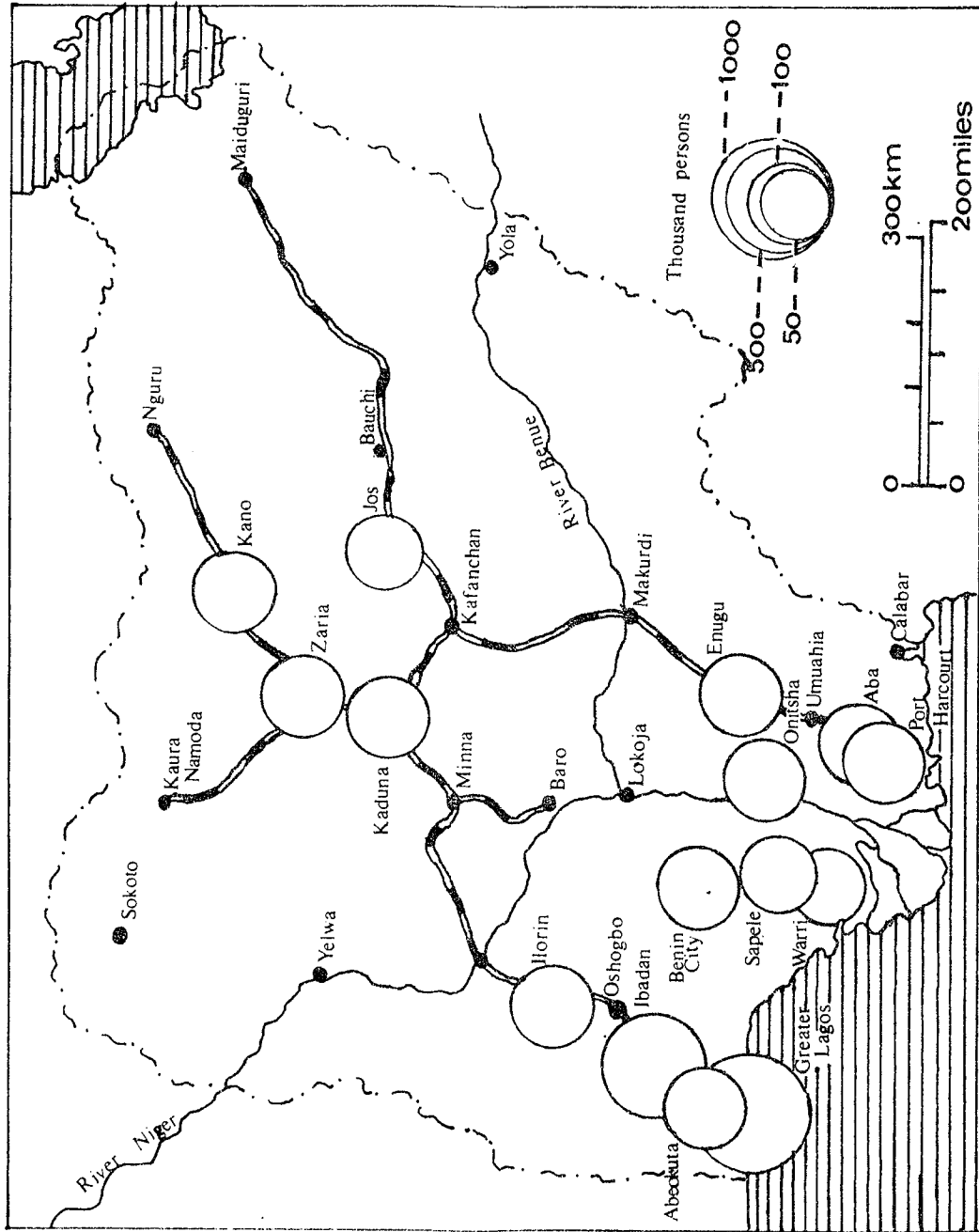


FIG-3

in the North which grew from 38,527 to 90,402 persons at a rate of 8.1 per cent per annum. The overall urban population of what is known as the central core area (Jos, Kaduna, Kano and Zaria) of northern Nigeria grew from 264,246 to 701,914 persons in 1963 at a combined rate of 9.3 per cent per annum. It must be pointed out that according to the 1963 census these four cities combined accounted for about 22.5 per cent of the urban population in the North and also accounted for 53.1 per cent of the population of the eleven major urban centres in the North.

In the East, the 1963 census indicates that the population of Aba rose to 131,003 persons at a rate of 7.7 per cent per annum; Enugu grew from 62,764 to 138,457 persons at a rate of 7.5 per cent per annum; Onitsha from 76,921 to 163,032 at a rate of 7.1 per cent per annum; Port Harcourt expanded from 71,634 to 179,563 persons at an even higher rate of 8.7 per cent per annum. These major urban centres in the East accounted for 612,055 persons by 1963 and had 44.2 per cent of the total urban population in the Eastern Region. These centres combined grew at a rate of 7.8 per cent per annum.

For the West, Ibadan, which prior to the 1963 census was the largest city in Nigeria, grew to only 627,379 persons at a relatively slow rate of just under 3.0 per cent per annum; Abeokuta and Ogbomosho expanded more rapidly from

84,451 to 187,292 persons and from 139,535 to 319,881 persons respectively at the annual rates of 7.5 and 7.9 per cent; Ondo increased by 6.8 per cent; Oyo from 72,133 to 112,349 persons at a rate of 4.1 per cent per annum.

In the Midwest the population of Benin grew from 53,753 to 100,694 persons at the time of the 1963 census or by 5.9 per cent per annum; Sapele expanded from 33,638 to 61,007 at a modest rate of 5.6 per cent per annum. Of the three major cities in the Midwest, Warri experienced the most remarkable population growth, from 19,526 persons in 1952 to 55,254 in 1963 at the high rate of 9.9 per cent per annum. By 1963 these three cities combined had 76.5 per cent of the population of the six cities in the Midwest and appeared to have increased at the rate of 102.9 per cent from 1952-1963.

Lagos, which ranked second in the hierarchy of cities prior to the 1963 census, outgrew Ibadan, then the first ranking city, by expanding from 267,407 to 665,246 persons at a rate of 8.6 per cent per annum and spread beyond its city boundaries to form a metropolitan region of 1,089,868 persons which grew at 11.5 per cent per annum. It is interesting to note that in-migration has been a significant factor in the growth of the Nigerian cities. For example, Green in his study indicates that between 1952 and 1963 644,000 persons migrated to Metropolitan Lagos giving an average intake into the city of 59,000 a year. He further emphasizes that of these

migrants nearly 510,000 (or 79 per cent) are estimated to have been members of the Western ethnic groups and to have originated from the former Western region. Of the rest, over 106,000 (or 16 per cent) from Eastern Nigeria; over 23,000 (or 4 per cent) arrived from Midwestern Nigeria and over 6,000 (or 1 per cent) originated in Northern Nigeria.⁸

Out of the previous paragraphs the following issues clearly emerge:

1. A large proportion of the Nigerian population still live in the rural areas although the proportion has declined from 89.7 per cent to 80.8 per cent during the 1952 to 1963 period.
2. The Nigerian population living in urban areas increased substantially between 1921 and 1963 and also the number of settlements classified as urban increased from 16 to 178 during this period.
3. The rates of urbanization vary between the different regions in Nigeria, and
4. The growth rates of Nigerian cities vary considerably.

⁸Leslie Green, "Migration, Urbanization and National Development in Nigeria" in Samir Amin (ed), Modern Migration in Western Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, p.289.

Spatial Development as Reflected Through
the Nigerian Urban System

The previous section has revealed that from 1921 to 1963 the proportion of urban population in Nigeria has increased substantially and also the number of settlements classified as urban has increased from 16 to 178. The purpose here is to examine the geographic distribution of these cities to ascertain if there is a balance in the spatial distribution of cities between the various regions and also to establish where urban population concentration has been most pronounced, along with the factors that have encouraged such urban hypertrophy⁹ in Nigeria.

Table V shows that the West, which had one-sixth of the country's population during the 1963 census, contains a disproportionate number of large and medium sized cities in Nigeria. Of the twenty-three cities that had 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1963, twelve were located in the West, five were in the North, four were located in the East, one was located in Lagos State and one was in the Midwest.

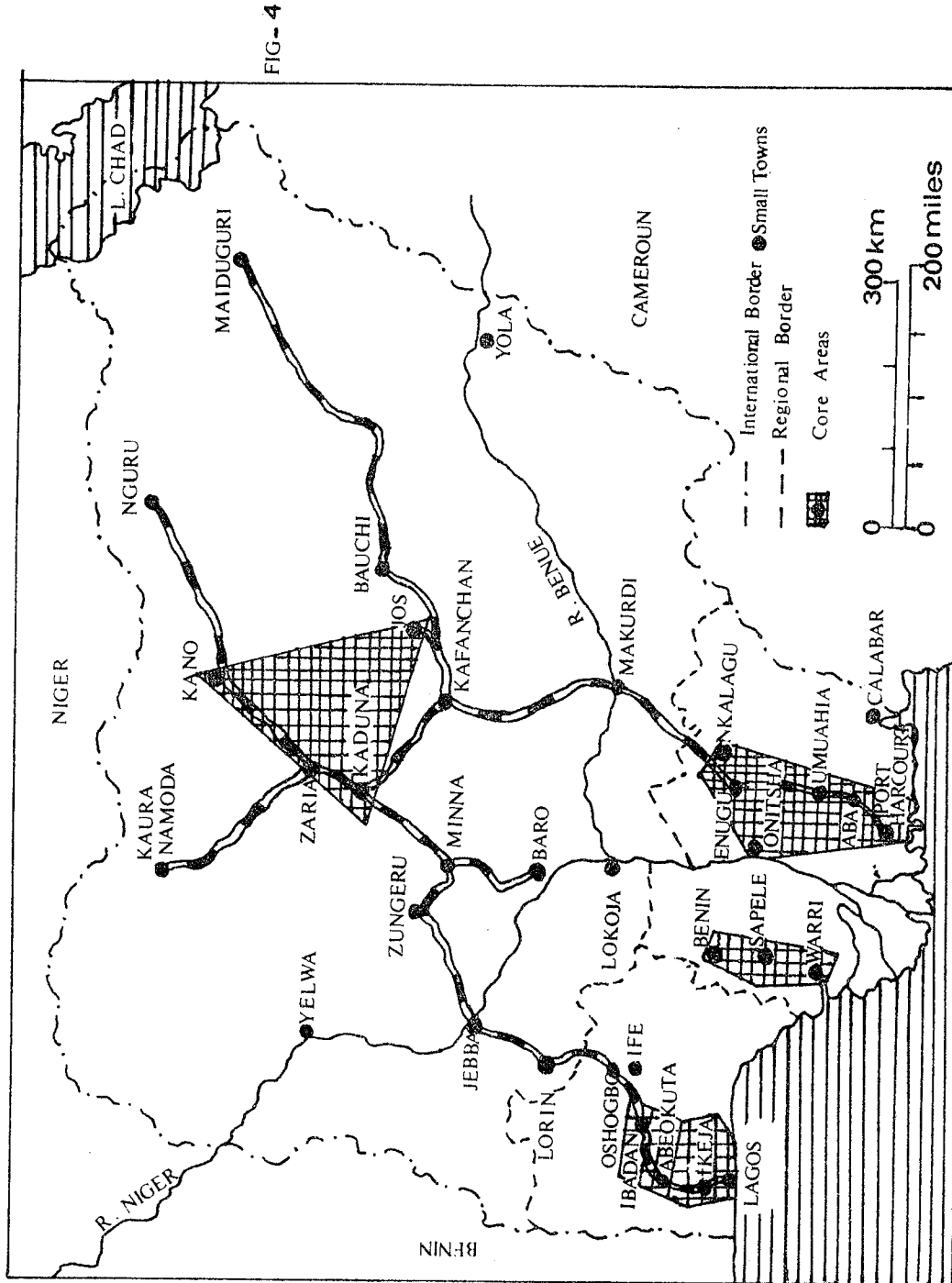
⁹ Joseph Spangler in his article on "Africa and the Theory of Optimum Size", in Horace Miner, The City in Modern Africa, New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1967, p.56, uses the term "hypertrophy" to define a situation in which one city is dominant in a given country but in this study the term was used to refer to a small number of cities which typify the Nigerian urban system. As such, the term fits the primate city rubric which, according to Janet L. Abu-Lughod, is a city which has a virtual monopoly over urban-type goods and services in which a disproportionately large share of a country's urban population is concentrated. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Urbanization in Egypt: Present State and Future Prospects", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.13, No. 2, Jan.1965, p.316.

Similarly, the West had a disproportionate number of towns with over 50,000 persons. Of the twenty-nine towns in that category in 1963, fifteen were located in the West, eleven were located in the North, two were in the Midwest, while the East had one. It was only in the 25,000 to 50,000 category that the North had a slight edge over the West with fifty-three such settlements while forty-five were located in the West, twenty-five in the East and two in the Midwest.¹⁰

Evidence, as indicated so far in this section, has shown that there is an imbalance in the geographic distribution of cities between the various regions in Nigeria. However, as disclosed in the preceding section, the growth rate of these cities varies substantially. Figure 4 shows the cities (core areas) of greatest population concentration and increase in Nigeria. It also shows that in the North the urban system is becoming concentrated and extremely dense in the central core area of that region. It must be noted that in 1963 out of the sixty-nine urban centres in the North four of them (Jos, Kano, Zaria and Kaduna) possessed more than 22.0 per cent of the urban population and grew at a combined rate of 9.3 per cent per annum.

¹⁰ It must be noted that the West is geographically smaller than the North but bigger than the other regions mentioned in this study.

THE MAJOR AREAS OF URBAN POPULATION AND INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION



In the other regions there has been a similar trend towards extreme concentration of population in few cities. For example, in the East a network of urban places (Port Harcourt, Aba, Onitsha and Enugu) connected by road, rail and river communications are the main areas of population concentration. In 1963, out of the thirty urban centres in the East, these four major urban centres contained 44.1 per cent of that region's urban population.

In the Midwest, urban population tends to concentrate in Warri, Sapele and Benin. In 1963, for example, these three cities had 76.5 per cent of the urban population in that region. On the other hand, it must be stressed that the West, which had over forty per cent of the urban centres in Nigeria with over 20,000 inhabitants during the same period, had a disproportionate number of its urban population concentrated in a few cities. This contention is supported by the fact that the population of the twelve major cities (2,424,295) in that region accounted for 50.6 per cent of its overall urban population.¹¹ Further, it must be pointed out that Ibadan, which is the largest city in the West, contained over one and a half times the population of Ogbomosho, the second largest city in that region. Despite this overall trend Ibadan grew from

¹¹See Table V for the total population of urban centres in the West.

459,196 in 1952 to 635,011 persons in 1963 at a relatively slow rate of just under 3 per cent per annum while Ogbomosho increased from 139,535 to 319,881 persons at a rate of 7.8 per cent per annum. In other words, the point that needs to be emphasized in this case is that, despite the slow growth which Ibadan experienced between 1952 and 1963, it has a population twice as large as the population of Ogbomosho which is the second largest city in the Western region.

A detailed analysis of the data presented in Table V leads one to an irrefutable conclusion that Metropolitan Lagos is the area of greatest population concentration and increase; a state of affairs largely arising from immigration. As indicated earlier, Lagos expanded from 267,407 to 665,246 persons at a rate of 8.6 per cent per annum and grew beyond its administrative boundaries to form a metropolitan region of 1,089,869 persons in 1963 which grew at the rate of 11.5 per cent per annum.

The dominance of the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraphs cannot be judged by numbers alone, they also have a virtual monopoly over the non-agrarian economy in Nigeria. According to the 1965 Inventory of Industrial Establishments¹², twelve out of the sixteen industrial towns

¹² Industrial Survey Nigeria 1964 and 1965, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, Nigeria.

in Nigeria are situated in those core areas that were identified elsewhere in this chapter. On the whole, 87.8 per cent of industrial employment and 96.4 per cent of gross industrial output was concentrated in these twelve cities.

The four major cities in Eastern Nigeria (Port Harcourt, Aba, Onitsha and Enugu) had 85.4 per cent of industrial employment in that region. In the West, out of the three major industrial towns in that region, Ibadan accounted for 42.1 per cent of that region's industrial employment. Whereas in the Midwest, roughly the whole industrial employment in that region was located in Benin and Sapele while the four major cities (Jos, Kano, Zaria and Kaduna) in the core area of Northern region had 86.1 per cent of the region's industrial employment. Metropolitan Lagos alone was shown to have accounted for 35.2 per cent of industrial employment and 38.6 per cent of industrial output in Nigeria.

It must be stressed that these areas have not only dominated the field of manufacturing but have in the past dominated the field of commerce and administration. This point was emphasized by Green and Milone who disclosed that in 1958 only 19 per cent of the trade by road between the Northern and the Western Nigeria (including Lagos) originated from Kano and only 19 per cent ended in Lagos, and by 1964 as much as 39 per cent began in Kano and 71 per cent was

destined for Lagos. They also indicated that of all the registered businesses in Eastern Nigeria in 1963, 36 per cent were in Port Harcourt, Aba had 24 per cent, Enugu had 19 per cent and Onitsha had 18 per cent and together they accounted for 97 per cent of all the registered businesses in that region.¹³

As for Warri, which is the third major but fastest growing city in the Midwest, its proximity to the petroleum producing areas and the transfer to it of the headquarters of the major oil companies upon the outbreak of civil war in Nigeria are responsible for its inclusion in the list of the major growth areas in the country. As disclosed by Green and Malone, Abiodun's estimation shows that the population of Warri has grown from 55,254 persons in 1963 to about 100,000 in 1971 and that it has a suburban fringe population of approximately 30,000 people.¹⁴

In recent years, especially since the creation of the States in 1967, most of the former Provincial Capitals that now serve as State Capitals have started growing at a faster rate than was the case previously. Yet, before that period, the provincial capitals

¹³Leslie Green and Vincent Milone, op. cit., p.14.

¹⁴Ibid, p.17.

were noted to enjoy more rapid growth than the other small towns. For example, Maiduguri, the present capital of Bornu State, grew from 56,740 to 139,965 persons by 1963 at a rate of 8.6 per cent per annum; Sokoto, the capital of Sokoto State, rose from 51,986 to 89,817 persons at a rate of 5.1 per cent per annum; Calabar, the capital of Cross River State, by 4.5 per cent per annum and Akure, the capital of Ondo State, by 5.6 per cent per annum.

On reverting attention to the main urbanization trend, there are a number of reasons why over-concentration of population and economic activity have taken place in the four core areas disclosed in this study. Firstly, those urban centres, with the exception of Benin which is an administrative headquarters, were favoured by their location on rail lines or on rivers or coastal ports. Secondly, the infrastructural development in these urban centres provide greater attraction to new industries as against locating in other cities where such facilities are lacking. Any new industrial plant that moves into these centres does not have to face the problems of installing its own water pipes, establishing its own power supply, building houses, providing recreational facilities, schools and health facilities to attract its labour. Thirdly, apart from the external economies already accumulated in those core areas based on the railway network dating from colonial times, the Government's implementation of import-substitution style

industrial policies since the attainment of independence have enormously engendered more concentration of economic activities in those core areas and not least at the ports.

It is suffice to assert that as long as the Nigerian Government retains industrialization policies that are based on the concept of import substitution, and which greatly favour those cities on the existing transportation lines, the pattern of urbanization which emerged since 1963 will persist. Presently, at the apex of the hierarchy, stands the primate city of Lagos¹⁵ which has a population twice as large as the second largest city in Nigeria. Second in the hierarchy are the core areas of Northern, Eastern, Midwestern and Western Nigeria. Third, are some of the State Capitals that are not within these core areas and which have been expanding at approximately twice the national rate of growth.

The Implications and Consequences of Such Urbanization Trends

It must be noted that in-migration is the principal factor that contributes to the rapid population increase in Nigerian cities, especially those belonging to the core areas.

¹⁵Refer to Gerald Breese, *op. cit.*, p.48, for a more detailed discussion on the characteristics of a primate city. It must be pointed out that Lagos has all the characteristics mentioned for a primate city.

What is not so obvious, however, is the extent at which natural increase contributes towards urban population. However, explicit support for the contention that migration is the main contributor to the population of the Nigerian cities is provided by Ajaegbu,¹⁶ who cited some empirical studies which found that the fertility rates in the Nigerian urban areas were lower than those in the rural communities. Similarly, Green's¹⁷ study in postulating that the population of those cities in the core areas increased at a rate not less than three times the national rate of growth shows that through natural increase alone their population would not have grown as it did during the period 1952 to 1963.

At this juncture, it must be emphasized that the influx of migrants to these nodal areas is a result of the polarization of diverse occupations in them, such as in the commerce, industry and civil service sectors. These migrants move to cities with the intention of securing employment and also believe that core areas would provide them with a wide range of choice and opportunities which the smaller towns and the rural areas cannot provide.

¹⁶ Ajaegbu, H.I., op. cit., p.35.

¹⁷ Leslie Green, "Migration, Urbanization and National Development in Samin Amin, (ed), Modern Migration in Western Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, p.289.

The convergence on these cities of large streams of migrants from the other parts of the country has serious implications not only on those cities but also on the areas that the migrants abandon. First, of course, is the fact that as urban populations grow so does the pressure on their resources and infrastructure. Secondly though, and seemingly of much greater consequence, is the fact that as urban centres continue to expand they eventually reach a point at which diseconomies of scale begin with respect to the cost of providing services to their inhabitants. The negative impact of these phenomena as being experienced in the Nigerian urban centres is the rapid deterioration of the existing urban services due to a lack of financial resources to provide for the increased demand for those services.

A high concentration of people in the major Nigerian cities has led to excessive demands on services thereby resulting in such things as constant power failure due to overloading, a shortage of public transportation and an intermittent supply of pipe-borne water. Apart from the effects which the growth of these cities have on the aforementioned urban services, it also has other deleterious consequences. For example, the increased number of people in these cities has escalated the already existing housing accommodation problem in them.

It must be recognized that the housing problem in these major cities is manifest in many forms. Generally, the increased demand on housing accommodation has engendered an astronomical increase in rent. Secondly, in most of those cities a shortage of housing has encouraged the use of dilapidated buildings and equally encouraged overcrowding in the existing housing. Table VII, which is an extract from the Nigerian Third National Development Plan, 1975 - 1980, summarizes the results of a recent survey of urban housing conditions by the Federal Office of Statistics. It helps to illustrate in a quantitative way the deficiencies of residential accommodation in some of the major towns and cities in Nigeria.

As an indication of the seriousness of overcrowding it can be seen that in 1970-71 about 72.5 per cent of households in Lagos were one room housing units while the average number of persons per room was 3.8. For Kano, which is one of the major cities in the core area of Northern Region, the corresponding magnitudes were 69.1 per cent and 2.4. As a further indication of the low quality of a large proportion of existing dwelling units about 30.7 per cent of households in Ilorin were served by tap water while only 10.3 per cent had water system toilet. Conditions were even worse in Benin where the corresponding percentages were only 24.9 and

TABLE VII

Housing Conditions in Selected Nigerian Towns

	% of Households Occupying One Room	Average No. of Persons Per Room	% of Houses with Tap Water	% of Houses with Flush Toilet	% of Houses with Electricity
Lagos	72.5	3.8	71.7	43.5	93.2
Port Harcourt	51.5	2.4	75.0	18.6	81.4
Benin	48.0	2.2	24.9	4.0	59.3
Warri	59.9	2.6	62.4	10.9	89.7
Kaduna	63.9	2.1	40.3	14.1	53.3
Kano	69.1	2.4	26.1	1.8	69.1
Ilorin	23.9	1.6	30.7	10.3	28.4
Ibadan	47.3	2.1	33.4	25.2	56.1

Source: Nigeria's Third National Development Plan 1975-80, Vol. 1, p.307.
 Published by: The Central Planning Office, Federal Ministry of Economic Development,
 Lagos, 1975.

and 4.0 respectively.¹⁸

The other problems that could be attributed to the massive population agglomeration in major Nigerian cities are high costs of land, discordant land uses and traffic congestion, especially in Lagos where chaotic traffic conditions have become endemic. However, it must be pointed out that in terms of employment the demographic growth of these urban areas has not been matched by a corresponding growth of employment opportunities. High unemployment varying from 10 to 20 percent occurs in these cities despite the fact that opportunities are also greater in them than in both the smaller towns and the rural areas. This point brings us back to the issue of over-urbanization, and at this juncture, it will be argued that Nigerian cities unable to provide employment opportunities for their inhabitants are obviously over-urbanized.

Mabogunje, in his study, disclosed that the Labour Force Sample Survey of 1966-67 indicated an urban unemployment rate of 8.9 per cent while the rural rate was 0.5 per cent and the national average was 1.7 per cent.¹⁹ Falae

¹⁸ Nigeria's Third National Development Plan, 1975-80, Vol. 1, The Central Planning Office, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos, 1975, p.307.

¹⁹ ⁴ Mabogunje, Akin L., Cities and Social Order, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1974, p.29.

emphasized that a further disaggregation would reveal even greater differentials in the rate of unemployment among the various cities where the range was from under 10 per cent to over 20 per cent.²⁰ However, Mabogunje's study further stresses that the above-mentioned survey result indicated that 88.0 per cent of unemployed persons in the Nigerian cities were in the age class of 15-29 years and that over 70 per cent have had no previous work experience.²¹ This indicates that substantial numbers of the unemployed persons in the Nigerian cities were largely young school leavers who must have migrated in search of employment.

It must be emphasized that the unemployment phenomenon in these cities also has serious implications for the urban residents. First, of course, is the fact that it raises the dependency load of urban residents, a burden which is already very serious as a result of the existing high birth rate and the large average family size. Secondly, this burden is even more serious due to the fact that the concentration of so many people in urban areas means greater demand and consequent rise in prices of foodstuffs. Thirdly,

²⁰ Falae, O., "Unemployment in Nigeria" in The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, Vol. 13, No. 1, March, 1971, p.65

²¹ Mabogunje, Akin L., op. cit., p.30

the fact that the unemployed migrants participate in the consumption of most of the urban services which they hardly pay for means that the cost of providing those services are paid by the gainfully-employed residents alone. Fourthly, a majority of the unemployed who are unfortunate enough not to receive assistance from any of the residents, out of frustration, often turn to crime and other allied vices like delinquency, alcoholism, gambling and prostitution.

It has become clear to most observers that of all the urban centres in Nigeria, Lagos is where these problems are most explosive and require immediate government intervention to save the city. Magogunje, in a lecture delivered at the University of Ibadan, indicated the defects of the Nigerian urban system by citing an editorial captioned "Saturation Point" which appeared in one of Nigeria's major newspapers, the "New Nigerian" of May 13, 1972. According to him, the paper calls attention to the seriousness of the situation in the following words:

"Lagos cannot go on like this. The accommodation problem is desperate. There is no dichotomy between commercial offices and residential area....The industrial growth strains the water supply system to desperate limits. Traffic in the city is synonymous with chaos. The sum total of the vast and growing population concentration is that the situation has reached a stage that it is exercising the Lagos State Government beyond its capacities. However, this problem need not be thought of as peculiar only to Lagos. In 20 or 30 years it might be the turn of the present State capitals. The planners and decision-makers should now and in

future avoid putting all their industrial and development eggs in a few urban baskets."²²

As mentioned earlier, the influx of migrants to these urban areas also has serious implications to the areas they moved from. At the outset it is important to recognize that in Nigeria most of the migrants move from the rural communities where agriculture is the major employer of the rural labour force. The fact that agriculture, which was once the main contributor to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product, is losing its labour force when it was not mechanized shows that the consequence of such phenomenon is more serious than was thought by many people. Yesufu has disclosed that agriculture which accounted for 53.8 per cent of the GDP in 1966-67 dropped to 41.8 per cent in 1971-72 period.²³

Apart from the effect on agricultural production, out-migration obviously has other consequences for the rural communities. Among the diverse consequences of rural-to-urban migration must be included the possible impacts on rural demography. Explicit support for this position is

²² Ibid, p.31

²³ Yesufu, T.M., "Employment, Manpower and Economic Development in Nigeria: Some Issues of Moment", The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1974, p.49.

provided by some empirical studies on Nigeria. These studies did emphasize that it has always been the young men and women who left the village to seek employment and the freer life of the cities thus leaving the old folks, women and children behind to carry on with the traditional life of the village. Among the authors of these studies is Leslie Green, who pointed out that in the Southern districts of Abeokuta and Ijebu provinces, and in Colony province, the average age of the rural population has risen and aggregate numbers have become stationary and even declined, in spite of a normally high rate of natural increase.²⁴

One final impact of out-migration is its negative effect on rural development. Green also pointed out that rural-to-urban migration did precipitate rapid environmental deterioration in some parts of Nigeria due to a lack of adequate maintenance. He emphasized that some districts in Western Nigeria are marked by derelict oil mills, empty houses, broken bridges and deteriorating roads.²⁵

²⁴ For more discussion on the rural demographic impact of rural-to-urban migration in Nigeria see Olusanya, P.O., Socio-Economic Aspects of Rural-Urban Migration in Western Nigeria, Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Ibadan, June 1969, Leslie Green, op. cit., p.294.

²⁵ Ibid, p.294.

As a conclusion, if we are to consider the Nigerian urbanization trend within the context of our findings in the preceding chapter, it becomes rather apparent that Nigeria exhibits those characteristics that were said to be common with the Third World countries urbanization trend.

The similarities between the Nigerian urbanization trend and that of the other Third World countries can be summarized in the following points:

1. That Lagos, the administrative capital of Nigeria, typifies the contrasts which characterize most primate cities in the other Third World countries;
2. The high degree of polarization of economic activity in the core area (areas - as in the Nigerian case) has negative impact on the growth of both the small cities and the rural communities;
3. In Nigeria, as well as in the other Third World countries, the core areas are noted to be parasitical in their relations with peripheral regions due to the fact that their growth is highly dependent upon the resources

extracted from both the rural areas and the smaller cities (i.e. labour force, raw materials, etc.);

4. The flow of migrants from the peripheral regions (small cities and rural communities) to the core areas deprives them of the effective labour forces needed to maintain their economic viability;
5. In Nigeria, as well as in the other developing nations, the concentration of economic activity and population in the core areas was found to have generated a growing volume of negative externalities which affects not only the urban inhabitants but equally has serious ramifications on both the political and economic stability of these nations;
6. The more serious of these externalities are the degradation of the physical environment of the core areas, high cost of providing urban services, land speculation and misuse and unemployment.

Given the well known imbalance in spatial development in Nigeria, as well as in the other Third World countries, it needs stressing that policy measures designed to solve this problem must not be directed to the cities alone but must relate urban to regional development and view the core and periphery as constituting a single spatial system. Therefore, what is required in each of these countries, as indeed in the Nigerian case in point, is the formulation

of coherent strategies of development in which positive, controlled, generative urbanization is fully integrated with progressive rural development.

CHAPTER IV

PLANNING RESPONSES TO SPONTANEOUS URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN THE THIRD WORLD

As indicated in the previous chapters, the rapid growth of Nigerian cities as well as that of the other Third World countries results from processes of spatial imbalance in development. A common trend in most of the Third World countries, if not all, is the excessive concentration of both population and economic development in their primate cities, with the small cities and especially their rural communities relatively denied of such opportunities. For this reason, it could be argued that it is imperative that the policy actions designed to limit or slow down the growth of the Third World primate cities, and to regulate the pace of urbanization that is noted to be exceptionally phenomenal in these countries, must include those programs that would help in improving the conditions of life in their rural communities where the majority of their population still resides.

An explicit support for this proposition comes from a United Nations' publication which summarized very succinctly the implication of any policy action that specifically aims at the improvement of conditions in the urban areas as a

solution to the problems of rapid urbanization. It states that:

An 'urbanization policy' limited to raising of urban levels of living and the provision of social services for the urban masses would be self-defeating. Such a policy would increase the already excessive disparity in favour of the cities in government expenditures, social services, and income level; a disparity that is not only unjust to the rural population but also a stimulant to the more unhealthy aspects of city growth resulting from the in-migration of psychologically and vocationally ill-adapted rural people.¹

The recognition of the implications of spatial imbalance in development has compelled some of the Third World countries to initiate policies and programs that would aid in the restructuring of the spatial systems which were inherited from their former colonial regimes. Therefore, this chapter intends to examine the various development-planning strategies adopted by some of these countries. Both their rural development policies and programs and those exclusively designed as urban development strategies will be discussed. Furthermore, attempts will be made to indicate the efficacy of these policy actions with regards to the goal of promoting the restructuring of national space-economies.

¹"Some Policy Implications of Urbanization", The Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations, in Philip M. Hauser, (ed), Urbanization in Latin America, New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, p.295.

Rural Development Strategies

At the outset, it can be argued that a rural development dimension must be considered as an important part of any urban growth strategies aimed at the formulation of a more coherent and balanced urban system for Third World societies. Of course, the rationale here is that given that the vast majority of LDCs populations still reside in the rural areas, those programs that would encourage them to remain in the villages instead of moving to the big cities are essential. It is important to emphasize that without pursuing this type of strategy, the drift of the rural population into the big cities (in most cases the primate cities) can not be mitigated, let alone halted.

Waterston, a strong advocate of integrated rural development programs as the most rational means of improving the living conditions of the rural inhabitants in the Third World countries has suggested six program elements that are necessary for viable rural development in those countries:²

²Albert Waterston, "A Viable Model for Rural Development" in Finance and Development, Vol. II, No. 4, Dec. 1974, pgs.23-25.

1. Labour-intensive agricultural development;
2. Employment generating, minor development public works programs with high labor content;
3. Small scale, labor-using, light industries with low capital requirements to supplement employment opportunities in agriculture;
4. Local self-help and participation in decision-making;
5. Development of an urban hierarchy supporting rural development; and
6. Establishment of an appropriate institutional body that would co-ordinate the activities of the various ministries, departments and agencies that are responsible for the multiferous rural development programs.

The above stipulated rural development program elements vividly show that rural development strategies are not only concerned with the development of agriculture, but should be viewed as a multisectoral activity which includes, besides agricultural development, the establishment or improvement of social overhead facilities or infrastructure and welfare services or programs.

However, evidence as provided by Waterston's study, emphasizes that in order to accomplish the objectives of integrated rural development strategies, it is imperative that high priority is given to agricultural development so as to generate surplus funds in order to establish, operate

and maintain overhead facilities and services in rural communities.³ This is particularly true in the case of the Third World countries whose governments lack the resources to finance the establishment, operation, and maintenance of rural infrastructure and services indefinitely. Waterston observed that:

Governments in many Third World countries have devoted considerable sums to social overhead facilities in rural areas, at the expense of allocations to improve agricultural production, and have been left with schools without teachers, clinics without doctors, and chronic unemployment on their hands. In contrast, countries which have given priority to production have been able to generate the resources required to finance social overhead facilities.⁴

Conversely, an increase in agricultural production cannot be achieved without the necessary infrastructural developments that would contribute to it. This has been the principal reason why the World Bank and other donor agencies have concentrated on the provision of the aid that would enable the Third World countries not only to improve their agricultural output and incomes (through the introduction of new seed varieties and improved agricultural techniques) but also to provide the necessary infrastructural developments and services that would support and sustain agricultural production.

³Ibid, p.23

⁴Ibid, p.23

However, it must be stressed that the basic objective of integrated rural development programs is to improve the "quality of life" in the rural communities (by reducing the gap in living standards between the big cities and the rural communities). It is generally believed that the creation of employment and the provision of essential infrastructural developments in the rural communities would help in slowing down the movement of the rural inhabitants to the big cities. Indeed, this factor is highly responsible for the recognition accorded to rural development programs by most of the Third World countries, especially those that have problems coping with the growth of their primate cities.

Gerhart, in his survey report to Ford Foundation, has indicated that most of the developing nations, especially those in Africa, are increasingly focusing on rural development as a major key to dealing with urban unemployment. He also emphasized that their interest in rural development stems from two principal sources: a belief that the majority of their population living in the rural areas deserves a greater share of national development; and a realization that jobs in the industrial sector are increasing more slowly than the G.D.P., the population, or the number of school leavers.⁵

⁵John Gerhart, "Rural Development and Urban Growth" in Urbanization in Kenya, Laurenti, Luigi and Gerhart, John, Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.: 1972, p.5.

Findley, in her study, listed seven main programs that have been implemented as part of rural development strategies in some of the Third World countries. These are:⁶

1. Supported land reform;
2. Supervised credit for small farmers;
3. Locally adapted agricultural inputs and extension;
4. Labor intensive agricultural innovation;
5. Complementary and co-ordinated provision of social and physical infrastructure;
6. Development of non-agricultural job opportunities; and
7. Supportive national level policies.

It must be emphasized that authors like Weitz and many others who have carried out quite extensive studies on rural development in the Third World have expressed the opinion that land reform is certainly a precondition for any rural development, especially in those countries where large proportion of agricultural land is controlled by a few land owners.⁷ It must be noted at this point that the concept of

⁶Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.160.

⁷A good example of studies that expressed this point of view are, ²Raanan Weitz, From Peasant to Farmer: A Revolutionary Strategy for Development, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971; Erich H. Jacoby, "Agrarian Reform: Planning, Implementation and Evaluation" in Rural Development in a Changing World, (ed), ³Raanan Weitz, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971, pgs. 268-282.

land reform refers not only to the division of large areas of land into smaller units but also to the consolidation of land, that is, to the reparation of existing holdings where these consist of a large number of tiny plots, split up and widely dispersed.⁸ However, land reform as it is used here, means the transferring of land ownership directly or indirectly to those who actually work the land.

Evidence, as provided by Weitz, has shown that prior to land reform in some of the Third World countries, especially in the Middle East and Latin American countries, large proportion of those nations' agricultural land was controlled by a few landowners. For example, in Egypt 0.1 per cent of the landowners held 20 per cent of the total area under cultivation in units of more than 200 feddan (0.42 hectares to feddan), whereas 53 per cent of the landowners held units of less than half a feddan, amounting in all to only 7 per cent of the total area under cultivation. Also, prior to land reform in Iraq, 2 per cent of the landowners held 60 per cent of that country's agricultural land.⁹ Similar conditions prevailed in Mexico before 1910 when 97 per cent of the total agricultural population were tenants or hired workers with no land of their own while

⁸ Ibid, p.10

⁹ ² Raanan Weitz, op. cit., p.153.

97 per cent of the nation's land resources, approximately 200 million hectares, were concentrated in the hands of a mere 1 per cent of the population.¹⁰

However, it must be pointed out that although the land reform scheme makes it possible for the landless farmers to achieve the status of land owners, it is not enough in itself to materialize agricultural progress except when accompanied with other complementary programs such as agricultural credit, the provision of marketing facilities, or any other important institutional features relevant to land reform.¹¹ Several Third World countries have adopted the so-called "supervised credit" for agricultural production with the aim of aiding the small farmers. Under this type of program, both loans (in the form of crops and finance) and technical assistance in adopting new farm techniques are provided to the farming masses. Also, the supervised credit program confronts the problem of input availability and product markets and

¹⁰ Ibid, p.156

¹¹ For example, it should be noted that the lack of adequate provision of these essential facilities as mentioned here and other rural infrastructural developments that are essential for the revitalization of rural communities have contributed to the limited success of Mexico's land reform scheme. For a more detailed discussion on the extent to which Mexico's land reform has contributed to the improvement of agricultural production and the revitalization of the rural areas, see ²Raanan Weitz, op. cit., pgs. 156-159.

insures that the loan is to be used for the intended purpose and that the resulting production is to be sold.¹²

Perhaps more important than just the introduction of improved seeds and the adoption of new farm techniques is how to convince the bulk of illiterate farmers in the developing nations to accept those changes which they consider to be exotic. In fact, it is this issue that makes it essential for the establishment of agricultural research stations in the rural communities in the developing nations. However, it is interesting to note that a number of countries in the Third World have established such institutions which focus their research both on new seed varieties and on improvements to the local strains. According to Findley, the findings of these research stations are locally adapted by the agents or model farmers so as to induce the other farmers to accept such innovations. She also revealed that countries like Mexico, Bolivia, Kenya, Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria and Sri Lanka have implemented improved seed development programs specifically on the model discussed above.¹³

One of the primary aims of establishing rural development programs in most of the developing nations, as

¹²Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.163.

¹³Ibid, p.164.

mentioned earlier, is to create employment in the rural communities especially in agriculture and other agro-allied businesses so as to reduce the number of the potential migrants to the big cities. Thus, it needs to be stressed that in order to be able to employ a sizeable proportion of the Third World rural population in the agro-businesses, the use of "less capital-intensive" and more "labor-intensive techniques" must be encouraged. Some Third World countries, notably Philippines, India and Taiwan, have emphasized "labor-intensive techniques" as integral parts of their rural development programs. For example, in these countries instead of their governments subsidizing the use of tractors and other labor-saving tools, they prefer to train the farmers on how to utilize more "labor-intensive techniques" to increase their production.¹⁴

Equally justifiable in the author's view, are two other major approaches to generating non-agricultural employment, namely through utilizing public works programs and decentralization of small scale, labor-using industries. The rationale for the establishment of public works programs in these countries are twofold; firstly, to create employment for the seasonally unemployed rural laborers since agricul-

¹⁴Ibid, p.165.

ture cannot provide year-round full employment and also to provide full-time employment for some of the surplus labor not engaged in agriculture; secondly, to stimulate some self-help programs which would enable the local communities to contribute to their own development.

The experience in India, Pakistan and China illustrates the importance of adopting employment-generating public works programs as part of a comprehensive program of rural development. Waterston pointed out that by using local labor to create some of the infrastructure needed in rural communities, the handicap of underemployment of the labor force in these countries was converted into an advantage. He emphasized that in the People's Republic of China, peasants have constructed irrigation, flood control, terracing and other works and have reforested local areas. Similarly, in Pakistan the rural populations were used in the Rural Public Work's Programs to construct roads, bridges, embankments and other works. He also stressed that in India, small capital formation projects have provided work and supplemented incomes to small cultivators and landless agricultural workers.¹⁵

¹⁵Albert Waterston, op. cit., p.23.

On the other hand, through the decentralization of small scale, labor-using industries, some of the developing nations have been able to create permanent jobs in their rural areas. Weitz has pointed out that the establishment of such enterprises in the rural areas has several advantages. He stressed that:

It reduces population movement to the big cities, enabling those villagers who have acquired a certain amount of training outside the field of agriculture to find employment in their home areas. This is of twofold importance: it helps to preserve the stability of rural society during the process of development and at the same time it forestalls the need for fresh investment in housing and expansion of services within the large urban centers. Furthermore, the presence of industrial workers within the rural area creates a local market for agricultural produce, especially perishables that cannot be transported great distances in the absence of the infrastructure needed for this purpose. As such products normally offer a high return per workday, the existence of a local market is likely to encourage the farmer to cultivate them for the market and thus to raise the level of his income.¹⁶

Furthermore, he argued that such small scale, labor-using, light industries do not require workers with a high degree of professional capability and can utilize with great efficiency the unskilled manpower available in the developing countries. He also emphasized that it is easier to mobilize local capital for a large number of small industries than for a small number of large industries.¹⁷

¹⁶ ² Raanan Weitz, op. cit., p.131.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.130.

Experience has shown that where such programs exist,¹⁸ that the type of industries established at the earlier stage of the program are mostly services and those connected with agriculture such as feed-mix plants and factories for the processing of agricultural produce and for the production of tools and various accessories.

The second stage of such programs aims directly on the diversification of industries in such communities to include activities not related to agriculture, with the intention of creating new employment opportunities, particularly for the rural residents with considerable skill and higher education who would otherwise have left the rural areas and moved to the big cities. According to Findley, some of the developing nations encourage the establishment of such industries by providing assistance for feasibility studies to those investors willing to undertake such ventures. She also stressed that they provide other incentives which includes: the construction of infrastructure and industrial estates; tax incentives; special training programs for local entrepreneurs; low-interest loans for the establishment of small scale firms; research on small scale labor-intensive technology; and also the provision of

¹⁸For example, in Puerto Rico, Israel and Malaysia.

assistance in developing domestic and export markets (especially the latter).¹⁹

It is clear to most observers that the decentralization of small scale, labor intensive, light industries would function very effectively where it is spatially coordinated with complementary social and physical infrastructure. What is more important, however, is the provision to the rural communities of those essential infrastructural developments such as water supplies, electricity, housing, roads, hospitals, schools and other facilities that are presently concentrated in the big cities. However, some of the developing nations are now providing some of these facilities through self-help measures. For example, Zambia has pioneered a "self-help housing project" that is being followed in other African countries such as Botswana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Sudan and Tanzania.²⁰

As stated elsewhere in this study, the inappropriateness of education for rural lifestyles is one of the prime factors that encourage outmigration among school leavers. In order to rectify such a situation some of the Third World

¹⁹ Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.179.

²⁰ Roger Mann, "Solving the Housing Problem", in Africa Report, Vol. 23, No. 3, May-June 1978, p.18.

countries have revised their educational curriculums so as to emphasize ~~more on~~ rural development problems and programs. Included in such programs are agricultural and vocational training, adult education and special leadership training programs.

The leadership training program is considered very crucial in rural development for two reasons. Firstly, it provides the rural inhabitants with the opportunity of participating in the planning and implementation of those programs that would influence their life. Secondly, it serves as a means of providing employment for the better educated ruralites who can identify the problems confronting the rural communities more easily than a bureaucrat (a professional planner or community worker), who most likely is a city dweller employed to work in such communities. Programs of this nature have been implemented in countries such as Tanzania, Thailand, Malaysia and Bolivia.²¹

In addition to those programs already discussed in this section, there are several other government policies that are of crucial importance which are capable of supporting efficient implementation of rural development programs.

²¹See, Owen Edgar and Robert Shaw, Development Reconsidered: Bridging the Gap Between Government and People, Lexington Books, D.C. Heath, 1972, pgs. 22-28, for a more detailed discussion on the theory behind leadership training.

These include price supports or controls, taxation, greater return of revenues to rural areas and lower urban minimum wage levels.²²

It should be noted here that several countries in the Third World have implemented such policies as mentioned above. For example, the Ceylonese (now Sri Lanka) government has specifically supported the small farmers by instituting a "policy of fixed prices" for certain agricultural produce - especially rice, chilies and onions.²³ However, it must be stressed that despite the benefit derived from such a program by the farmers, it negatively affects the urban poor due to the adverse effect it has on food prices.²⁴

As regards taxation, some countries, as mentioned earlier, do offer tax incentives for the adoption of labor-intensive techniques in both agricultural establishments and industries in the rural communities. In conjunction with these forms of tax incentives are other public policy actions, such as those stated in Kenya's Development Plan, 1970-74, which calls for the allocation of increased share

²²Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.180.

²³Raanan Weitz, op. cit., p.99.

²⁴Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.181.

of the country's resources to the rural areas. As a result, most government departments in Kenya have placed increased emphasis on the rural areas including even a series of demonstrations of rural housing projects by the Ministry of Housing.²⁵ The principal object of policy of this nature is to reduce the urban bias in investments which has repeatedly been mentioned in this study as the prime cause for the excessive growth of cities in the Third World countries.

Another policy action designed to bridge the gap between the rural and urban income differential is basing the minimum wage levels on rural rather than on urban costs of living. Countries like Jamaica, Morocco and some of the Francophone West African countries have adopted and effectively implemented such policy and it has been recognized as being very effective in slowing rural-urban migration in those countries.²⁶

In conclusion, it can be said that it is through the adoption and implementation of such programs that Third World countries will be able to revitalize their rural areas in such a way as to have positive impact on the growth of

²⁵John Gerhart, op. cit., p.8.

²⁶Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.183.

their cities. However, the foregoing is by no means a sound basis for concluding that the adoption of integrated rural development program alone would be sufficient as a strategy for controlling the growth of cities. As emphasized earlier, it must be viewed as a crucial part of any urban growth strategy that may be capable of leading any of the Third World countries in establishing a more coherent and balanced spatial system.

Urban Development Strategies

The preceding section has dealt with some of the rural development policies and programs that have been implemented in several Third World countries. The purpose here is to complement that overview by an examination of those programs and policies that have been implemented by some of the developing nations as part of their urban development strategies.

Basically there are two main urban development strategies which have recently been implemented in a number of the Third World countries. (Theoretically, the major elements of these urban development strategies and those of the rural development strategies which were discussed earlier are mutually reinforcing.) They are classified here as "Dispersed Urbanization Strategy" and "Concentrated Decentralization" or "Regional Development Strategy".

Dispersed urbanization strategy combines the integrated rural development approach with an explicit focus on developing rural service centers, market towns or growth points, and small cities.²⁷ This strategy recognizes the importance of concentrating rural infrastructures in a network of central places so as to serve a number of rural communities. The concentration of such services in well-defined centers is considered to be essential for a number of reasons. First, development of rural centers makes it possible for the inhabitants of a number of rural communities to obtain everything they need conveniently in one place. This is important for most of the Third World countries since means of communication are generally sparse. Second, such locations would serve as appropriate sites for the development of agricultural processing and other ancillary industries discussed in the preceding section. The expenditure on roads and other installations at these sites would be worthwhile because they would serve a concentration of facilities all at the same time. Third, contact and co-operation between the various elements of the supporting system would be enhanced as a result of their very proximity. Fourth, these favoured locations would attract the skilled manpower that are necessary for the

²⁷Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.191.

operation of supporting system in the rural communities. Fifth, such locations would serve as alternative destinations for rural migrants instead of them being compelled to move to large cities. In fact, the essence of this strategy is to encourage development away from the core regions and to encourage growth in the lagging regions (the peripheries) and to reduce pressures on the large cities.

It must be stressed, however, that countries which have implemented explicit dispersed urbanization strategies, including Israel and Puerto Rico, have substantially increased employment and the level of personal income in their rural communities. In the case of Puerto Rico it has been possible to prevent the concentration of industries in the core-region centers, such as San Juan and Ponce, and to induce investors to engage in developing dozens of interior market towns.²⁸ However, to encourage investors to invest in such locations the Puerto Rican government had to establish a variable schedule of tax and other inducements. These inducements have been enumerated succinctly by Johnson as follows:

²⁸E. A. J. Johnson, The Organization of Space in Developing Countries, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970, p.215.

Tax exemptions now ranged from ten years in the more developed areas to seventeen years in the most disadvantaged areas. The island was zoned into different tax exemption belts after careful "regional profiles" had been made and the differential tax exemptions were related as closely as possible to profitable entrepreneurial risk. But variable tax exemptions were not the only advantages proffered to industrialists who agreed to establish plants in country towns. The rent on government-owned industrial estates were also graduated with enterprises in the large cities paying almost twice as much rent (95¢ per square foot) as was charged in the least advantageous locations (50¢) To overcome the handicap which rural industries would encounter by reason of the lack of skilled labor, the Puerto Rican Industrial Development Corporation made cash grants to country-located enterprises for use in training workmen and to compensate for the temporary lower productivity of apprentices.²⁹

It must be emphasized that the Puerto Rican experience is exceptionally instructive. It has, at least, demonstrated to many that a nation can transform its spatial system through positive actions on the part of the planners and the policy makers.³⁰

Concentrated decentralization or regional development strategy, on the other hand, aims at stimulating the growth of smaller and intermediate size cities and to

²⁹ Ibid, p.217.

³⁰ For a more detailed discussion on the criteria used for the selection of rural communities that serve as growth points and other information in relation to dispersed urbanization in Puerto Rico see E. A. J. Johnson, op. cit., pgs.212-217.

effectively integrate the urban and rural population into the process of development.³¹ This strategy is founded on three basic assumptions. First, the city is the engine of development. Second, for urban activity and innovation to reach beyond cities there must be links to the hinterland. Third, a hierarchy of cities is required to integrate the entire nation into the development process.³²

As was mentioned elsewhere in this study, migrants move to the primate cities because of the fact that they are the only areas where opportunities are greater, when compared with other smaller cities or with the rural communities. This shows clearly that in order to encourage the migrants to move to smaller and intermediate size cities, these areas must offer better or equivalent employment and comparable lifestyle opportunities as exist in the primate cities. It could be argued that if suitable urban alternatives are available in most of the Third World countries migrants will choose them over the congested primate cities.

Indeed, most of the developing nations are now conscious of the need for balanced development. A situation where some parts (core-regions) of a country experience

³¹Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.203.

³²Ibid, p.202.

rapid economic growth with the other parts (peripheral regions) lagging behind can no longer be tolerated in most of these countries. For example, Kenya has stated in her 1970/74 Development Plan that excessive growth in Nairobi and Mombasa must be avoided and urban decentralization must be promoted.³³ Several other Third World countries also have expressed through their Development Plans the desire for the restructuring of their spatial systems.³⁴

Most of these countries have chosen "concentrated decentralization" or "regional development policy" as a part of the integrated policies which they hoped would assist in their development, both in terms of achieving rapid economic growth and more equitable geographical distribution of their people and resources. The justification for this type of policy action lies in the argument that decentralization will prevent the primate cities from absorbing a disproportionate share of the nation's natural and physical resources and will reduce those "pull factors" which distort "normal" population distribution.

³³Luigi Laurenti and Gerhart John, op. cit., p.12.

³⁴Recent examples of such Development Plans are Tanzania's Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1969-1974), Malaysia's Second Plan (1970-1975) and Trinidad's Third Five Year Plan (1969-1974).

In fact, many Third World countries have adopted regional development strategies based on the growth pole or growth center concept. The term growth center refers to the designation and concentration of growing and influential economic activities in a particular geographic area.³⁵ This concept recognizes that it is extremely difficult to achieve an equal growth rate in all regions due to differentiated and limited resources and thus it emphasizes the importance of channelling growth to a few centres of spatially-concentrated activities within a particular region.

Generally speaking, the aim of such a strategy is to revitalize some existing settlements (in some cases, to encourage the establishment of new towns) and to expand them within their regions as self-contained and self-sustaining units. It is generally believed that such towns would not only help in the diffusion of innovation and spread of economic development into the backward regions but would also serve as "countermagnets" to the primate cities by preventing the massive inflow of both natural and physical resources into them (primate cities).

³⁵ Lloyd Rodwin, Nations and Cities: A Comparison of Strategies for Urban Growth, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970, p.25. Those readers who are interested in reading more on "Growth Poles and Growth Centers Concepts", and their relationship are referred to the works of D. F. Darwent, "Growth Poles and Growth Centers in Regional Planning: A Review", in Environment and Planning, Vol. 1, 1969, pgs. 5-31; and Kulkinski, Anthoni, (ed), Growth Poles and Growth Centers in Regional Planning, Paris: Mouton, 1972.

Evidence as provided in the study by Appalraju and Safier on how growth center strategies have been utilized in spatial planning in the Third World countries indicates that in the past the majority of these countries have applied such strategies in a piecemeal fashion in attempts to encourage development of backward regions. The same study also emphasized that it is only quite recently and in a few countries that a more comprehensive conception of such strategies, embedded in a wider framework of economic and spatial organization, has come to the fore.³⁶

However, diversity of strategy is the order of the day and Appalraju and Safier have identified six different forms which the growth center concept has taken in some Third World countries.³⁷ The first class of growth-center strategies concentrated on the provision of infrastructure to a particular area designated for development. This is similar to what Berry described as "Area Development Planning" which focuses on specific projects or resettlement areas and it is often more rural than urban in its

³⁶Jaya Appalraju and Michael Safier, "Growth Center Strategies in Less Developed Countries" in Alan Gilbert, (ed), Development Planning and Spatial Structure, London: John Wiley and Sons, 1976, p.155.

³⁷Ibid, p.155.

orientation.³⁸ A typical example of such a project is the hydro-electric power source at Jinja in Uganda. It was established with the aim of attracting other investments which would depend on it such as agricultural processing and other types of industry that would satisfy the local needs. And it was believed that in the long run, due to the agglomeration effect and to the external economies generated by the industries and population attracted to the location, it would develop into an urban center.

The second and third classes of growth centers are categorized as industrial and regional centers. However, in policy terms, these classes of growth centers assume a wider perspective than the growth center strategy which was discussed above that focuses on specific projects. According to Appalraju and Safier the intentions of the second and third classes of growth centers are usually more radical. Both of them aim at reshaping the structures of national or regional economies and societies. They also assert that the former class (second) is represented by the development of Tema in Ghana, which serves as both a port and an industrial center; the third type is exemplified by the case of

³⁸Brian F. L. Berry, The Human Consequences of Urbanization: Divergent Paths in The Urban Experience of The Twentieth Century, London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1973, p.104.

Ciudad Guayana which is situated in a remote 'resource-frontier' region of Venezuela; and finally a mixed case represented by Durgapur, Asansol and the related cluster of centers in the Bengal-Bihar heavy industrial region of north-east India.³⁹

According to Appalraju and Safier, these three classes of growth centers have a common emphasis on the direct use of large scale investment resources to generate structural changes. Those authors emphasized that three basic kinds of constraints have limited the effectiveness of such projects in the Third World countries:

- (a) the restrictive size and absorptive capacity of small markets for industrial outputs, coupled with the capital-intensiveness of such projects;
- (b) low employment generating character of much of the industries involved; and
- (c) the heavy reliance on 'external' suppliers and markets has made it impossible for those centers to be able to transmit developmental impulses into their surrounding areas.⁴⁰

³⁹ Alan Gilbert, op. cit., p.156.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.157.

The most explicit support for these authors' findings comes from Kwesi Darkoh's study on Ghana which emphasized that Ghanaian industrialization has been both capital intensive and capital expensive. The same study also pointed out that:

Large sums of money were spent on the provision of technical services and amenities and a complex of infrastructural facilities including the construction of the new port of Tema. Yet no clear and consistent policy of spatial development for the country as a whole had been formulated which could serve as a reference against which one could test locational decisions. While the policy of industrial estates aimed at providing the benefits of external economies to reduce the cost of manufacturing to the foreign investor and thus to attract new industries without having to offer special favours, the planners failed to take note of the fact that the linkages were largely overseas oriented. There never went hand in hand with this policy a concerted effort to promote what I shall call Ghanaian rural-urban linkages. . . . This neglect to consider very carefully the spatial dimension of investment seriously limited the contribution which otherwise could have been derived from such type of investment and development program.⁴¹

The fourth and fifth classes of growth centers are rural and service centers. The fourth type is represented by the development of 'agrovilles' in Pakistan, the fifth by the establishment of 'new towns' in the Kelantan and

⁴¹Michael B. Kwesi Darkoh, "Toward a Planned Industrial Relocation Pattern in Ghana", in Robert A. Obudho, (ed), The Application of Urbanization Theories in City and Regional Planning in Africa, New Brunswick, New Jersey: 1972, p.183.

Trengganu provinces of West Malaysia and a mixture of the two by the designated central places for 'intensive (rural) development zones' in Zambia or the 'rural growth centers' of local government (block) areas in selected Indian states.⁴² The basic idea behind the establishment of such centers is to transform the structure of production and settlements on a more widely spread basis than could be achieved by adopting any of the previously discussed growth center strategies. The rural and service centers provide a whole range of 'central-place' functions to the surrounding rural communities. They also provide job opportunities not only to their inhabitants but also to the rural inhabitants who would continue to live in the villages without being engaged in agriculture but come to such centers to work in services or processing industries.

The sixth class of growth center has emerged in the form of the metropolitan growth center. This could equally be referred to as 'satellite towns', often built on the periphery of major urban centers either as bedroom communities, industrial complexes, or as combined industrial, commercial and residential complexes.⁴³ The 'twin-city'

⁴² Alan Gilbert, op. cit., p.157.

⁴³ Brian F. L. Berry, op. cit., p.103.

plan for the Bombay metropolitan area in India is a typical example of the case where such a strategy has been implemented.

It is quite evident from the foregoing that growth-center policies have appeared in many forms in quite a number of Third World countries. However, it must be pointed out that it was only quite recently that a few of the developing nations have started to implement a growth center strategy which is based on the idea of multiplication of centers and complete reorganization of their space-economy. The most classic examples of such countries are Colombia,⁴⁴ Mexico,⁴⁵ Tanzania, Iran and Kenya.⁴⁶

It should be noted, however, that three of the above mentioned countries (Tanzania, Kenya and Iran) have national development plans which have in common the following strategic components:

1. The designation of a 'system' of centers relating to the country as a whole;

⁴⁴Ibid, p.103

⁴⁵Harry W. Richardson and Margaret Richardson, "The Relevance of Growth Center Strategies to Latin America", Economic Geography, Vol. 51, 1975, p.174.

⁴⁶Alan Gilbert, op. cit., p.159.

2. The direct relation of that system to the overall national development strategy;
3. The recognition of a commitment to the designated system of centers lasting beyond a single plan period (of normally five years);
4. The forecast and/or specification of future (population) sizes for the individual centers and the allocation of investment funds for their further development;
5. The concept of the system of centers having a multi-sectoral or multifunctional concentration of productive activities and supporting facilities and services;
6. The placing of the system of centers in the context of national urban policies relating both to primate centers and to other levels of spatial organization;
7. The direct association of growth centers with primary levels of decentralized decision-making and resource allocation in carrying out the national plan.⁴⁷

In light of this, then, it must be emphasized that despite the known similarities among these countries' growth center strategies, each has tried to develop different types of systems: Kenya's system was based on the development of a hierarchy of service centers; that of Tanzania

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.159.

was focussed on the establishment of regional centers; while Iran's case was specifically based on the development of industrial centers. In the case of Colombia, the key element in her strategy is to foster the development of intermediate size cities that would serve as countermagnets to the major population centers. On the other hand, Mexico's strategy was designed with the aim of establishing a number of growth centers that would attract large scale state and private industrial enterprise away from the large cities and also to establish linkages between the large cities and the new growth centers in the hinterland.⁴⁸

Apart from the above discussed strategies that aim specifically at the transformation of spatial system, countries like Thailand, Malaysia, Turkey, Philippines and several Latin American nations⁴⁹ have equally embarked on the decentralization of some of their government institutions with the aim that such would enhance planning, co-ordination and implementation of policies between and within each of their administrative regions.

In conclusion then, the above review has revealed the substance of the principal planning strategies that have been implemented in some of the Third World countries in

⁴⁸Harry W. Richardson and Margaret Richardson, op. cit., p.174.

⁴⁹Sally E. Findley, op. cit., p.220.

their attempts to achieve greater balance in developments throughout their spatial systems. Both the rural and urban development strategies as discussed in this study aim at redressing the spatial imbalance in development that characterize the developing nations (as indeed, the developed countries as well). And, it is contended that for any of these countries to achieve equitable development through the reorganization of its space-economy, both rural and urban strategies must be implemented simultaneously. In other words, the co-ordination and integration essential for effective spatial planning must ensure that urban and rural development strategies in any of these countries are part and parcel of that country's overall development strategy.

CHAPTER V

COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL PLANNING IN NIGERIA

As was emphasized in the preceding chapter, neither rural development nor urban development strategies when implemented alone would be sufficient to aid any Third World country in the restructuring of its space-economy. Hence it has been argued that each sector must be instituted to complement the other. Therefore, the primary objective of this chapter is to review in some detail both the rural and urban development policy actions that have been implemented and those that are in process of being implemented in Nigeria in the effort to restructure the country's space-economy with its implications for controlling the rapid rate of urbanization which the country experiences.

It must be noted at this point that this chapter is divided into three parts. The first will review the existing and proposed policy actions that relate to rural and urban development in Nigeria and also appraise the effectiveness of those policy actions as instruments that would be capable of aiding in a complete reorganization of the nation's space-economy; the second deals with the summary and conclusion of this study; while the third outlines a set of

recommendations which if implemented will enhance the attainment of a more balanced spatial system in Nigeria and also aid in controlling the rapid rate of urbanization in the country.

Review of Regional Planning

Strategies in Nigeria

One of the pressing problems now confronting Nigeria as revealed in Chapter III of this study is the disparities in the levels of development between different geographical areas of the country (i.e. between the major core-areas and both the smaller cities and the rural communities). This phenomenon, as was emphasized in the same chapter, has a double-headed implication for spatial development in the country. First, of course, is the fact that it encourages or induces the transfer of human, economic and natural resources from both the smaller cities and the rural areas to the core (the well developed) regions, thereby increasing the gap in the levels of development between the various regions. Secondly, is the fact that as these cities grow, so does the pressure on their resources and the infrastructural development in them. As mentioned above, the intention here is to examine those policy actions which the Nigerian government has implemented and those which it intends to implement in an effort to redress the existing imbalance in spatial development in the country and also to control the rapid rate of

urbanization which the country experiences.

It should be emphasized at this point that as of the present, Nigeria has not come up with any comprehensive planning program designed specifically to restructure the entire country's space-economy or any specific program which aims at controlling the rapid rate of urbanization in that country. Admittedly, though, a myriad of programs and policies have emerged in Nigeria whose objectives are narrowly defined without relating to a wider national planning objectives.

This, of course, is not to postulate that the policy-makers in Nigeria are entirely insensitive to the problems engendered by the imbalance in spatial development in that country. As a matter of fact, recognition of the problem is supported by the Nigerian Second Development Plan (1970-74) which stated very clearly that:

An important element of social justice for national integration is the worthy objective of balanced development as between different geographical areas of the country. The existing disparities must be pursued openly although this can not be accomplished at the cost of stagnation in areas which are presumed to be relatively more developed....The objective is to move rapidly to the achievement of a minimum economic and social standard for every part of the country.¹

¹Federal Republic of Nigeria, Second National Development Plan 1970-74, Lagos, 1970, p.34.

However, it must be noted that Mabogunje in his report to the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development has emphasized that in spite of laudable protestation by the federal government in support of expanding regional equity one finds very little in the various instruments designed to bring this about.² In any case, the lack of an articulated national strategy or policy on regional development and urbanization in Nigeria can be pinpointed to the following two principal reasons.

Firstly, much emphasis has been placed on sectoral and project-oriented planning approaches to national development planning in Nigeria. On the one hand, the sectoral approach, as was pointed out by Onyemelukwe, has proved to be a less rewarding development strategy in that country. He also indicated that:

The sectoral approach to national development planning is inadequate because it is often pre-occupied with economic growth measurable in GDP terms. Such an economic approach to national development tends to be solely concerned with the direction or control of the economic variables necessary for meeting national growth objectives by applying the principles of economic efficiency. Economists who have led the way in our national development planning have for a long time hoped that the answer to regional inequalities lay in the equalization mechanism embodied in the so-called spatial equilibrium model.³

²Akin L. Mabogunje, Growth Poles and Growth Centers in the Regional Development of Nigeria, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, No. 71.3, Geneva, 1971, p.62.

³J. O. C. Onyemelukwe, A Case for Regional Policies in National Development, a paper presented at the National Workshop on Planning Strategy for the 1980's at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 1978, p.5.

The project-oriented planning approach, on the other hand, involves the planning of a specific project (e.g. a master plan for sewage, transportation, or a specific housing project) without regard to its impact on, or relationship to, other elements of the space-economy. This is true of most forms of capital investment projects in Nigeria.

Secondly, the only levels where some spatial regional planning have been attempted in Nigeria, as disclosed by Ajaegbu, has been on divisional, district and urban county levels.⁴ As a consequence, most of the regional planning programs and policies that have been formulated in that country in the past have been applied in piecemeal fashion. Ajaegbu also emphasized that these government authorities have often adopted sectoral approaches in the development of infrastructural and social amenities within their areas of jurisdiction.⁵ He further emphasized that such planning approaches, instead of encouraging spatial integration, have resulted in marked spatial and regional disparities in the country.⁶

⁴H. I. Ajaegbu, op. cit., p.102.

⁵Ibid, p.103.

⁶Ibid, p.90.

In spite of this lack of clearly formulated regional development and urbanization policies in Nigeria, both the Federal and Regional (State) governments undertake a considerable amount of implicit spatial planning in that they have much influence over the distribution of industries. It is important to note that each of the regional (state) governments has its own industrial development policy and also provides various incentives to industrialists in order to encourage them to invest in their own area. According to Aboyade, in terms of power for direct territorial assignment, the federal government was limited in practice to the very small area of Lagos, the capital city. He also stated that this was why it has had to depend more on general legislative and fiscal measures as policy incentive for industrial development and probably why there has been little co-ordinated programming for industrial location on a national level.⁷

Generally speaking, the federal government provides incentives in the form of fiscal measures to attract investors to operate in the country without providing any instruction on where the investors should locate their investment. Among the incentives provided by the federal government are

⁷O. Aboyade, "Industrial Location and Development Policy: The Nigerian Case" in Regional Analysis and Development, (ed), J. Blunden, C. Brook, G. Edge and Alan Hay, London: The Open University Press, 1973, p.275.

income tax relief, exemption from payment of customs duties through the Approved Users scheme, imposition of special duties on the importation of certain manufactured articles which are locally produced and the provision for accelerated depreciation of capital assets.⁸ It must be reiterated, however, that despite the above mentioned incentives provided by the federal government, the regional (state) governments in Nigeria have had more influence on the resulting industrial location pattern in that country than the federal government itself.

The most powerful instrument of incentive employed by the regional (state) governments in order to encourage the location of industries in their respective regions has been the establishment of industrial estates. State governments also aim at using these industrial estates as instruments for intraregional distribution of industry. Aboyade indicates that each one of these industrial estates (or industrial parks) are characterized by their modernizing amenities - good access road, rail siding, electricity, telecommunication facility, water supply, sanitation disposal system, mechanical repair workshop, ancillary services for banking and finance, and invariably a set of contiguous housing plots for workers and executives.⁹ He also claimed that:

⁸Akin L. Mabogunje, "Towards an Urban Policy in Nigeria", in The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1974, p.90.

⁹O. Aboyade, op. cit. p.276.

These industrial estates are designed not only to minimize the perennial and expensive problem of industrial land acquisition but also to reduce the cost of developmental infrastructure to individual investors and especially to the foreign private investors.¹⁰

Schatzl included another dimension in his discussion on public industrial location policy in Nigeria. He specified that the government, especially the state (regional) governments, influence the location of industries by getting involved directly in the establishment of industries and also by going into partnership with private investors. He also stressed that the possibility of the government influencing the selection of location in the case of partnership with private enterprise depends to a great extent upon the public capital share.¹¹

The result of the survey conducted by Schatzl which aimed at determining the extent of government involvement in the process of industrialization in Nigeria shows that out of the 120 enterprises with public financial holding, the institution of the states (regions) have participated in 85 per cent while the share of the federal government and municipalities amounted to 15 per cent and 5 per cent respectively.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid, p.276.

¹¹ Ludwig Schatzl, Industrialization in Nigeria: A Spatial Analysis, Munich, Germany: Weltforum Verlag, 1973, p.100.

¹² Ibid, p.101.

Of the numerous programs which have been implemented in Nigeria in the effort to encourage industrial dispersion are improvement in the interregional traffic network; the extension and improvement in water and power supply to many areas along with reduction in the cost for electricity and water supply to the industrial and commercial establishments. For example, in 1969 the public electricity corporation (Electricity Corporation of Nigeria), which is now Nigerian Electricity Power Authority, introduced uniform electricity rates for industrial and commercial customers throughout the country.¹³ According to Schatzl, this step was propagated as a promotional measure for the establishment of industries in remote areas of the country. He also pointed out that another policy action which aims at encouraging industrial development in the remote areas far removed from the coast is the reduced freight rates offered by the Nigerian Railway Corporation to industries at such locations.¹⁴

Yet it must be borne in mind that both Aboyade¹⁵ and Schatzl¹⁶ indicated in their studies that most of these policy actions have not significantly aided in the decentral-

¹³Ibid, p.105.

¹⁴Ibid, p.105.

¹⁵O. Aboyade, op. cit., p.278

¹⁶Ludwig Schatzl, op. cit., p.103.

ization of industries in Nigeria. Both of these authors specified in their studies that the most successful industrial estates in Nigeria are those located within or in close proximity to the already established zones of industrial concentration. The main factors responsible for this phenomenon include the following:

- a) The investors have always resisted the pressure from the government to locate in other locations by threatening not to proceed with their investment.
- b) The government (federal and states) are always willing to acquire new land or to expand the industrial infrastructures in the zones of industrial concentration in order to accommodate new investments.
- c) The external economies and the cumulative effect of industries at these locations serve as strong factors which pull other complementary or ancillary services to locate within the same area.
- d) Industrialists have little or no incentive to move elsewhere, especially where these other areas offer little locational advantage with respect either to factor inputs or product markets.¹⁷
- e) The water and electricity rates that are subsidized by the government for industrial and commercial enterprises

¹⁷O. Aboyade, op. cit., p.278.

in small and medium sized towns are also extended to such establishments in the agglomeration centers.

Similar to the industrial development policies in Nigeria, those that relate to rural development are equally diverse, incoherent and unco-ordinated. Indeed, the objectives of these policies and programs are so parochial that they do not relate to patterns and processes extant elsewhere in the country. This results from the fact that each of the states (regions) formulates and implements its own rural development programs and policies without any form of co-ordination in planning with the other states. The lack of co-ordination in the formulation of policies aimed at the improvement of the rural areas has resulted in variations in the degree to which the rural areas have developed in each of the states (regions).

However, it must be emphasized that since Independence in 1960, the various regional (now state) governments have initiated or implemented various programs which aimed specifically at the improvement of their rural communities. The most prominent of these programs is the "Farm Settlement Scheme" launched by the former Eastern and Western regional governments. The main objectives of the scheme were:

- a) To serve as an example of modern farming techniques and systems to the rural farmers in these regions.¹⁸

¹⁸H. I. Ajaegbu, op. cit., p.65.

- b) To test and later demonstrate carefully planned farming systems designed to attract young, educated persons to take up farming as a satisfying and lucrative means of obtaining their livelihood.
- c) To demonstrate that by careful planning farms can be established and operated by young, educated farmers, with reasonable assistance in the form of advice and loans from the government and other sources which will provide comfortable standard of living for the owners comparable with or higher than that gained by persons of their status in other forms of employment.
- d) To attempt to reverse the trend of migration from the rural to urban areas by making rural life more attractive and congenial than it had been before the implementation of the scheme.

It is noteworthy that each of the regional (state) governments in Nigeria has, through its Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, implemented an agricultural extension program. The basic aim of this program is to teach farmers how to improve agricultural production in the various rural communities. Ajaegbu¹⁹ in his study indicated several approaches through which the agricultural extension programs operate in these communities:

¹⁹ Ibid, p.66.

1. Village meetings are held where trained agricultural extension workers instruct the villagers and farmers on how to utilize new farm techniques and new seeds and also on how to improve the local strains.
2. Another approach is by setting up demonstration farms in the rural communities where the extension workers demonstrate to the peasant farmers how to introduce the new farm techniques and the new seeds.
3. The agricultural extension officers also advise the farmers on how to determine the suitability of soil for particular crops; how to get subsidies or loans from the credit facilities available; how to organize co-operative societies; and they also organize lectures at schools in the rural communities where teachers and students are instructed on modern farming techniques.

As was noted earlier, each of the regional (state) governments initiates and implements its own rural development program and for this reason it is important to realize that there are programs which exist in one region without being in existence in another. For example, as was pointed out by Ajaegbu, it was only in the former Eastern Region (now made up of four states) that the governments have tried to stimulate the establishment of rural centers and growth points in order to increase the tempo of development in the rural areas. He indicated that some new settlements were established by these governments and at the same time they

upgraded some existing ones by providing them with growth generating functions and services.²⁰

There are, of course, other programs with only limited ranges of application which need to be mentioned in this study. For instance, Kano and North-Western States (both States were formerly part of the now defunct Northern Region) have completed forty-six and fourteen 'model villages' respectively as part of their rural development programs.

The foregoing passages would seem to indicate that despite the fact that regional planning is accepted as a worthwhile planning strategy in Nigeria, little or no effort has been made on the national level to implement it. However, the only notable program that has been implemented on the national level which has some elements of regional planning is the creation of states.²¹ As was pointed out by Onyemelukwe in his study:

....although the initial objectives of state creation and their immediate consequences were in bad taste for national solidarity, the later exercises in state creation were clearly problem-solving and in keeping with regional planning strategies. For one thing the states as politically significant planning regions became a medium for

²⁰Ibid, p.68.

²¹It should be noted, however, that prior to 1967 Nigeria had four (administrative) regions with Lagos as a separate territory which was not attached to any of the regions. In 1967 the country was divided into twelve states and in 1976 it was again divided into nineteen states.

minimizing the problems of the vast periphery as new centers of political decision-making and trade articulation emerged in the states.²²

It is clear to most observers that state creation, that is the creation of nineteen new states from four states (regions) in Nigeria, has significantly promoted the rank/size structure of the urban system away from the primate city syndrome. This is largely due to the fact that most of the small towns that now serve as state capitals represent new growth-centers in the country.

Further, it must be pointed out that another recently proposed program by the federal government which is in keeping with regional planning strategies is the establishment of a 'new town' that will function as the federal capital of the country. What is more important to say here is the fact that such a program will not only help in solving some of the political problems that were engendered by the present location of the administrative capital of the country but will as well alleviate some of the economic and social ills that are compounded in Lagos (such as over-population; high cost of living, particularly rents; traffic congestion; existence of slums; the pressure on the existing infrastructural facilities and social vices including delinquency and corruption).

²²J. O. C. Onyemelukwe, op. cit., p.17.

However, it is quite evident from the foregoing discussion that regional planning strategies have not been utilized very effectively in Nigerian national development planning. And, if one is to consider the Nigerian situation within the context of our discussion in the preceding chapter (which was a review of those urban and rural development strategies which have been implemented in some Third World countries in the effort to restructure their space-economics) it becomes apparent that most of the programs that relate to urban and regional development in Nigeria have not been designed and implemented in such a way that they will enhance the integration of the entire nations' space-economy let alone act to disperse the benefits of economic growth throughout the country.

Thus, drawing on the above discussion, it may be concluded that most of those programs have not been formulated and implemented within a national planning framework. To remedy this situation, the reader is now directed to the final section that provides some recommendations which, if implemented, will enhance the integration of the Nigerian space-economy.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study had three principal objectives:

- a) To determine those factors that are responsible for the pronounced centralization of urban growth in Nigeria.
- b) To investigate those policy actions which have been implemented in that country in an effort to control the growth of the existing growth poles and to encourage growth in the other parts of the country.
- c) To investigate the urbanization processes in the other Third World countries and the policy actions which have been formulated and implemented in those countries in an effort to achieve the type of spatial arrangement that would be capable of influencing the nature of their urbanization. The aim was to utilize the findings both as a framework within which to analyze the Nigerian urbanization phenomenon (i.e. to determine whether those factors that encourage the growth of a few cities, mostly of the primate city kind, in those countries are the same in Nigeria) and also as a yardstick with which to assess those policy actions which have been implemented in Nigeria.

The review of literature on the Third World urbanization processes did provide the following information:

1. That the rate of urbanization is generally high in the Third World while few cities in each of those countries experiences rapid population growth as a result of the excessive concentration of both economic and social facilities in them.
2. That the proportion of the population urbanized varies substantially from nation to nation and from continent to continent and, even on a national level, it varies substantially from one region to another.
3. That the rate of growth of urban population is relatively uniform across nations in the Third World.
4. That despite the phenomenal growth of urban population in most of these countries, depopulation has not occurred in their rural areas. This indicates that the massive growth of urban population will persist except where countervailing policies arising from government intervention can be tailored to suit the prevailing circumstance in each country. It must be cautioned at this point that the appropriate policy actions must be cognizant of the degree and character of existing urban growth and the stage of economic development in each of these countries otherwise their chances of success are slight.

It has been established in this study that both natural increase and migration contribute to urban growth in Third World countries. Evidence provided in this study has, however, shown that in the majority of cases migration contributes more to the growth of urban areas than natural increase. Indeed, some of the factors advanced as being the causes of migration are population pressure in the rural areas; decline in some of the Third World countries of available land area per capita at low levels of rural income; lack of employment opportunities in rural areas; decline in the cost of transportation and improved communication which has led to a greater awareness on the part of the ruralites of the immense opportunities available in the urban areas; and the adoption of urban-oriented educational systems in the rural areas. The available evidence also indicates that most of the migrants are the young secondary school graduates who have no prospect of securing employment in the rural areas. As a result they move to the large cities where employment opportunities are greater.

It is important to stress that most of the literature surveyed emphasized that colonialism contributed immensely in the shaping of the spatial systems that still exist in most of the Third World countries. Colonialism in this case, refers to both external and internal colonialism. External colonialism refers to the control of a weak country by one that is stronger and internal colonialism arises where the

control of peripheral regions is overwhelmingly in the hands of decision-makers in a national core.

Moreover, it can be argued that the political and economic control which the colonial masters formerly established over this part of the globe accounts greatly for its status of low urbanization and also for the fact that a great proportion of both economic activities and urban population are concentrated in one or a few large cities in each of the Third World countries. On the other hand, despite the attainment of the 'so called' political independence by most of these countries, the pre-existing spatial systems (for example, the transportation networks and the large cities themselves in most of these countries owe their origin to the colonial pattern of economic exploitation) have been encouraged to flourish by the local elites.

The industrialization policies (based on the concept of import substitution) in most of these countries greatly favours the core locations. These phenomena have contributed greatly to the disparity in both economic development and the distribution of urban population in such countries.

Unfortunately, however, this type of polarization of both economic and urban population has negative implications not only for those areas that are marginally developed (peripheral regions) but also on the developed areas (core regions). These conclusions were drawn from the following evidence:

- (i) The extremely rapid growth of the primate cities in the Third World countries encourages stagnation or population decline in the smaller cities. Of greater consequence is the effect which the decline in population of these smaller cities has on the local businesses that operate in them. These businesses depend largely upon the local market and labour force and are either forced to fold-up or move operations to the large cities. This phenomenon certainly reinforces the tendency to out-migration among the members of the labour force as a reverse employment multiplier begins to operate.
- (ii) The loss of human capital resources by these smaller cities does not only affect their economic base but also has serious repercussions on the facilities (i.e. educational and health facilities) that exist in such communities. These facilities become obsolete as the population of the users continues to decline.
- (iii) These smaller towns share a number of characteristics with most of the rural communities in the Third World countries such as aging populations due to migration selectivity; erosion in both their financial and natural resources; and alterations in the quality of the labour force. The only notable difference between the problems which the smaller urban centers and the rural communities in the Third World countries

experience is that while the former suffers population decline the population of the latter increases at an alarming rate. The population increase in these rural communities is caused by the high birth rate that still prevails in Third World countries. This indicates that the reservoir of potential migrants to the large cities is still very high in these countries. It needs to be emphasized that without the implementation of programs that would check this phenomenon such as birth control and those programs of employment creation that would encourage the rural population not to move to the core areas, it is difficult to see substantial changes occurring in the prevailing situation.

- (iv) As was mentioned before, the demographic growth of the large cities in Third World countries has serious implications for their general functioning. Evidence has shown that these cities are becoming increasingly less able to provide the basic urban services to their inhabitants due to the excessive demand for such services as a result of the increased population in them. Other problems that are common in those large cities include the following: underemployment and unemployment; high incidence of crime including juvenile delinquency and prostitution; environmental deterioration caused by general overcrowding and from pressure on housing facilities; traffic congestion; existence of

slums (squatter settlements); and high mortality rates.

The discussion so far has focussed on the patterns and processes of urbanization in the Third World countries as a whole. At this juncture it must be pointed out that many similarities exist between the patterns and processes of urbanization in the other Third World countries and that of Nigeria. This includes those forces that have caused imbalances in spatial development along with their accompanying regional problems.

The review of the policy actions which the other developing nations have implemented in order to achieve greater balance in their space-economies indicates that very few of those countries have successfully come up with comprehensive national development policies that could lead to the attainment of such an objective. In fact, "dispersed urbanization strategy" and "concentrated decentralization" or "regional development strategy" were identified as the most plausible strategies that could lead any one of the Third World countries in integrating its space-economy. These strategies have been adopted in some of the developing nations. For example, both Israel and Puerto Rico have implemented the "dispersed urbanization strategy" while countries like Tanzania, Iran, Colombia, Mexico and Kenya have either implemented or intends to implement the "regional development strategy" in the effort to restructure their spatial systems (i.e. to achieve greater balance in developments throughout their spatial systems).

It is also important to note that regional development strategies are based on the growth center concept in most of the Third World countries. However, the analysis of individual Third World countries where growth center strategy has been tried suggests that with the exception of those countries mentioned above, it has not been satisfactorily applied or utilized. The main reason advanced as being the cause for the failure of such strategy has been the inadequate way it was designed and implemented in each country. Similarly, despite the recognition accorded to regional development strategy in Nigeria, it has not been possible to implement it in such a way that the country as a whole would benefit from it.

The numerous programs that have been implemented in Nigeria which have some elements of regional development strategy in them have been applied in piecemeal fashion as is the case in most of the other developing nations. To sum up, it needs to be emphasized that for Nigeria to successfully remedy the unsatisfactory spatial distributions of its urban population and economic development it needs to digress from the prevailing *ad hoc* approach to formulation and implementation of urban and regional development policies. And, it must be stated, therefore, that when those programs are designed they must relate to the entire geography of the country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is obviously inappropriate to transfer regional development strategies devised to deal with spatial distribution problems in countries such as those that are small, both in size and population and have half of their populations and resources concentrated in one city (a primate city) to those countries that are large both in size and population and have few large cities, as is the case in Nigeria. This is not meant to say that those policies that worked in the smaller countries cannot work in the larger ones. However, it is maintained that in order for such policies to yield better results in the large countries they need to be modified to the specifics of the situation in those countries.

Given this condition, it should be noted that those recommendations that will appear in this study are based on the prevailing situations (i.e. the pattern and processes of urbanization and those policy actions that have been implemented) in Nigeria. These recommendations are discussed below, not necessarily in the order of their importance.

1. The Administrative Machinery for Development Planning

It was established that those policies that relate to urban and regional development in Nigeria have been

formulated and implemented in an *ad hoc* partial fashion and that this action exacerbates the disequilibrium in spatial developments in the country.

Recommendation I

Nigeria must establish on a national level the type of administrative machinery that will be capable of co-ordinating urban and regional development policies in that country. This will involve the setting up of a Federal Ministry of Urban and Regional Planning and other planning institutions both on state (regional) and municipal or county levels.

Even though it is a federal system, the Nigerian set up is such that effective control of economic development resides in the central government. Thus, the proposed federal spatial planning ministry should have the resources and initiative to stir discriminatory development. The existence of this type of administrative (planning) machinery will enhance reasonable consultation and co-ordination of plans. It will also enhance the formulation and implementation of plans within the framework of the entire nations spatial system.

2. The Need for Structural Transformation

It was established also, that Nigeria has not come up with any comprehensive program nationally that was designed specifically to restructure the entire country's space-economy. This defect must be remedied.

Recommendation II

It is thought highly necessary that consideration is given to the utilization of spatial structure in promoting national growth and as well as to dispersing the benefits of economic growth throughout the country. It is through the adoption of "regional development strategy" or "concentrated decentralization" that these objectives could be achieved.

Given the uneven spread of natural resources in Nigeria, it will be extremely difficult that every "inch" of the country's geographical space will receive equal amount of development. For this reason, the adoption of regional development strategies based on growth center concept will enhance the concentration of developmental efforts where they are very much needed.

Recommendation III

Efforts should be made in channelling growth to the smaller and intermediate cities in Nigeria especially those that are situated at some distance from the existing core areas. Given the large number of urban centers in Nigeria, most of them could officially be designated (i.e. in the National Development Plan) as growth centers. Outside these centers it is essential that new growth centers of varying sizes and ranks are also established.

On the whole, three major types of growth centers based on a hierarchy of functions are needed in Nigeria:

- (1) rural service centers and growth points or "quiet centers" must be established at the village level. "Quiet center" refers to a physical unit that contains only industrial and service installations without living quarters. Those who would work at this location will come from their respective villages and go back after the days work;
- (2) regional growth centers (urban-rural regions); and
- (3) sub-national growth centers (the States or Administrative regional capitals).

The selection of growth centers, with the exception of the existing state capitals, could be based on the same approach used in Kenya. Taylor cited Carvalho's study as having outlined Kenya's approach as involving:

- (1) surveying all services and subservices judged to have a central place function;
- (2) assigning points to each subservice on the basis of quality and importance, not quantity; and
- (3) adding the number of points accumulated in each center. According to him, it was assumed that the more points a center had the greater was its

centrality and the wider its sphere of influence.²²

Recommendation IV

It must be recognized by the policy makers in Nigeria that growth center policies work best where they are combined with compatible policies such as administrative decentralization, industrial organization, transportation, human resource and agricultural policies.

3. Industrialization Policies

Recommendation V

Industries must be encouraged to locate in the growth centers, especially those situated in the hinterland by providing the type of incentives that will attract the investors to invest there. Such incentives will include: differential tax exemptions; graduated rents on government-owned industrial estates; provision of cash grants to those industries located in the rural areas for the purpose of manpower training; the provision of better quality industrial infrastructures in those growth centers in the interior locations; the concentration of those industries owned by the government (especially those that are propulsive in nature) to a limited number of growth

²²Taylor, D. R. F. "The Role of the Smaller Urban Place in Development: The Case of Kenya", in Salah El-Shakhs and Robert Obudho, op. cit., p.153.

centers. The latter is strongly recommended so long as any of those industries is not rooted to source of raw materials.

Recommendation VI

Efforts must be made to establish linkages between these growth centers, that is, by improving transport and communication lines between all the growth centers. In so doing, the focussing of transport routes on core nodes will be downgraded.

Recommendation VII

A strong improvement in techniques, especially in the area of cartography, inventory and statistics, is essential for those governmental departments responsible for the collection of data on both human and environmental factors that define the locational characteristics of every geographical area in Nigeria. Such changes will improve the quality of data and enhance the level of rational decision-making at municipal, state and national levels with respect to development planning.

Recommendation VIII

Attempts should be made to encourage the establishment of more labour-intensive and small scale industries in Nigeria. The need to improve employment opportunities in the rural areas as well as to spread income

effects and broaden markets for agricultural products underlines the necessity of developing more labour-intensive industries in the rural communities. This requirement for labour-intensive diversified activities is accentuated by the vital need to accommodate the massive increase in population following from the very high rate of natural increase.

4. Rural Development Policies

Recommendation IX

The agrarian structure must be radically changed in Nigeria so as to benefit the majority of the ruralites who presently are engaged in subsistence farming. This will involve land reform; the formation of agricultural co-operatives; the institution of credit facilities for agricultural purposes; the introduction of agricultural training programs for farmers; the establishment of those facilities such as water supply and electricity that will improve agricultural production in the rural communities.

In addition, an improvement in communication will facilitate the exchange of goods and information between the growth centers and the rural areas thereby promoting spread-effects which will hasten the process of transformation in agriculture.

In conclusion then, it should be noted that nothing short of structural transformation of the entire Nigerian

space-economy will suffice to achieve an equitable distribution of both economic development and urban population in that country. This is reflected in the recommendations presented here. It is the hope and belief of the author that the recognition of those forces which have contributed to the shaping of the existing spatial system in Nigeria and the prescribed measures on how the resultant problems could be resolved would make this study valuable to Nigerian planners and policy makers.

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