

THE URBAN-RURAL INTERFACE IN IBADAN, 1900-1999

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late mother, Mrs Sidiqat Alabi

CERTIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

The interaction between rural and urban settlements, people and enterprises are major components of livelihoods and production systems in Africa. Although, historical studies have been carried out on urban-rural interface in other parts of Nigeria, few are on the phenomenon exist on Ibadan, particularly during this period. This study was, therefore, designed to examine urban-rural interface in Ibadan, with a view to highlighting the structural, institutional and economic factors that affected urban food supply and livelihood between 1900, a period when colonial policies created a rural economy distinct from the urban, and 1999 when five urban and six rural local council areas in Ibadan were formally recognized by the 1999 Nigerian Constitution.

The historical method was adopted, while a combination of interpretive and ethnographic designs was used. Primary data were sourced from oral interviews conducted with purposively selected 80 villagers: rural farmers, traders and artisans in villages about their links with Ibadan. In the city, interviews were conducted with purposively selected 90 people aged between 50 and 90: 11 Ibadan chiefs, 12 lineage heads, 15 urban traders, 12 artisans, 15 food marketers, 10 transporters, and 15 consumers who were conversant with the history of Ibadan. Materials including colonial reports and Ibadan provincial papers were sourced from the National Archives, Ibadan. Secondary data were obtained from books, journals, magazines and theses. Data were subjected to historical analysis.

The Ibadan customary land tenure system in the early 1900 encouraged the periodic movement of people from the city to the villages, and vice versa. Migration was a major factor that shaped Ibadan urbanization and livelihood. Although, it altered family structures and lifestyles, it did not affect family cohesion significantly. The villagers of Amosun, Lagun, Apatere and many others looked to their traditional compounds (*Agbo'le*) in the heart of the city such as Bere, Mapo and Oja'ba as their homes. This strengthened a symbiotic socio-economic existence between the city and the hinterland. As a web of networks linked both spaces in the 1940s, reciprocal exchanges of food were significantly enhanced. Regardless of the diverse household livelihood strategies such as hunting, crafts and trading, farming contributed more than half of the total income of the rural people, while urban-induced industry and service sectors such as Nigerian Tobacco Company, Nigerian Breweries Ltd., and University of Ibadan represented an important part of the city economy and played vital roles in employment creation, income generation and poverty alleviation for both the city dwellers and the rural migrants between 1950 and 1980. Food remittances aided urban food security, while financial remittances, especially in the post Civil-War and oil boom periods between 1970 and 1990, enhanced rural livelihood. Urbanization, globalization, markets and transportation networks in Ibadan in the post independence period provided a mix of services for effective linkage of activities and connected rural areas with the city and global economies.

Cultural affinity remained central to the understanding of Ibadan urban-rural interface, while social and economic factors continued to shape urban food supply and livelihood within the twentieth century.

Keywords: Urban-rural Interface, Rural livelihood in Ibadan, Food remittances

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The urbanization of the world is one of the most impressive facts of modern times. This is because it has wrought profound changes in virtually every phase of social life.¹ Urbanization is the phenomenon of human agglomeration in space, congregation in relatively large number at one particular spot of the earth surfaces. It is the transformation or transition process from rural life and settlement pattern to urban system. It connotes population increase resulting from internal growth and migration as well as spatial expansion.² People move from the rural areas to the cities to seek vast economic and other opportunities they offer for access to employment, education, health, tourism, trade, and other services. Urbanization is not only an evolutionary process of redistributing human population within a given society but also a way of transforming many patterns of social, economic and political life towards satisfying the development needs of man. It involves major shifts in the ways people work and live, and offers unprecedented opportunities for improved standards of living, higher life expectancy and higher literacy levels, as well as better environmental sustainability and a more efficient use of increasingly scarce natural resources.³ Urbanization provides an extra-ordinary space and opportunity for better living standards, low-mortality rate, improved and enhanced educational level and an avenue to optimally utilize scarce resources. Since urban people seek the best possible adjustments to their needs and standards, they change and modify their social systems to meet their peculiar situations and needs.⁴

Arguably, the definitions of urbanization and urban centre vary and this could be attributed to some factors and differences including, the legal, political, economical and sociological characteristics. At the same time there are differences in the definition of urban areas among different countries reflecting the varying culture of the people concerned. In other words, the criteria for defining urban areas tend to differ from one discipline to another, from one nation to another or from one culture to another and even from one period to another. Cities are centres for launching social changes and social innovations. Urban centers supposed to be characterized by a variety of functions associated with social, cultural, industrial, commercial, religious, artistic, educational, political and administrative activities.

¹ Pacione, M. and Wirth, L. (1986) *The City: Critical Concept in The Social Sciences*. London: Routledge. p2.

² Simms, R.P. (1965) *Urbanization in West Africa: A Review of Current Literature*. Evanston : North Western University Press, p.3

³ Harvey, J. (2000) *Urban Land Economics*. (5th edition) Palgrave: Macmillan. P256.

⁴ Gugler, J. and Flanagan, W., (1978) *Urbanization and Social Change*. London: Cambridge. P15

The population is classed according to various sizes ranging from places with less than 500 to those with over 500,000 inhabitants.⁵ Urban living could be described as a platform for political consolidation and depends on the level of economic development of the country in which they are located. In most urban areas around the globe, some traditional ways of doing things and social networks are replaced by sophisticated ones including place of residence, work and income. Urbanization also allows social movement, both vertical and horizontal. This could be attributed to the diversity of economic activities and the possibility to obtain regular waged employment.⁶ Urbanization centres on the movement of the population into cities and accompanied by a proportional loss of the population in the rural areas. The concentration of population in cities, the complex interlinking of functions between communities, and the accumulation of industrial and economic power go hand in hand. The industrial system with its drive towards economies of scale is responsible for the build-up in population and functions.⁷ The changes in human life are reflections of the modern society.

To draw lines between the urban and the rural settlements in some parts of the world, urban centres are characterised by their development in all facets of human endeavours such as high technology, robust production and a centralized system of administration. The two spatial settlements differ because of contacts, communication, and spread of cultural traits.⁸

The emergence of cities and urban styles of living was associated with urban revolution. Some 6000 years back, historians associated urban revolution with the rise of civilization, development, and modernization. These early cities were seen as incubators that brought about the socio-political institutions and technologies that helped in the formation of more urban centres and made civilisation possible. From time immemorial, towns and cities function as the nerve centers of gradually expanding political communities and economic networks.⁹ Cities have always been places to which men converge in the hope of gaining

⁵ Harvey, J. (2000) *Urban Land Economics*. 5th edition Palgrave: Macmillian. P257.

⁶ Sylvia, C. (2007) *Gender, Cities and the Millennium Development Goals in the Global South*. Working Paper Series. Gender Institute, London School of Economics. P12.

⁷ Henderson, J.V. (2003) "Urbanization and Economic development". *Annals of Economics and Finance*. (4) P276.

⁸ McGranahan, G. and Satterwaite, D. (2014) *Urbanization Concepts and Trends*. IIED. P7.⁸ Tacoli, C.(2017) *Links between Rural and Urban Development in Africa and Asia: Population Distribution, Urbanization and Internal Migration in Development*. United Nations. *Dept of Economic and Social Affairs*. P111.

⁹ Tacoli, C.(2017) *Links Between Rural and Urban Development in Africa and Asia: Population Distribution, Urbanization and Internal Migration in Development*. United Nations. Dept of Economic and Social Affairs. P111.

power, but they are also centres of refuge from power. Many people came to those medieval cities with high hopes of economic success, or a specialist education or some political preferment. Others came in order to escape the exercise of feudal authority in the countryside, they came to be free. Towns and cities grew up in diverse ways. Many in medieval Europe had gathered around a religious house-an abbey or a monastery. Others grew up as centres of administration or as a garrison and fortresses. A common feature universally is that they were all markets. But the character of their economic activity could vary widely; from the consumer cities where goods were brought in or made, to meet the needs of feudal Princes, and Lords, to producer settlements whose economic role was overwhelmingly that of production and manufacture or as a merchant cities in which the profits were made from the purchase, sales and circulation of foreign and domestic commodities.¹⁰

However, the populations of these urban centres did not geometrically increase until the 18th century despite their political and economic power. Cities in Europe and other regions of the world began to swell up as the Industrial Revolution gathered pace in Northern Europe.¹¹ Five major factors stand out as determinants of city growth and urbanization. These include agricultural revolution and development of agricultural surpluses which released a significant proportion of manpower from the land and opened avenues to follow different pursuits; the technological revolution and the invention of steam engine for mass production technique which made possible the agglomeration of people in a densely settled pattern; the commercial revolution which aided the development of markets, exchange systems and radically improved means of transportation which aided and facilitated the movement of goods and people quickly and at a lower costs from place to place within the city and its hinterland and lastly, the demographic revolution in the areas of commerce, industry and transportation.¹²

On the other hand, the term rurality means a small country settlement surrounded by farmlands and located in natural greenery. The rural dwellers engage in farming and other related occupations including forestry and fishery for their sustainability and this could be attributed to the availability of God's giving potentials in such domain. The farming sector is known for high degree of unemployment, segmental labor demand and poor performance of the means of production.¹³ In the

¹⁰ Labinjo, J., (1991) *Modernity and Tradition in the Politics of Ibadan 1900-1975*. Ibadan: Fountain Publication. P3

¹¹ Tacoli, C. and Satterwaite D. (2015) *Urbanization, Rural and Urban Migration and Urban poverty*. IIED. P7.

¹² Hatt, P.S. and Reiss, A. (1961) *Cities and Society*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe. P17

¹³ William, R. (1973) *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, P1.

light of this, the lineage becomes not only an economic, production and consumption unit, but a platform where fundamental societal responsibilities including birth giving, learning, and training of the ward takes place. To a large extent, urbanization continues to be critically relevant; it is pertinent to know that in some way, the rural/urban distinction is losing its salience. The confine between the city and the village settlement is becoming narrow while some of the historical differences separating them such as cultures, lifestyles, and enterprises are eroding or reforming.¹⁴ The extent of town-farm linkages such as transportation network, communications and information links among many others greatly defined such level rural people can realize hoped-for opportunities from urbanization. In many part of the world, urban development has not only been associated with modernization and social change but has equally fused the city with the village settlements and thereby served as propeller for inclusive development. These are facilitated by income generation among the people, enhanced productivity and market accessibility. In Vietnam, for example, village settlements and the towns through their mutual co-existence were able to accelerate development and reduced poverty rate. Enhanced income among the city dwellers led to better standard of living while the mobility of the rural dwellers to the city on the other hand helped to reduce poverty. The money realized from this movement aided their farming activities.¹⁵

This study investigates the synergy between the rural and urban areas in Ibadan, a foremost traditional city in African sub-Saharan. Ibadan takes a prominent position among Nigerians cities. Its economic, political and social-cultural roles placed Ibadan above many other Nigerian cities. Its largeness and urban ways of existence could not be quantified.¹⁶ The geographical location of the city between the coast and the interior places it above other cities and towns in Yorubaland. This facilitated its expansion in size as well as in commerce. The city became the nerve centre of commerce and trade for people of different Yoruba origins. Fourchard asserts that Ibadan was the largest indigenous African city in its early period.¹⁷

Ibadan had very robust populations that were economically interdependent on each other as a result of division of labour which allowed for specialization into farming and non-farming activities. Ibadan had numerous village settlements that made food and other agricultural produce available for the urban dwellers. Its farmlands were located in the rural

¹⁴ McGranahan, G. and Satterwaite, D. (2014) *Urbanization Concepts and Trends*. IIED. P13

¹⁵ Sattire, D.H. (2016) *Rural-Urban Linkages and Food Production System in Sub-saharan Africa: The Rural Dimension*. IFAD: Report Paper No 5. P31.

¹⁶ Fourchard, L(2003) *Urban Slum Report: The Case of Ibadan*. University of Ibadan:IFRA.P3

¹⁷ Fourchard, L(2003) *Urban Slum Report: The Case of Ibadan*. University of Ibadan:IFRA.P3.

areas.¹⁸ Its immense population and size coupled with great agricultural base aided its standardized market.¹⁹ Ibadan people relied heavily for their livelihood on smilthing, farming, war-faring and commerce and this made food more available for the populace. The city also developed vibrant trade relations with neighbouring towns and cities in the earlier period and before the advent of the British which eventually planted its administration after the peace treaty of 1893 that ended the 17year Yoruba civil-war.²⁰ After the peace treaty of 1893, Ibadan being the town of warriors resorted to farming at the expense of other economic activities. The reasons for this included the availability of good soil, the customary land tenure concept, enhanced security apparatus, introduction of cash crops and the availability of market and marketing sytem to sell agricultural produce. This accelerated and enhanced a robust city-farm relationship in agriculture and trade.²¹

The increase in population necessitated not only an increase in the size of the town, but also in the size of its farming land to feed the greater population. Ibadan because of its relative peace and safety within its borders became one of the largest and most important commercial as well as heterogenous cities in the Yoruba country. Some of the villages in Ibadan could be said to have been established towards the end of the 19th century by hunters and farmers respectively and later by the warriors' slaves.²² New comers were readily absorbed into the existing village settlements and were granted the right to farm as well as enjoyed the rights and privileges as earlier settlers. This was made possible by the customary land tenure system parctised in Ibadan.²³ The long distance to be covered between the farm and the city made it a bit stressful for some of them to come back to the city and this encouraged them to prefer staying permanently in the farm. The result of this was the

¹⁸ Mabogunje, A.L (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. New York: Holmes and Meier. P186

¹⁹ Mabogunje, A.L (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. New York: Holmes and Meier. P187

²⁰ Watson,R.(1999)"Ibadan-A Model of Historical Fact: Militarism and Civic Culture in a Yoruba Society".*Urban History*.26.1.P6

²¹ Adeboye,O. (2003)"The City of Ibadan" in G.O.Oguntomisin (ed)*Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1.Ibadan: Bookshelf LTD. P12.

²² Adeboye,O (2003) "The Clity of Ibadan" in G.O.Oguntomisin (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*.Vol.1.Ibadan: Bookshelf LTD. P3.

²³ Adeboye,O (2003) "The Clity of Ibadan" in G.O.Oguntomisin (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*.Vol.1.Ibadan: Bookshelf LTD. P2

foundation and establishment of village settlements such as *Ayetoro, Odo-Ona, Omi-Adio, Amosun, Bare, Onigambari, Olodo, Aperin*, and some others not far than 16kms to and from the city.²⁴

In Ibadan, there are much spatial interactions going on between the city and its Region. The historical antecedents to some extent help explain this interaction. The Ibadan region forms an entity: the city, depending on its surrounding districts (villages) for the supply of some of its food. In addition, while the neighbouring villages provide the city with materials and labour used in its commercial and industrial activities, the city in turn is not only an economic centre serving its outlying districts but the cultural, social and political centre of the entire region. The increasing population of the city and of its suburbs and the outward residential mobility of people from the city to the suburbs are forces that are at work in the merging together of the city with its villages.²⁵

The city was the spiritual headquarters for many people of the rural areas as certain religious activities, rites and festivals could only be done in Ibadan. The city was regarded as the seat of their different gods including *Okebadan, Egungun, Orishaoko, and Yemoja*. The lineages came together during the *Egungun* celebrations, usually held in June, which was shortly before the yam harvest. The annual communal festival, the *Oke'badan*, was meant for fertility rites and prosperity. The *Oke'badan* festival, being known as the city's founder's day, brought together those that could trace their origins to Ibadan. Apart from the traditional religious institutions which drew people together for celebrations, the Muslim and Christian celebrations also attracted people from the tributary areas into the city. Ibadan people also converged at their compounds in the city for family ceremonies including naming and marriage.²⁶

Ibadan, being a great political melting pot and educational centre was blessed with much range of social services. The city had many schools, colleges and variety of tertiary institutions as well as research institutes. A large percentage of both the city and rural

²⁴ Oral interview with Oloye Lekan Alabi. Asipa Olubadan of Ibadanland. Aged-67. 3/4/2017

²⁵ Afolayan, A.A. (1994) Migration, Social Links and Residential Mobility in the Ibadan Region in F.O. Filani (ed) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P143

²⁶ Adeboye, O. (2003) "The City of Ibadan" in G.O. Oguntomisin (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1. Ibadan: Bookshelf LTD. P9

²⁶ Akinola, R.A. (1963) "The Ibadan Region" *Nigerian Geographical Journal*. Vol.6. No1. P104-115

dwellers attended secondary grammar and modern schools, and post-secondary institutions of Ibadan. In the same vein, the village schools were monitored, maintained and supervised from Ibadan. The teachers were trained in the city and later posted to the rural schools. All the various church denominations have their headquarters in the Ibadan. Ibadan became the seat of the Bishops, Archdeacons, Canons, and other important church dignitaries. On health services, Ibadan had the University College Hospital, State hospitals at *Yemetu* and Ring-Road, Maternity Hospital at Jericho, and numerous private hospitals which were attended by both the rural and the city dwellers.²⁷

In the political life of towns and villages in Yorubaland, traditional political institution played significant functions. The village inhabitants owed allegiance to a *Mogaji*, a compound head in the city as well as to a village head appointed by the *Mogaji*. The *Mogajis* or compound heads in the city were saddled with the responsibilities of collecting taxes from the tributary areas and forwarded same to the city. Under the indirect rule system imposed by the British on the Western Provinces after the First World War until the local government changes of 1952, the Oba-in-Council comprised the Native Authority, or unit of local government, which was responsible for peaceful-coexistence and the general promotion of the welfare of the city and rural population.²⁸ Administrative functions even covered beyond the traditionally demarcated area of Ibadan and covered the administrative center for the Ibadan Divisional Council. In it were located the major departments of these councils, whose area of jurisdiction extended roughly from fifteen to twenty-five miles on all sides of *Mapo Hall* and included small towns such as *Lalupon*, *Omi-Adio*, *Ijaye*, and other surrounding villages. Ibadan was more than an administrative center; it was the most important commercial center, which attracted a larger percentage of rural residents.²⁹

It could be argued that from the onset, Ibadan happened to be the economic nerve center of its region. This could be attributed to its central position and its population growth which created a demand for basic necessities such as foodstuffs, housing, and clothing.³⁰ Most of the major farm produce of the rural settlements were disposed in the city. The sales were done by the city wholesalers who regularly attended various rural markets to exchange

²⁸ N.A,I Iba DIV.1/1 File 1050/3 Vol.4: Baale in Council.

²⁹ Oral interview conducted with Dr Moruf Alabi. Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning. Ui.Ibadan.06/05/2016

³⁰ Oral interview with Dr Surajudeen Bankole of the Dept.of Economics,University of Ibadan,Ibadan. ³⁰ Oral interview conducted with Alhaja Ramatu Salawudeen.Resident of Alata village.

farm produce with finished manufactured goods and products from other parts of Nigeria. Ibadan also provided the market where goods such as corrugated iron sheets, cement, and other building materials were sold and bought. On the other hand, the village markets also played tremendous roles in the economic activities of both spatial sectors. Among the various functions of the village markets were the collection and distribution of local produce, especially foodstuffs. The income gotten from the sales of farm produce in the village markets was expended on the buying of imported goods, stationery, matches and gun-powder. The city traders also sold some of the crops gotten from other parts of Nigeria such as rice and beans to the villagers.³¹

The need to feed the swelling urban population facilitated and promoted urban-rural interface. Amazingly, the subject matter did receive very small or no attention from the specialists on Ibadan history and geography. From their various publications, the likes of Professors Bolanle Awe, Akinlawon Mabogunje, Toyin Falola, Joseph Atanda, and Banji Akintoye have comprehensively ventured into and detailed the aspects of Ibadan military, political and economic studies. One dominant feature of their writings was that Ibadan relies heavily on farming and is an agrarian city. The focus of this study is to investigate the chain of food production, distribution and livelihood means between the city and its surrounding villages from 1900 to 1999. Its aim is to look at the chain of production, exchange, distribution and social networks. This study is aimed at contributing to knowledge realizing the fact that scholarship work has not been adequately done on this area. The study will also add and improve the literature on urban-rural connections in Ibadan in areas such as farm produce distribution to feed the teeming urban population and their livelihood.

The history of Makambako in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania was heavily influenced by urban-rural nexus. Structural conditions such as infrastructural developments, increasing consumption power in the hinterland, and a liberalization policymaking private savings available for investments aided its development. Makambako functioned as an important link that served the hinterland and the global markets and as a center for all kinds of illegal trade and smuggling. On the legal side, Makambako also served as a remarkable meeting place for farm produce supply and store house. The activities in Makambako and the hinterland were mutually supporting, creating a local synergy effect. Therefore, the role of Makambako was neither regarded as one-sidedly parasitic or supportive but rather as an

³¹ Oral interview conducted with Alhaja Ramatu Salawudeen. Resident of Alata village. 15/6/2018

essential and integrated part of successful regional development in an open economy. In more general terms, the development of Makambako illustrated the growing interdependence between peripheral regions and national and international markets with increased economic growth and prosperity in these regions.³²

In the view of A.H.Abdul-Ati, some factors contributed to the emergence of permanent settlements at Sinkat and its impact on the rural hinterlands. The historical role of the town as a trading point along the caravan route, the building of railway line during the era of colonization, and further by the Khartoum-Port Sudan highway in the early 1980s made Sinkat the administrative headquarters of the region. Sinkat was also considered as the religious headquarters of the Khatmiya Order, one of the two largest and politically influential religious sects in Sudan. Many Khatmiya holy men were buried or lived there, while several religious festivals were annually conducted in the town, attracting followers from all over Sudan. Being the government center, Sinkat attracted most of the drought-stricken population during the famine years. The rural population was also attracted to the town by the presence of a number of foreign relief organizations and NGOs distributing food and relief materials to famine victims. The second indicator used to measure the developmental impact of Sinkat on its surrounding area was the access of village dwellers and products to the city market. Some traded items included (wood, charcoal, livestock, milk). The impact of Sinkat on the surrounding area was very modest and, in some respects, appeared to be negative. However, the positive effects included the provision of some centralized social infrastructures and amenities, security as well as transportation network. Probably the most important role played by the town as an administrative center was bringing the government closer to the people. The significance of this was that the town provided the main refuge for drought-stricken people whenever their resources failed to cope with environmental stress.³³

³² Eroe, A. (1992) "The Role of Small Towns in Regional Development in South-East Africa" in Baker, J. (ed) *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation*. Upsalla: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. P62

³³ Abdel-Ati, A.H. (1992) "Small Towns under condition of Environmental Stress: The Case of Sinkat, Eastern Sudan" in Baker J. (ed) *The Rural-urban interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation*. Upsalla: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. P78- 79

The circulation or rotation of Gurage household members present in the city and the villages was an essential component that existed in Gurage economic as well as social relationships. There were no established routines that governed these movements, although the return of many urban Gurage to Gurageland to celebrate the Christian festival of Meskel (finding of the cross) each September and presence at *ensete* planting and harvesting were predictable events in the annual calendar. Members of *idir* contributed on weekly and monthly whatever they could afford and in return received monetary assistance including other support for burials. The members were not only expected to attend the burials of dead ones but must play major role in mourning. The *idir* was an important component of Gurage city system that allowed them such opportunity to proclaim as well as reaffirm their sincerity to the traditions of clan and kinship solidarity in their home villages. This was because of the strong attachment that Gurage has to their rural roots and traditions. Some urban Gurage were buried in their lineage plots located in their home villages. However, membership by urban Gurage of rural *idir* was more than the assurance of a rural burial, but the reality of the urban-rural network. The emotional attachment of urban Gurage generally to their rural origins and farms should not be underestimated, and the Gurage attitude reinforced this that a person who does not maintain his farm was considered as rootless even though he was well established in the city. An urban Gurage with rural land always has recourse to his *ensete* farm in the event of business failure or long-term unemployment.³⁴ Maintenance and development of urban-rural networks enabled them to maximize their economic opportunities. Also, their roles as middlemen and innovators, linking the urban and rural spheres, exposed them to urban life. For young Gurage males from the countryside, an extended stay in Addis Ababa provided them with the opportunity to experience urban life and, more specifically, to learn the ropes of urban business and trade. This arrangement benefitted both urban Gurage and their rural kin. Urban Gurage was assured of a reliable but low paid labor supply for their businesses, while rural kin benefitted through the transmittance of money and urban goods.³⁵

Adequate city-village synergy empowers the women and opens opportunity for paid employment as well as access to services. It also changes some norms and values attached to

³⁴ Baker, J. (1992) "The Gurage of Ethiopia: Rural-urban interaction and entrepreneurship" in Baker, J. (ed) *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation*. Upsalla: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. P13

³⁵ Baker, J. (1992) "The Gurage of Ethiopia: Rural-urban interaction and entrepreneurship" in Baker, J. (ed) *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation*. Upsalla: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. P133

gender responsibilities. Although, equal opportunities are not always available as a result of gender inequality. The town in Africa made available few opportunities for women to escape from the barriers and norms practiced in the rural settlements and it allowed women to plough back into the rural society and assist their kinsmen back dwelling in the farm. Women in Sokone played a key role through various activities in the growth of the hinterland and the region at large. They participated in village and town business as a result of their privilege to production resources. Women were empowered and had a greater voice in decision-making processes.³⁶

The interaction between Palime and its hinterlands is intense and of three main kinds; administrative, economic and socio-cultural and family-based. They strengthen the links of solidarity between town and rural dwellers, given mutual self-help projects were financed by town-dwellers while rural dwellers provided the labor. These interactions also helped rural dwellers to improve their living conditions. New ideas, fashions, especially in dressing, were quickly disseminated in the rural zones. These assisted the economic and social development of rural zones.³⁷

The accumulation of administrative services makes the town the largest decision-making center at the regional level. This politico-administrative function is a heritage of royalty, preserved under colonization and maintained after the independence of Dahomey. Abomey extended its administrative influence over the whole of central Dahomey, but its influence spread far beyond the boundaries of the department to cover a good deal of southern Benin as far as the cultural domain. The cultural role of Abomey was not, however, limited to aspects of cult and tradition. Abomey did not only have a leading political and cultural role in the central Dahomean space but also actively intervened in the economic area. With the main Hundjro market and its branches, it assumed an important function as a major center of traditional trade. In this respect, its influence was solidly established over the whole Abomey plateau by the network of distributive markets surrounding the Hundjro market and

³⁶ Bouya, A. (1997) "The roles of women in urban-rural interaction: The case of Sokone Senegal" in Baker, J. (ed) *Rural-Urban Dynamics in Franco-Phone Africa*. Upsalla: Africainie Institute. P102

³⁷ Nyassogbo, G. K. (1997) "Urban-Rural interactions in sub-saharan Africa: The case of Palime and its Hinterland in South-West Togo" in Baker, J. (ed) *Rural-urban Dynamic in Franco-Phone Africa*. Upsalla: Nordiska African institute. P63.

also by the area of residence of the traders, as well as the origins of goods sold and the people that came to buy. To sum up, the town and the countryside undoubtedly constituted two living environments where social and cultural practices of giving and receiving took place. Each area of the countryside and each town brought to each other the values necessary for their existence and cultural development. Abomey and its immediate and distant suburbs lived in this symbiosis relationship.³⁸

Urban areas or city are known by their population in terms of size, density and heterogeneity. They are characterized by being superficial, impersonal, and transitory and segmental contacts. The city's heterogeneity breaks down the traditional social structure and gives way for improved mobility.³⁹ Contrarily, the pastoral areas are characterized by low population density, small absolute size, and relative isolation. The major economic base was agriculture while the way of life of the residents was relatively homogenous and features low standard of living.⁴⁰ Poverty, the world over is attached to rural phenomenon, as close to 80% of its residents are poor.⁴¹ Despite all the differences between the city and the rural areas, the city as well as the rural areas can not stand or survive in isolation. The two spatial formations are inter-related, co-existent and fused.⁴² The city has offered many attractions that have collectively served as pulling force for people and activities even in the very distantly sectors of the globe. The growth of transportation and communication networks facilitated by the city encouraged and promoted city standard and ways of living further away from the boundaries of the town itself and became notable in human history.⁴³

The difference between urban and rural areas is not too easy to draw as a result of rapid urban growth in different parts of the world. Rurality could be interpreted into three concepts which include ecological, occupational and socio- cultural. The rural people

³⁸ Azalou, T.A., (1997) "Cultural Dimensions of Urban-Rural Relations in Benin. The Case of Abomey and its Hinterland in Baker, J. (ed) *Rural-Urban Dynamics in Franco-phone Africa*. Upsalla: Nordiska African institute. P89.

³⁶ Jedwab,R and Christeansen,L.(2015)*Demography,Ubanization and Development*. World Bank.ARPP.P4

⁴⁰ Salin, D.E., and Stifel, D.C. (2002) *Urban-Rural Inequality in Africa*. Cornell University. P13

⁴¹ Aikehi, J., (2010) *Determinants of Rural Income in Tanzania: An Empirical Approach*. Dares Salami: REPOA REPORT 10/4 P1

⁴² Vidrovitch, C.C., (1996) "The Process of Urbanization in Africa (From the Origins to the Beginning of Independence".) *African Studies Review*: 39. P2-3

⁴³ William.H.F and Zimmer,Z(2003) "Defining the City" in Paddison.R.(ed) *Handbook of Urban Studies*. London: Sage Publications. P14

engaged in agricultural production and also earned their livelihood from other related economic activities present in their domain. The rural area was also a region of small population size or low density and characterized by slow pace of change. The behavioural attitudes and social networks pivot around family institutions.⁴⁴

The legal and administrative division of urban areas as distinct from rural areas is a reflection of the laws of any given country. The basis of such legal recognition may be the existence of certain minimum population or other functional threshold requirements. The dichotomy between the city and the surrounding regions began to dissolve across Europe as a result of the French revolution which agitated and paved way for principles of equality. The lands which were hitherto secured for the aristocrats were suddenly withdrawn and granted the peasants as a result of the revolution. In other segments of the globe such as North America, South East Asia and Latin America, the introduction of transport and communication networks dissolved some of the established differences between the two spatial sectors.⁴⁵

There are many socio-economic, political and cultural influences and variables affecting city-region relationship in the developing world. Urban-rural interface involves a multitude of regulated and unregulated movement of individuals, information, goods, services, messages and money between the two spatial formations. The movement to and fro between the two areas is an indication of mutual co-existence that invariably enhanced the relationship of the two areas. The urban areas rely on the rural areas for food, raw materials and labour for major economic activities in the city while the city on the other hand provides some imported materials and manufactured goods to those in the villages as well as trickles down development to the tributary villages through the existence of infrastructural facilities.⁴⁶

Remittances are major components of the village-town relationship. The major effect is that remittances increase the incomes of the rural dwellers. This transfer of money from the city to the village form a viable source of income in the hinterlands. Arguably, the phenomenon of globalization with all its attendant features aided in no small measure the sending of money from the city to the region. The money realized from this source is used by

⁴⁴ Wood, M. (2005) *Rural Geography*. London: Sage Publications. P3.

⁴⁵ Wood, M. (2005) *Rural Geography*. London: Sage Publications. P3.

⁴⁶ Trager, L. (1984) "Migration and Remittances: Urban income and Rural Household in the Phillipines". *The Journal of Developing Areas*. 18:3. P317

the rural dwellers to offset debts, build a house, engage in non-farm economic activities and expand farm.⁴⁷

L.Trager examines the role of remittances in Nigeria in the both social and cultural contexts affirms that the the two-way movement of persons, goods and money played significant roles in transforming the agricultural systems of production in the rural areas. He affirms that in the both Kenya and Yugoslavia remittances constituted a major contribution to the lineage income and increased the money accrue to the poor villagers. Remittances lessen unequal way of life as more innovations were brought to the rural areas as a result of these monetary interactions.⁴⁸

In some part of the Caribbean and the Latin American countries, markets and other things associated with marketing activities provided employment opportunities for the people. The market also provided opportunities for rural food producers to sell food products and served as a platform for other ancillary activities in trade to take pkace. In Mexico, the markets in the towns offer new social and economic opportunities and bring about important agricultural innovation. Personal contacts and interactions were cemented in the market as the food producers were always happy coming across hybrids of agricultural items.⁴⁹

The world over, cities can no longer be treated as distinct spaces unconnected to the regions surrounding them. The functioning of urban settlements depend on land in the surrounding rural areas for food and water supply, waste disposal, recreational centres and the growth of settlements. In order to sustain both urban and rural livelihoods, and ecosystems, there is a need for mutual relationship of the two areas. The city is regarded as the melting pot of commercial activities and a place for the exchange of goods between the surrounding villages and the town.

It could be argued that globalization paved way for newly financed city projects and economic activities such as poultry farms, fisheries, goat rearing, and piggery into the village economy. This helped creating rural job opportunities and helped to stimulate sophisticated techniques of production. The ecology, national economy and global economy are major

⁴⁷ Oral interview conducted with Dr Suraj Bankole.UI,Ibadan. 12/2/2017

⁴⁸ Trager, L., (1988) "Rural-Urban Linkages: The Roles of Small Urban Centers in Nigeria". *African Studies Review*. 31:3. P217

⁴⁹ Rondinelli, D.A., (1983) "Town and Small Cities in Developing Countries". *The Geographical Review*. 73:4. P382.

⁴⁹ Interview with Dr Suraj Bankole.UI,Ibadan.7/6/2018

prerequisites that determine if the urban financed linkage would be complementary or reversed.⁵⁰ It could be argued that the surrounding rural areas are integrated into the expanse socio-economic and cultural system by urbanization.

The role of agriculture in African sub-Saharan could not be over emphasized. It is a lead sector among its peers. Despite its importance, it could not operate in isolation. Specialization of activities is an essential ingredient of urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa. The expanded and regulated economy in the city needs a rural linkage for agricultural produce and export commodities. The hinterlands in Ibadan are daughter settlements that are attached to the city socially, politically, and economically.⁵¹ The people in the tributary villages see their traditional compounds in the heart of the city as their ancestral home. In the light of this, there is a need to examine critically the interconnections, inter-relations, and the synergy between the city and the villages in Ibadan. Historically, the customs and institutions in Ibadan present a deep insight into the viable growth of city-villages interactions as both spatial sectors are intertwined and conditioned each other.

1.2 Problem Statement

The ties, synergies, linkages and relations between urban and rural people, settlements, and enterprises have become gradually more robust. They are major ingredients of sustenance and manufacture systems in most regions of the world. The relationships between the city and the hinterlands have been described as remarkable way to accelerate development in both areas. Various forms of rural-urban relationships can be identified and these include: home-work relationship; central place relationship; network relationship; consumption relationships; amenity relationships; infrastructure relationships; and resource relationships.⁵² Rural-Urban societies are greatly differentiated internally and each has clearly defined politics and interests. In some literature, the urban-rural societies were seen as dichotomous entities when in reality the relationship cannot be dichotomized because of the inherent interplay, overlap and reciprocities (economic, cultural, social and political).⁵³

⁵⁰ Interview with Dr Suraj Bankole. UI, Ibadan. 7/6/2018

⁵¹ Oral interview with Alhaji Muritala Obisesan. Obisesan Compound. 11/2/2017

⁵² Seraje, M.T., (2007) "Livelihood strategies and their implications for rural-urban linkages: The Case of Wohenkomi Town and the Surrounding Rural Kebeles in Ethiopia". *Working Paper on Population and Land Use Change*. P2

⁵³ Courtney, P. and Smith, J. (2009) "Rural-Urban Linkages and social cohesion". *De-Regional Policy*. P2

In view of this, the urban-rural interface in the developing nations is a complex process, affecting and being affected by a large number of societal, cultural, economic and individual variables. It involves a multitude of formal and informal flow of goods, services, messages, capital and people between the two areas. As a result of these links, rural and urban areas interpenetrated each other. The city depends on the surrounding villages for the supply of its food and fuel. It also provides the city with raw materials and labour used in its commercial and industrial activities and provides a major life blood for the existence of city. The urban areas diffuse economic development to rural areas through food imports, absorption of labour, exports of manufactured products and provision of services such as educational and health services and are being described as engine of growth and modernization.⁵⁴

Though, more scholarly studies have been done on this area, the attention giving to the study of city-region relationship in the indigenous city of Ibadan, a frontline urban centre in Nigeria and Yorubaland has not been fair and just as it is minimal. The city is known to be heterogenous and cosmopolitan in nature not only in Yoruba-land but in sub-Saharan Africa. The increase in population necessitated not only an increase in the size of the town, but also in the size of its farming land to feed the expanding and teeming population. Indeed, agriculture was the basis of Ibadan economy since Ibadan, all through the 19th century was engaged in warfare and had to be assured of a good supply of food. In the light of this, settlers in Ibadan, as in most Yoruba towns, had to obtain for themselves not only a piece of land to build on but also plots for farming. It was the lands outside the town wall that were devoted entirely to large scale farming and the production of staple products such as yams, maize and cassava. During the first few years of the development of Ibadan, the farmlands outside the town were no more than five miles from the centre. As the population increased, Ibadan farms became scattered over a larger area. The three major groups that facilitated the expansion of these villages included the hunters, the farmers and the slaves of the warriors respectively.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Trager, L. (1984) "Migration and Remittances: Urban income and Rural Household in the Phillipines". *The Journal of Developing Areas*. 18:3. P317

⁵⁵ Falola, T. (2012) *Ibadan Foundation, Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan:Bookcraft.P80.

Ibadan farms later stretched as far as Lalupon and beyond in the northeast, and as far as Apomu in the southeast. They were often as far as thirty miles away. This great distance from Ibadan eventually led to the foundation of farm settlements and villages. The land tenure system practiced in Ibadan also aided the mobility of people from the city to the villages. The effect of this was that the stranger as far as he has been accepted enjoyed the same right enjoyed by the earlier settlers.⁵⁶ It became more stressful for some of these groups of people to come back to the city after the day's work following the long distance to be covered. This action necessitated the building of temporary homes in various villages and consequently resulted in the establishment of villages such as Akintola-Ogbun, Alabidun, Obembe, Omi-Ladapo, Gbedun, Olubadan, Busogboro, Olowa, and Amosun among many others.⁵⁷ Farmsteads and villages developed, and people began to settle down in those villages but still had an allegiance to Ibadan their base. The people living in the villages claim membership of one or other compounds in the city. This brought about the saying "Ibadan tile Toko" Ibadan at home and in the farm villages.⁵⁸

Historically, little has been done to investigate the spatial results of the co-existence of one family, two households (urban-rural interface) in Ibadan. It is against this locale that the work seeks to investigate the essence, nature, pattern, and extent of urban-rural linkages in Ibadan in relation to food production, distribution and livelihood means. It could be argued that, the development of cities including Ibadan, introduces a new concept to the challenge of city food supply chain and livelihood. In spite of Ibadan's position among major cities in Nigeria and its rate of urban development, city food distribution systems and livelihood strategies are yet to be prioritized academically.

POPULATION GROWTH OF IBADAN (1851 – 1991)

YEAR	IBADAN URBAN	RATE OF GROWTH	IBADAN LESS CITY	RATE OF GROWTH	TOTAL POPULATION	RATE OF GROWTH
1851	100,000					
1890	120,000	0.5				
1911	175,000	2.2				
1921	283,075	3.6				
1931	387,000	5.0				
1952	459,196	0.8	286,252		745,448	
1963	627,379	2.8	514,298	5.7%	1,141,677	3.95%
1991	1,222,663	2.43	606,639	0.5%	1,829,300	1.63%

⁵⁶ NAI Iba Div. File No:1/1/-1359/s.23 Ibadan District Council Rules.

⁵⁷ Oral interview with Alhaji Saka Adigun. Amosun village, Ibadan. 7/4/2018

⁵⁸ Oral interview with Senator Dr Lekan Balogun. Otun Olubadan of Ibadaland. 3/5/2018

POPULATION RATE OF GROWTH BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA (IBADAN URBAN)

S/N	Local Government	Population (1991)
1	Ibadan North	302,271
2	Ibadan North East	275,627
3	Ibadan North West	197,918
4	Ibadan South East	225,800
5	Ibadan South West	227,585
	Total	1,228,633

National Population Commission (1991)

POPULATION RATE OF GROWTH BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA (IBADAN RURAL)

S/N	Local Government	Population (1991)
1	Akinyele	140,118
2	Egbeda	129,461
3	Ido	53,582
4	Lagelu	68,901
5	Ona Ara	123,048
6	Oluyole	91,527
	Total	606,637

National Population Commission (1991)

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The principal objective of this work is to investigate and fully understand the urban-rural interface in Ibadan between 1900-1999, while the specific objectives are to:

- (1) Investigate in details the extent, pattern, and intensity of urban-rural synergy in Ibadan

- (2) Highlight and evaluate the rural-urban social links and their effects on urban and rural livelihood
- (3) Analyze continuity and change in city-region processes in the context of economic and social development
- (4) Examine the evolution of traditional and modern institutions and sustainability during the study period.

1.4 Research Question

To what extent did the synergy between the rural and urban areas in Ibadan affect the relationships between the rural and urban people and activities, and in the process its effects on livelihood means, inequalities and social change at both levels.

1.5 Rationale for the study

The primary aim of this study was to investigate the rural-urban interface in Ibadan between 1900-1999: who produced and why, what did they produce and how, what were the levels and chains of production and distribution networks, what was the relationship of the rural and urban residents on land, labour and capital, to what extent did the city meet its own food, what were the policy frameworks regarding agriculture in Ibadan urban and rural, what other economic activities did they engage themselves for livelihood and a host of others. It could be argued that in addition to population growth resulting from natural increase, the urban centres also attract people within the tributary settlements to benefit from its infrastructural facilities, to pursue vocation, and gain from other establishments such as market as well as advancing the sustainability means. The distinctions between the city and the village settlements are bridged with adequate touch, communication, and the diffusion of cultural features.⁵⁹ The web of connectivity between the two spatial areas strengthened them as neither could one stand in isolation.

Cities in Nigeria, as somewhere else, have traditionally played notable roles on the hinterlands. In some part of the northern Nigeria, the town played the role of spreading man's population and economic exercise all-over the savanna region.⁶⁰ Arguably, there are common

⁵⁹ Oral interview with Dr Moruf Alabi. U.I, Ibadan. 4/4/2018

⁶⁰ Oral interview with Professor Charles Olatubara, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Ibadan. 4/4/2011.

features between the Northern Savanna system and the historical impact of Yoruba urban development, the very different nature of the Yoruba cities led to an idiosyncratic pattern of rural interaction. Yoruba cities historically had connected themselves to their tributary settlements or hinterlands, the residents of which saw themselves as part of the city.⁶¹ As a result of this, the historical way of rural-urban inter-relation continued to be noted in Yoruba culture. In fact, many works have been done on urban development in Africa and Nigeria; few are available historically on the phenomenon on Ibadan.

The point of departure of this study is therefore to emphasize the interrelationship and connectivity of the regions and the city in Ibadan, and in particular, how the teeming Ibadan populations were fed within the stated period and the livelihood means of the both city and village residents. This will go a long way to promoting historical research, methodologies and scholarship. The research observes the city as not only the administrative, commercial, and cultural seat of the region but also the economic nerve-centre for the two spatial sectors.

Ibadan is chosen realizing its prominence and its leading position among the Nigerian cities. The city is considered as not only the largest native city in Nigeria, but in the whole of African sub-Sahara. It is a traditional cum modern city. Ibadan is also regarded as one of the most economically vibrant cities and most populated. It is centrally situated along the forest and savannah and this facilitated its economic growth and helped its urbanization.⁶² Ibadan was established around 19th century, an era of political turmoil and crises in Yoruba-land. These crises brought about some changes in Yoruba institutions during the period. Historically, Ibadan had a remarkable story of changes in customs and tradition among the Yoruba cities in the 19th century.

Ibadan differs in all ramifications against all other Yoruba towns including *Ogbomosho*, *Osogbo*, *Ijebu*, *Ila*, among many others as they were regarded as micro urban following the percentage of their dwellers and residents engaging in primary production of tilling the land, trading, and craft.⁶³ The city of Ibadan is a multi-occupational with expanding industrial sector. Also, Ibadan is peculiar in Yorubaland following its diversity and cosmopolitan nature. A huge number of other ethnic groups in Nigeria are represented in the

⁶¹ Oral interview with Dr Moruf Alabi. U.I,Ibadan.. 4/4/2018.

⁶² Udo, R.K.,(1982) "Ibadan in its Regional Setting" in M.O. Filani, F.O Akintola and C.O Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P10

⁶³ Olusanya, P.O., (1968) "Urban Fertility: A study of Reproductive Behaviour and Some Factors Affecting it in Selected Yoruba Towns". Ph. D. Thesis, London School of Economics and political science. P23.

city. As a result of its position between the forest and the savanna, it became the economic power house of the Yorubas as agricultural products and goods from Lagos passed through the city to other neighbouring towns.⁶⁴

This research will unveil some of the alterations and modifications that cropped up in the area of town food distribution and livelihood. In spite of the urbanization level in Ibadan, and the alarming rate of poverty among its urban and rural residents, the city food distribution process and livelihood are not considered and prioritized historically.

The work starts with the argument that, rural-urban sectors, though different in establishment designs, Ibadan is conceived as fundamental and active in the relationship. Even though the city of Ibadan is a flourishing business center, sufficient portions of its native people are farmers. This could be attributed to the fact that its farming outskirts extend for a respectable distance into the rural regions. The vitality of examining and analyzing the city in relation with its tributary areas is that, the city cannot be studied in isolation without making reference to the tributary areas. City and village settlements cannot be disentangled. The two areas are integral part of each other. Arguably, the two spatial sectors may not gain or profit evenly from the linkage and connection, the reality is that, none of the two could be isolated from each-other. Ibadan, for instance, relied on the farm products and surpluses of the hinterlands. The hinterland villages included *AraromiAperin, Aba-Otun, Daali, Eleja, Olohunde, Ekefa, Seko, Abanla, Ayegun, Latunde, Olunde, Owobaale, Atari* and a host of others.⁶⁵

1.6 Scope and limitation

The research covers the ancient city of Ibadan and its rural settlements located in all the four axis of the town. The city is easily and without many challenges accessible to different towns and cities in Nigeria as well as its tributary areas by transportation system. This work examined and investigated Ibadan as an entity comprising both the rural and the urban. The city stretches from the city to as far as 40miles into the interior which formed most of the rural hinterlands.Until the 1970s, Ibadan was among the largest cities in Afrcan sub-Saharan Africa and still ranks amongst the top few. In the 1980s, it was already a multi-

⁶⁴ Oladele,B.M.,(2011)“Dynamics of Urban Land Use Changes with Remote Sensing: Case of Ibadan, Nigeria”.*Journal of Geography and Regional planning*.Vol.4 (11).P635

⁶⁵ Oral interview with Alhaji Biliaminu Adenle, A local historian. Bere,Ibadan.10/5/2019

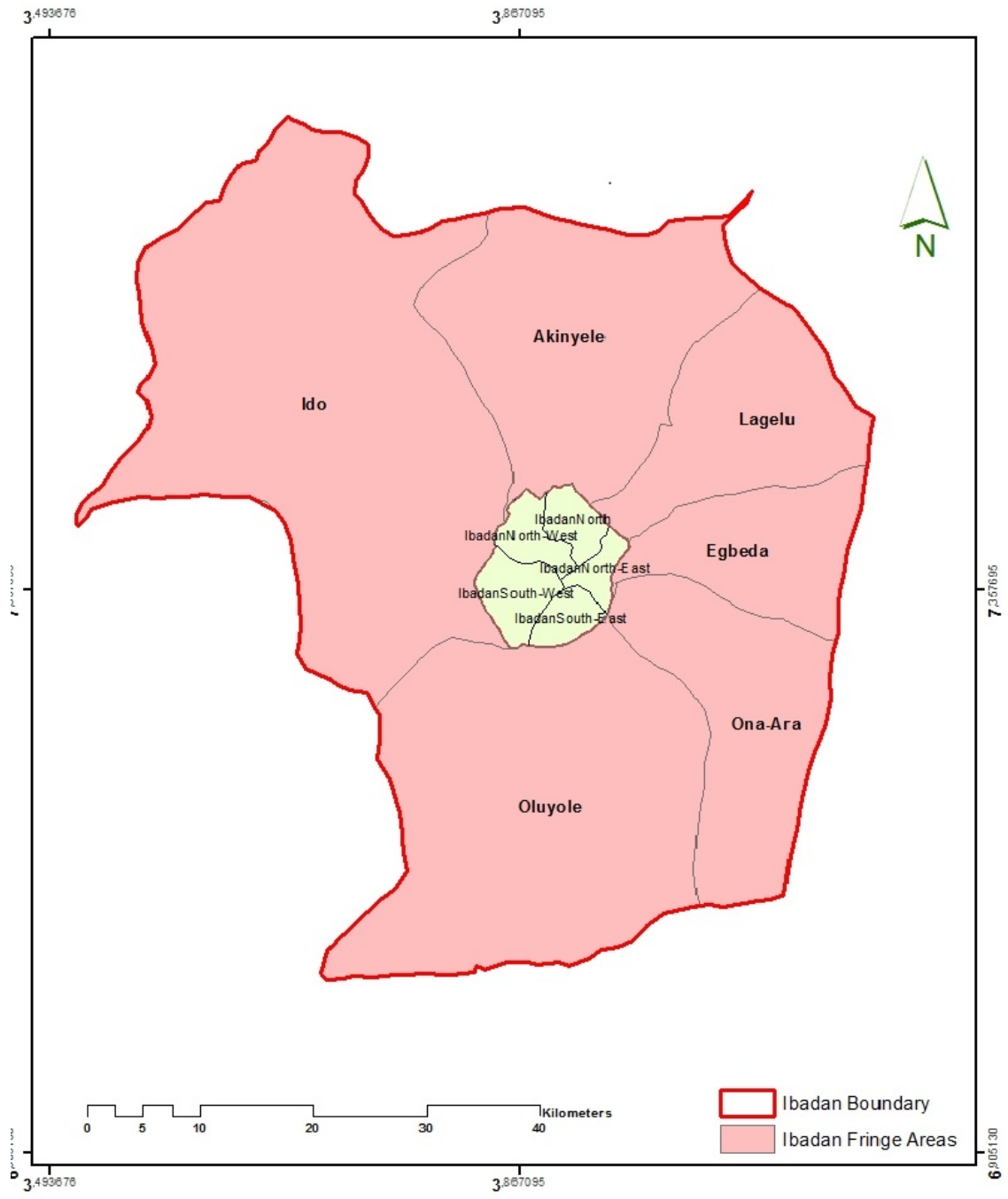
occupational, multi-ethnic, sprawling entrepreneur city where population was in constant, intense and reciprocal relationship with one another. A million population in the 1970s, its population was estimated as three-and-half million in the mid 1980s.⁶⁶

CITIES	1952 CENSUS	1931 CENSUS	1921 CENSUS	1911 CENSUS
IBADAN	459,196	387,133	238,094	175,000
LAGOS	267,401	126,108	99,690	73,766
OGBOMOSHO	139,535	86,744	84,860	80,000
OSOGBO	122,698	49,599	51,418	59,821
ILE-IFE	110,790	24,170	22,184	36,231
IWO	100,006	57,191	53,888	60,000
ABEOKUTA	84,451	45,763	28,941	51,255
OYO	72,133	48,733	40,356	45,438
ILESHA	72,029	21,892	40,356	45,348
EDE	44,868	52,392	48,360	26,577
ILORIN	41,000	47,412	38,668	36,342

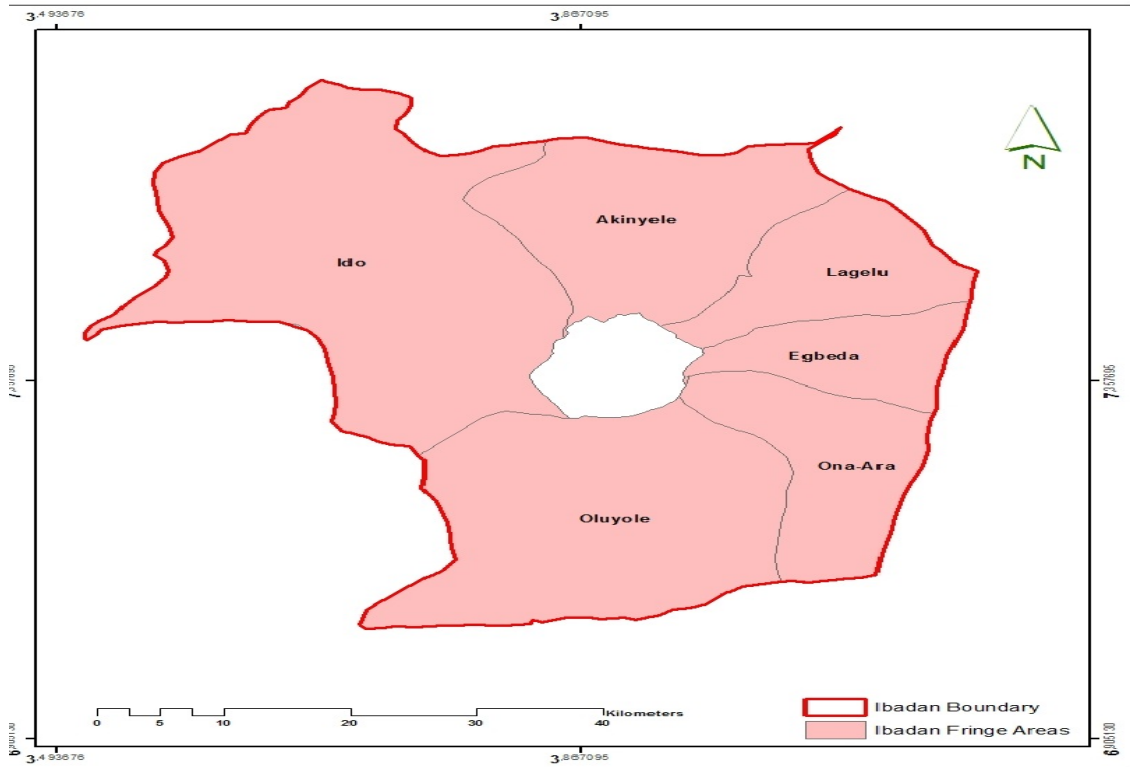
Source: Mabogunje.A. (1962) *Yoruba Towns*. Ibadan: University Press

⁶⁶ Guyer,J(1997)*An African Niche Economy:Farming to Feed Ibadan1968-88*. London: Edingburg University Press. P17

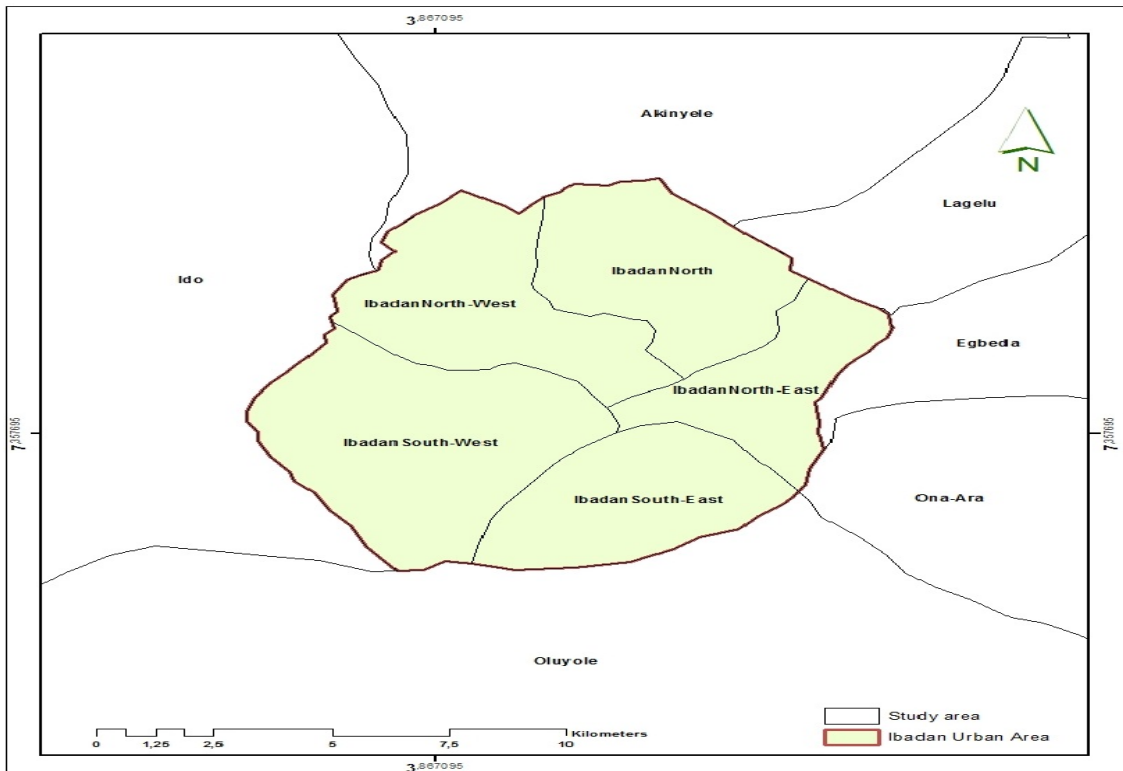
IBADAN REGION



IBADAN RURAL AREA



IBADAN URBAN AREA



In the history of Ibadan, urban and rural areas are closely related. The two spatial sectors have many things in common and the both conditioned each other. The urban area relies heavily on the tributary settlements for the provision of its food and other materials needed in the city. The tributary settlements also make available part of the human resources needed in the commercial and industrial sectors in the city. The city on the other hand not only serves as the economic melting points for the regions but also as promoter of socio-cultural values and systems.⁶⁷ The urban development in Ibadan works as an incentive for the growing financial condition and keeps the city as the principal economic centre. The town depends strongly on the food products and labour from the tributary settlements, while the regions relied on the city for trade and commerce.

To a large extent, the networks of relationship between the town and the village settlements in Ibadan consisted the households, associates, kinsmen, customers and competitors. The both rural and urban dwellers were economically interdependent and inter-related because of of specialization in occupations: agrarian and non-agrarian. Ibadan had numerous satellite settlements that made available food and other farm products. These wide farmlands and fields were situated in the tributary settlements.

This study is specifically focused on Ibadan, a traditional cum modern city with rich farming history in Yorubaland. The farming suburbs of Ibadan stretch for a considerable extent. Some of the tributary settlements included Akintola-Ogbun, Olowa, Longe, Aba-Otun, Olosan, Onidundun, Araromi, among many others.

The time scope for this work is 100 years, and that is, between 1900 and 1999, though with some recourse to its pre-colonial antecedents. This was as a result of the far-reaching consequences of the Yoruba wars and the rise of new urban conglomerations, which aided British imperialism as well as the official and formal British occupation of the city of Ibadan in 1900. The year 1900 was the year the colonial policies created urban economy distinct from the rural economy and the year 1999, the year the eleven local governments created in Ibadan (six rural and five urban) by the military were officially recognized by the 1999 Nigerian Constitution.

⁶⁷ Oral interview with Dr Moruf Alabi. U.I, Ibadan. 4/6/2011

1.7 Methodology

The purpose of this work was to further the research and analysis and by elucidating some of the dynamic processes at work such as adaptation and expansion and by investigating some of the strategies of the actors involved at the rural-urban interface in the areas of food supply and livelihood in Ibadan between 1900-1999. To study this, equals to both examine the social state and define the traditional method of connection maintained by people with these settlements. Hence, the work cannot do without the common structure of the social changes that influence the social space.

The rural-urban connection in the discourse relating to city food supply and livelihood are not only market links that guarantee the transfer of agricultural produce, or a simple link between the farmers and the urban consumers. It is a structure grounded in a pronounced social and economic arrangement. This research is making use of both the primary and secondary data to unfold complicated connections and study evolving events.

The historical ethnography method was adopted, while a combination of interpretive and documentary analysis designs was used. Ethnography is the systematic study of people and culture. It is designed to explore cultural phenomena when the researcher observes society from the point of view of the subject of the study. It is a qualitative research method where the researcher observes and or interacts with a study's participants in their real life event. It is generally considered as interpretive term of social research which is descriptive in nature.⁶⁸ Ethnography research is conducted using diverse methodologies such as participant observation, in-depth interviews and documents. Participant observation is unique in that it combines the researcher's participation in the lives of the people under study while also maintaining a professional distance. Interview is the process of directing a conversation to collect information. And Archival or documentary research is the analysis of the existing materials stored for research service or other purposes officially and unofficially. The aims

⁶⁸ Ugwu.C(2020)"History of Ethnography:Straitening the Records".*International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*. 9(7) Online URL: [http://www. Researchgate.net](http://www.Researchgate.net) 3182.P78

are to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals in their practices through an intensive involvement for research purpose.⁶⁹

This study investigates the synergy between the rural and urban areas in Ibadan, a foremost traditional city in African sub-Saharan. Ibadan takes a prominent position among Nigerian cities. Its economic, political and social-cultural roles placed Ibadan above many other Nigerian cities. Its largeness and urban ways of existence could not be quantified.⁷⁰ The geographical location of the city between the coast and the interior places it above other cities and towns in Yorubaland. This facilitated its expansion in size as well as in commerce. The city became the nerve centre of commerce and trade for people of different Yoruba origins. Fourchard asserted that Ibadan was the largest indigenous African city in its early period.⁷¹ Ibadan had very robust populations that were economically interdependent on each other as a result of division of labour which allowed for specialization into farming and non-farming activities. The city was blessed with numerous village settlements that made food and other agricultural produce available for the urban dwellers. Its farmlands were located in the rural areas.⁷² Its immense population and size coupled with great agricultural base aided its standardized market.⁷³ Ibadan people relied heavily for their livelihood on smilthing, farming, war-faring and commerce and this made food more available for the populace. The city also developed vibrant trade relations with neighbouring towns and cities in the earlier period and before the advent of the British which eventually planted its administration after the peace treaty of 1893 that ended the 17-year Yoruba civil-war.⁷⁴ After the peace treaty of 1893, Ibadan being the town of warriors resorted to farming at the expense of war. The reasons for this included the availability of good soil, the customary land tenure concept, enhanced security apparatus, introduction of cash crops and the availability of market and marketing system to sell agricultural produce. This accelerated and enhanced a robust city-farm

⁶⁹ Ryan, G.S.,(2017)"An Introduction to the Origins,History and Principles of Ethnography". *Anthropology Ethnography Research*24 (4) P3.<http://www>. Doi:10/7748e1470

⁷⁰ Fourchard, L(2003) *Urban Slum Report: The Case of Ibadan*.University of Ibadan:IFRA.P3

⁷¹ Fourchard, L(2003) *Urban Slum Report: The Case of Ibadan*.University of Ibadan:IFRA.P3.

⁷² Oral interview conducted for Barrister Sarafadeen Ali. Ibadan High Chief. Aged-55. 17/6/2017

⁷³ Oral interview with the Osi Olubadan of Ibadan-land: Senator Lekan Balogun.22/11/2010.

⁷⁴ Watson,R.(1999)"Ibadan-A Model of Historical Fact: Militarism and Civic Culture in a Yoruba Society".*Urban History*.26.1.P6

relationship in agriculture and trade.⁷⁵ For the city of Ibadan to be well studied, a comprehensive understanding of its geographical region should be worked on as the city could not be treated in isolation without recouring to its tributary village settlements.

For the purpose of this study, the urban and rural areas in Ibadan are the city and the surrounding rural settlements. The urban and rural areas fall within the five local government in the city and six local governments in the rural areas recognized by the 1999 Nigerian constitution. In the city are the Ibadan Southwest, Southeast, North, Northeast and Northwest while it has Oluyole, Egbeda, Ona-Ara, Ido, Akinyele and Lagelu in the rural areas. Primary data were sourced from oral interviews conducted with purposively selected 80 villagers: rural farmers, traders and artisans in villages about their links with Ibadan. Extensive interviews were conducted for the rural people and those involved in the chain of agricultural production/supply, crafts and other economic activities. Valuable information on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of those involved was requested.

These interviews were done in many village settlements in the entire axis of Ibadan. In the city, interviews were conducted with purposively selected 90 people aged between 50 and 90: 11 Ibadan chiefs, 12 lineage heads, 15 urban traders, 12 artisans, 15 food marketers, 10 transporters, and 15 consumers who were conversant with the history of Ibadan. Data collection tools for this study include in-depth interview, participant observation, documentary materials such as dairies and reports while on the other hand the selection of Focus Group Discussion (FGD). It was necessitated by the need to involve people of different ages, occupations, and other categories in the discussion. FGD sessions were conducted with groups such as traders, farmers, village heads, artisans, lineage heads within the city, and many more. The discussions were written in a field note and sometimes recorded on tape and later transcribed. Focus Group Discussion was intended to get the best response from those involved on issues such that deal with feeling, attitudes and opinions since it was an open ended conversation on the subject matter. Also, in-depth interviews with average length of thirty-five minutes were conducted among some selected food marketers, urban traders, consumers, artisans, transporters and officials. I visited selected villages in the six rural or less city councils where interviews were conducted with average length of one hour with

⁷⁵ Adebayo, O (2003) "The City of Ibadan" in G.O. Oguntomisin (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1. Ibadan: Bookshelf LTD. P12.

individuals. An interview guide containing set of questions relating to the subject matter was used as a plan to keep the conversation focused on the subject matter, while giving the interviewee room to freely express their perception on the content of discussion. The interview guide variables were subjected to face validity. The data collected were subjected to descriptive as well as content analysis to complement the survey findings.

My time as a researcher on Ibadan Economic and Development History was taken up by a variety of activities. In the early stages, i collected data on the histories of the various lineage groups (*idile*) and compounds (*Agbole*). In the light of this, I established friendly relations with Ibadan high chiefs, compound heads, lineage heads and towns people generally. As lineage histories make important statements about people's ancestors, rights to titled offices, land-and ritual property, some elders showed an initial reluctance to narrate these stories to me unless I assured them of my mission. More lineage heads began to give me attention after knowing about my mission and insisted that i recorded their histories. Priests of Orisa cults (*Oke'badan and Egungun*) and some other custodians of shrines and masks showed a similar initial reluctance to let me in on the most revered patrimonies of their ancestors, but once my mission was known, I began to receive more invitations to attend their festivals. Finding people to speak English in some of the surrounding villages proved more difficult. Much of my work in Ibadan centred on food supply and livelihood. As the farming district around the town stretches out many miles in all directions, I was fortunate for the introduction of motorbikes (*Okada*) by means of which I could reach the most inaccessible corners of the bush. In Ibadan where i made several exploratory trips, most of my time was taken up with interviewing migrants as well. The migrants showed great cooperation by answering questions posed.

Ethical consideration was emphasized throughout the field work. First, permission was secured from the all the interviewees before conducting the interviews. Also, participation of respondents was based on informed and voluntary consent. The respondents were at liberty to discontinue their participation at any point during the exercise, their confidentiality and opinion regarding questions perception was fully respected.

Materials including colonial reports and Ibadan provincial papers were sourced from the Ibadan National Archives to corroborate and authenticate the both oral and secondary sources. Secondary data were obtained from books, journals, magazines and theses, while useful information were also gathered from published annual and other reports, national

newspapers as well as publications of government agencies. Data were subjected to historical analysis. Data were analysed on thematic and narrative analysis by organizing data according to recurrent themes found in interview and other types of qualitative data collection for the reconstruction of a coherent story.

Despite several books and articles on Ibadan, and the fact that it is difficult to disentangle urban from rural in Ibadan as both conditioned each other, the urban-rural interface has not been studied effectively. This thesis is unique on the premise that it is going to be one of its kinds in the developmental history of one of the indigenous cities in African sub-Saharan as it also provides an innovative, analytical and methodological approach to the study of urban-rural interface in Ibadan by engaging and applying ethographical and qualitative methods to identify and unraveling the linkages between the city and the regions. Its originality consists in its methodology as the thesis did not rely solely on secondary sources

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The urban-rural relationship covers a multitude of regulated and unregulated movements of items, services, information, money and persons to and fro the city and the tributary areas as both areas are mutually connected. In contrast, many experimental works confirm that the relationship between the city and the rural areas such as flows of persons, items, money and a host of others play significant roles in the processes of urban-rural change. In the economic sphere, several city enterprises depend on orders from tributary villages while opportunity to city markets and services is often critical for the rural farmers. A huge number of families in the both city and villages depend on the farming and non-farming economic activities for income and livelihood.⁷⁶

The urban-rural concept stresses the reciprocal growth of the both village and city by claiming that the two regions are inter-related locales characterized by the flow of materials as well as other connections. Rural-Urban connections are categorized into spatial relations which include movement of persons, items, capital, and other social relationships between the city and the tributary villages as well as sectoral linkages including village settlements non-

⁷⁶ UN Habitat (2019) *Urban-Rural Linkages Guiding Principles: Framework for Action to Advance Integrated Territorial Development*. P7. <https://habitat.org>.

farm jobs and urban farming. The connections between the village and the city locales, persons, and deeds are notable keys of sustainability and local economies; they are also instruments of social and civilizing transmutation. The rural-urban interrelation embraces movement of farm produce and other goods from the village based producers to the city markets for local consumption and transfer to more developed markets; and in the opposite direction, movement of finished and foreign items and materials from the city to the tributary settlements. Others include movement of persons between the village and the city for different purposes temporarily or permanently. On the other hand, financial movements include basically, remittances from the migrants to their kinsmen in the rural communities as well investment and credits from urban-based institutions.⁷⁷

1.9 Theoretical Background

Central place theory was propounded by Walter Christaller and advanced by many geographers and economists. The theory defines the spatial distribution of urban places in terms of their size and functions. The urban hierarchy developed by Christaller was based on function rather than population size. These are not synonymous but they are closely related.⁷⁸

According to the theory, growth is communicated from the town to the hinterland. Two types of linkages were identified by this theory: the domestic and the commercial linkages. Domestic forward linkages relate to the processing and distribution of agricultural products for own consumption or for distribution for direct household consumption through the numerous rural markets linked to the city. On the other hand, commercial forward linkages involve consolidation of agricultural produce into large volume for industrial processing and depend on the existence of a well organized integrated marketing system for agricultural produce and post-harvest technological choices for preservation for a longer marketing life. These two linkages however determine the efficiency of and effectiveness of urban-rural linkages.⁷⁹

The central place theory provides a trickling down effects from the city to the surrounding villages. These are generated by purchases and investment placed in the

⁷⁷ Mirjam,T and Marten,B.(2015)*Governing Beyond the Cities*. <http://www.researchgate.P3>

⁷⁸ Mabogunje, A.L.(1980) "The Dynamic of Centre-Periphery Relations: The need for a new Geography of Resource Development". *Institute of British Geographers*. 5:3. P287

⁷⁹ Hansen,N. (1981) *Development from Above or Below? The Dialectics of Regional Planning in Developing Countries*(.Ed) Stohr.W.New York: John Wiley& sons.P16

hinterlands by the city. When examined as the nucleus of the complementary part on the rural area, the centre becomes the provider of items and services to the tributary villages. It rests on the in-bound money flow produced by the spending for the hinterland population to support the complement of goods and services provided. The core and its tributary region, therefore, form a common inter-connected scheme.⁸⁰ Though, the latter may also raise the productivity of labour and per capita consumption in the hinterlands by absorbing some of their disguised unemployment. On the other hand, polarization may take place in a number of ways. Competition from the city or the service centre may depress relatively inefficient manufacturing and export activities in the hinterlands, and the city or service centre may produce a brain drain from the hinterlands, rather than create opportunities for their disguised unemployed. The backwash effects of CPT involve population migration, trade, and capital movement. Capital tends to flow to the city because of increased demand. Among the spread effect which may counter the backwash effects are increased outlets for the hinterlands agricultural products and raw materials and a tendency for technical advance to diffuse from the city to the hinterlands. In the study of Sinkat and its rural isolated Red Sea province of Sudan, findings revealed that the town of Sinkat had limited impact on the rural Beja, but that some positive features included the provision of centralized social, welfare and administrative services. Overall, the developmental impact of Sinkat on its hinterland has been modest. It was revealed that Sinkat with a population of close to 7,000 people acted as the service centre for tributary rural villages such as Beja.⁸¹ To this end, the centre and the surrounding villages are mutually bound while the linkages that exist between the two spatial sectors are dynamic.⁸²

Peter Little studies the consequence of seasonality in shaping economic and social linkages between the rural populace and a town in Southern Somalia. He concludes that changes in rainfall and productivity in the region result in considerable movement of livestock and people. Under such conditions, certain settlements close down on a seasonal basis, and the roles of towns as markets and suppliers of inputs to rural populations change dramatically during the year. Certain urban based businesses and traders actually moved out seasonally to

⁸⁰ Hartshorn T. (1986) *Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography* (2nd edition). New York: John Willey and sons. P137

⁸¹ Rondinelli, D.O (1993) "Town and Small Areas in Developing Countries". *The Geographical Review*. Vol. 73, No 4. P386

⁸² Rondinelli, D.O., (1993) "Town and Small Areas in Developing Countries". *The Geographical Review*. Vol. 73, No4. P387

rural areas to pursue pastoral customers. The effect of these processes is that, rural-urban linkages tend to be extremely fluid and unstable. The process is further complicated by the decline of official markets and the prominence of unofficial trade in Somalia. By looking at the seasonal diversions of rural-town linkages with regard to marketing, investment, and the provision of inputs and services to traders, Little demonstrates the positive contributions of towns to rural productivity and development as well as some negative aspects of rural-urban linkages.⁸³

The town of Makambako is known to be a viable centre for food supplies and storage. The activities in Makambako and in the hinterlands are mutually supporting, creating a local synergy effect. Therefore, the role of Makambako can neither be regarded as one sidedly parasitic or supportive but rather as an essential and integrated part of successful regional development in an open economy. In more general terms, the development of Makambako illustrates that the growing inter dependence between peripheral regions and the city go hand in hand with increased economic growth in the regions. Introduction of new technologies into the tributary regions including new crops and new ways of organization and exploitation of local resources may lead to an increased transportation of surplus from the region to the rest city, and at the same time, leads to increased wealth and economic growth in the region. The rapid economic development of Makambako has attracted many business people with relatively large technological capabilities who have established their businesses within production, trade, or services. Most of the businesses have grown up in the rural surroundings.⁸⁴

Debating the critical roles of the central place theory, some scholars have debated from experimental and speculative bases that cities are critical for urging the development of the tributary villages. They argued that the city provides some centralized social services,

⁸³ Little,P.(1992) "Seasonality and Rural-Urban Linkages in Southern Somalia" in Baker.J and Pederson.P. (eds)*The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa. Expansion and Adaptation*.Upsalla:The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.P98

⁸⁴ Eroe, A.,(1992) "The Role of Small Towns in Regional Development in South-East Africa"..*Journal of East African Studies*. Vol. 6. No 3. P 66

especially in the field of economy, health, security and others. The city also serves as an administrative centre by bringing the government closer to the people.⁸⁵

Despite elegant modifications that have been made to earlier central place scheme in order to explain better the typical spacing, size and hierarchy of settlements, the usefulness of central place theory for human settlements policy is severely limited. Moreover, the theory is essentially static; it provides little insight into processes of spatial economic development. The theory argues that the poverty of the rural areas is a result of the low productivity of labour, which in part a function of an inadequate supply of physical capital. But the shortage of capital is attributable in large measure to the persistently low levels of saving-caused in turn by low income. Thus completing the vicious circle of poverty. The concept of CPT was questioned on diverse basis.⁸⁶

1.10 Literature Review

This section discusses the scholarship relating to urbanization, urban-rural interface, and livelihood strategies. For this work, the thematic approach is used to review literature central to the understanding of the subject matter.

Urbanization

The world over, in the last couple of years, urbanization as a phenomenon has become a global discourse. This could be attributed to its effect on the life of mankind. Current literature on the subject matter has shown that urbanization is multi-dimensional and must be approached comprehensively. In line with this thinking, Cecilia Tacoli(2012) in his paper “Urbanization, gender and urban poverty: paid work and unpaid care work in the city” describes “the phenomenon as the quantity of the populace residents in places. He added that the phenomenon has not only transformed the economic systems but has provided a level for enhanced productivity. It has also reduced the number of people engaging in agriculture and reduced the number of rural dwellers by making available paid wage economic activities such as industries and service sectors in the cities. The phenomenon through its potential population has also enhanced production through technical innovation for efficient use of

⁸⁵ Ove, P(1992) “Introduction” in Jonathan.B and Ove.P(eds)*The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa*. Nordiska. Seminar Proceedings No17. P22.

⁸⁶ Abumere, S.T., (2001) *Food Supply to Ibadan: A study of Rural-Urban Linkages*. Ibadan: DPC Research Report. No 29. P6

natural resources. The work, as part of its discoveries, stated that despite the huge differences among scholars in defining urbanization, it concluded that natural population growth and rural-urban migration are two main components of urbanization. It could be asserted, therefore, that the work is a fact of urbanization and would serve as a guide to the conceptual clarifications of urbanization in Ibadan.

Gideon Sjoberg (1955) *The Pre-Industrial City* narrates how cities emerged and the conditions for development. He differentiated the pre-modern town from the technologically driven town of the 19th century. He established an urban hierarchy by referring to African towns such as traditional Dahomey, Ashanti, and Yoruba towns.⁸⁷ The apparent advantage of this work is that it provides a global explanation for some phenomena, such as foundation, growth, and development of the city, rural-urban migration, social change, and culture. Morris, R.N (1968) *The Urban Theory* takes at its starting point Louis Wirth's classic article, urbanization as a way of life where he opined that "three concepts-sizes; density and heterogeneity are key features of the city". He recognized that the influence of the city stretches far beyond its administrative boundaries. According to him, urbanization is not only a social institution but an attitude that is devoid of rural setting through some of its attributes such as heterogeneity, density, permanence,⁸⁸ This theory, which is an attempt to spell out the changes in attitudes and social patterns, generalizes issues, and only applicable to industrial cities. There is no iota of doubt that the relationships in the both rural and urban are primary and secondary respectively. This is not so in Ibadan, where social relationships in two or more villages are complex, in the sense that two villages might know each other in a variety of ways and roles.

Catherine Vidrovitch (1996), "*The Process of Urbanization in Africa (From the Origins to the Beginnings of Independence)*," took a cue from this study and looked in-depth at the evolution of urban development in Africa.⁸⁹ This text takes into account the past of African cities and their evolutionary process from the eve of independence. The paper, which is mainly about the past touches only occasionally on the characteristics of modern African towns and ascertains the universality of the city both in time and space. However, city as a concept has no permanent characteristics but evolve with time. It could be argued that though the concept is

⁸⁷ Sjoberg, G.(1960)*The Pre-Industrial City*. New York: Free Press.

⁸⁸ Morris, M.(1968)*Urban Sociology*. London: George Allen.

⁸⁹ Vidrovitch,C.,(1996) "The Process of Urbanization in Africa (From the Origins to the Beginnings of Independence)". *African Studies Review*.Vol.39.No2.p1-75.

universal, conditions for urbanization change. Therefore the relationships between town and countryside which have always existed still exist, but leading factors and incentives are no longer the same. Nigerian geographer, Akin Mabogunje in his widely researched book, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (1968) has most convincingly theorized the model of urbanization in Nigeria.⁹⁰ Although Mabogunje's work is relatively old, nothing better has been done since. Citing examples from the Hausa and Yoruba-land, he mentioned some constraints that could serve as bottleneck for the city as surplus food to feed the teeming population, small groups of people to exercise power, and a class of specialists—such as traders and merchants. Mabogunje emphasized on the growth of Ibadan from 1829-1952 and asserted that specialization of function is the essence of urbanization. From these different authors, one may infer the concept of periodization and processes of change in city formation, growth, and development. In chapter eight of the book titled "*Ibadan, a Traditional Metropolis*," Mabogunje periodizes the evolution of Ibadan as an urban center. Periodization in this context involves long transitional phases of inter-connections—nevertheless, this literature helps to understand the major historical stages of Ibadan urbanization. Urbanization in Ibadan beyond Mabogunje's date (1900-1999), as reveals in this research, though, recently went through a different process.

Urban-Rural Interface

Cecilia Tacoli's (2003) "*The Links between Urban and Rural Development*" looks at Rural-Urban linkages from the integration perspective. He revealed that both areas are interwoven, interconnected, and conditioned each other. He emphasized the flow of goods, money, people, and idea. He noted that rural commodities move from the village based farmers to the city markets and vice versa while finished goods move from the city to the tributary villages. The concept also indicates the formal and informal mobility of people, goods, ideas, money, and information between the two spatial sectors for temporary or permanent reasons.⁹¹ This article looks at the positive aspect of the relationships without considering the detrimental effects which may emanate from such integration as a result of social change in the system.

Henry Lefebvre's (2006) article titled "*Writings on Cities*" asserts that "town and country are necessarily linked together and that the rural-urban areas have to be regarded as

⁹⁰ Mabogunje, A.L. (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. New York: Holmes & Meier.

⁹¹ Tacoli.C.(2003) "The Links between Urban and Rural Development". *Environment and Urbanization*. 15:3.P1-11.<http://eau.sagepub.com>.

parts of a single field of relations made up of a vast crisis-crossing of people”. He described the countryside as the place of production and that the city-region interaction has been altered in the course of history. He attributed this to general transformations in the course of their relationship.⁹² The point of agreement according to him is that despite all the changes through transformations, the two spatial sectors could not be separated, though; their interactions may be parasitic or generative depending on the relationship. This makes it difficult to set a boundary between the two areas.

Amazingly, some of the theories on development pay more attention to either of the two concepts-urban or rural at the detriment of studying the linkages between the two geographical areas together. A theoretical foundation for the geography of the city and its hinterland activities was laid in 1933 by Walter Christaller. In a review of central place theory and its applications, Onakomaiya (1979) described central place theory “as a deductive theory which explains the size, number, and distribution of towns as well as of their market areas which consists two basic concepts-thresholds (minimum population) and range (the distance to travel for buying goods and services)”. He opined that since the functions of cities as retail and service centers for their surrounding areas are the most universal provided by cities, the theory. Perhaps, remains an outstanding and unbiased theory that deals with the interactions of the both spatial sectors.⁹³ The spatial theory plays remarkable role examining the spatial pattern of urban development, but the applications of central place theory are confined to the more developed economies of the advanced nations in the world where the growth of the tertiary sector has been recognized as a significant indicator of economic development. The theory fails to consider some of the peculiarities and uniqueness of different environments in terms of social and economic conditions but instead generalizes issues. The predominance of the subsistence agricultural sector, coupled with the low level of transportation development, makes the theory inapplicable to developing countries. The radiating developmental effect which the city was supposed to bring down to the hinterland grassroot was a mirage in African context.

⁹² Lefebvre, H.(2006)*Writings on Cities*. Australia: Blackwell.

⁹³ Onakomaya, S. (1979) *Trade in Specialty Foodstuff in Nigeria: A Study of Collection and Distribution Process*. Ibadan: NISER.

However, studies by Hodder(1962) “*The Yoruba Rural Market in Markets in Africa*” by Paul Bohannan and George Dalton(eds),⁹⁴ Alao (1968) “*Periodic Markets in Western Nigeria: Theory and Empirical Evidence*”⁹⁵ and, Filani (1976) “*Periodic Market Systems and Rural Development: The Ibarapa Case Study*”⁹⁶ indicate the possibility of explaining periodic market systems in less developed countries by central place propositions. The scholars argued that, in theory, market periodicity is economically determined like hierarchies of central places. They contended that the interlocking movements of rural periodic market systems embody the essence of central place theory. It could be asserted, therefore, that, these various studies and the central place concept serve as theoretical tools for analyzing urban-rural interface in Ibadan. However, the urban-rural interface in Ibadan should be studied theoretically and empirically.

A crucial question is to what degree and how strongly should the city be linked to the surrounding villages. These kinds of literature reveal that in spite of the differences between the hinterland and the city, they are interwoven and related to each other. However, the authors pay little or no attention to the flow to the countryside of people, ideas, and culture. These various books will serve as pointers to the rural-urban interface in Ibadan.

Food Security and Livelihood Strategy

Cecilia Tacoli and Agergaard Jyte (2011), in their article titled “Urbanization, Rural Transformations and Food Systems: The Role of Small Towns,” review the role of smaller urban centers in the virtuous circle of rural-urban linkages. They described the connection between the city and region as intensive with important implications for food supply systems. There are, however, great variations in the extent to which small towns can fulfill these roles. Much of this relates to the specific context in which small towns develop, including land-owning structures, the value of transport and communications links, and the structural conditions at the international, national, and local levels. The case studies presented in this paper emphasized the critical role of governance to support equitable urbanization and rural transformations, and the work was able to establish the fact of rural-urban relations. In the light of this, spatial impacts of economic policies should be well understood. This is important in

⁹⁴ Hodder,B.W.(1961) “Rural Periodic-day Markets in parts of Yorubaland”. *Transactions Institute of British Geographers*.29.P149-159.

⁹⁵ Alao.A.N.(1968) *Periodic Markets in Western Nigeria: Theory and Empirical Evidence*. Research Report.No42.Department of Geography, North-Western University.P16

order to really understand the indepth analysis of urban-rural connections beyond the immediate closeness of the city and to study rural areas in a broader perspective.

Jonathan Crush (2012), in his article “*Migration, Development and Urban Food Security*,” described the movement of people to and fro a sa remarkable means of income generation. He added that such mobility to and fro and remittances are part of food security strategies of village inhabitants in the poor areas of Southern Africa.⁹⁷ Phillip Beauchemin (2003) “*Migration and urbanization in Francophone West Africa: A Review of the Recent Empirical Evidence*”⁹⁸ and Cerruti, M and Bertoncello, R (2003) in a paper on African migration delivered in Johannesburg, South-Africa examined the process of urban development and internal mobility in the French speaking West Africa and Latin America respectively. Both authors prioritize the importance of internal migration in urban development process. They also examined the role of mobility to urban development in the light of demographic, geographic, and economic growth. They described new trends in migration flows between the hinterland and the city and examined how migrants integrate into the city and fit into the urban economy. However, social and economic integration should also be studied from a rural point of view, taking into cognizance the urban to rural migration. These studies detail the interaction between the hinterland and the city and the role of migration in such relationship, an activity with little attention of research in Ibadan. This justifies an investigation of the rural-urban migration in Ibadan.

Barriet and Webb (2001) “*Non-Farm Income Diversification as Household Livelihood Strategies in Rural Africa: Concepts, Dynamics and Policy Implications*” described Africa as a place where critical livelihood means of the households are achievable by diversifying into non-farm income generating activities. He divided reasons for individual and household diversification into two: necessity and choice and described migration as a result of centripetal and centrifugal factors. He opined that push factors are involuntary migration, such as land scarcity and lack of infrastructural facilities in rural areas, while pull

⁹⁶ Filani, M.O. and Richards. P. (1976) “Periodic Market Systems and Rural Development: The Ibarapa Case Study, Nigeria”. *Savanna*. Volume 5: No 2.P149-163.

⁹⁷ Cruch, J., (2012) “Migration, Development and Urban Food Security”. *Urban Food Security Series*. No9. P1-51

⁹⁸ Beauchemin, P.(2003) “Migration and Urbanization in Franco-phone West Africa: A Review of the Recent Empirical Evidence”. *DIAL*.P1-23

factors are those triggered by high urban wages.⁹⁹ Arguably, the separation of migration determinants into push and pull factors though, attractive, but could be misleading. (Ellis 2000) “*The Determinants of Rural Livelihood Diversification in Developing country*” looked more in-depth at the causes of migration and concluded that migration as a livelihood strategy varies among individuals and households realizing the causes, motivations and constraints at a particular period. According to Ellis, it is not only the pull and push factors that trigger migration but that some salient factors including risks, seasonality among many others are involved.¹⁰⁰ These considerations are not mutually exclusive as determinants of diversification; rather, they constitute distinct but overlapping forces and processes leading to diversification. In the same vein, “*The Rural Non-Farm Economy in India: A Review of the Literature*,” by Daniel Coppard (2001), considered regions and village settlements informal economic activities to be peculiar with the landless, smallholders and peasant food producers. His conclusion indicated the importance of rural non-farm activities as a major way of poverty reduction.¹⁰¹

In the same vein, Fasanya, I.(2012)” *Informal Sector and Employment Generation in Nigeria*” investigated the significance of the unregulated informal sector on job creation in Nigeria between 1970 and 2010. He stressed the role of the sector as one that has played major role in job creation in the country.¹⁰² In the light of the significance of this sector to making job available for the populace and being a major and potential livelihood strategy, there is a dearth of informal economy research on Ibadan. This is a major lacuna that would be filled by this work. Guyer's (1987) edited collected works 'Feeding African Cities' is perhaps the most remarkable example with its specific urban case studies of Salisbury (Harare), Dar es Salaam, Yaounde, and Kano (Nigeria). However, these are principally historical in focus. Guyer (1997) went on to produce a specific study of Ibadan's food supply, but this only covers the period up to 1988. However, while the role of urban agriculture in

⁹⁹ Barriet, C.T. and Webb (2001) “Non-Farm Income Diversification as Household Livelihood Strategies in Rural Africa: Concepts, Dynamics and Policy Implications”. *Food Policy*.26 (4)315-331.

¹⁰⁰ Ellis,F.(2000) “The Determinants of Rural Livelihood Diversification in Developing Countries”. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*.51 (2)289-302

¹⁰¹ Coppard, D.(2001) *The Rural-Non-Farm Economy in India: A Review of the Literature*. NRI Report. No.2662

¹⁰² Fasanya, I.(2012)”*Informal Sector and Employment Generation in Nigeria: An Error Correction Model*”. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*.Vol.2.No7.P1-18.

providing food for urban people has increased very drastically in the 1980s and the 1990s the main drive of the research is either on its involvement to the urban household's livelihoods in terms of self-provisioning and the generation of some possible sales income or on its impact on the urban physical environment. The exact nature of trading and marketing planning is rarely the main consideration. This and other aspects of food chains and mechanisms would be looked at in the study of Ibadan.

Most studies neglect food remitting as a key link between rural and urban areas and food security. Understanding these linkages must move beyond cash-based, market transactions to consider bidirectional flows of goods, including foodstuffs, and their impact on food security. Jonathan Crush (2016) "Food remittances: rural-urban linkages and food security in Africa" using case studies from Zimbabwe and Namibia demonstrate how lessons related to food remitting can be applied in other African contexts. The paper concluded that food remitting is an important livelihood strategy as reciprocal rural-urban-rural remitting is elemental to the ability of poor urban households to survive. Food remitting cannot be treated in isolation from the complex web of relations and connections incorporate rural and urban dimensions, and all that is in between. Yet the remitting of goods, and especially foodstuffs, has received little attention, in Ibadan.

Ibadan in Yoruba History

Ibadan has always been great with an outstanding history. Ibadan is a patriarchal military republic as its claims to city status carry none of the customary sanctions of a crowned head, a palace or hereditary line of chiefs, yet in a very real sense, it's a pinnacle of pre-European urbanization in Nigeria, the largest purely African city and the emporium for the commerce of an extensive region. It grew because an effective power class was able to guarantee internal peace and security to its specialists, both agricultural and non-agricultural.¹⁰³ Its rise to the level of a city-state in the 19th century was phenomenal, while its retention of the status of the capital city for over a century is a mark of its prominence. Several comprehensive works have been done on Ibadan, one of the most prominent cities and by and large, the largest indigenous city in the sub-Saharan African. However, Ibadan has not received major academic and research attention on the interface between the rural and the urban area. In order to see the significance of this study by filling the academic gaps in the study of rural-urban linkage in Ibadan, there is a need to review some of the previous

¹⁰³ Mabogunje, A.L (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. New York: Holmes and Meier.

works on Ibadan. Samuel Johnson (1921), in his famous and one of the earliest books on Yoruba history, *History of the Yorubas*, asserted that Ibadan is a principal Yoruba town that was founded in the early 19th century as a result of the internal wars ravaging Yorubaland. He was able to detail the evolution of the city, its growth and development within the period. He described Ibadan as a formidable city to reckon with among the Yoruba cities in all ramifications starting from the period it was founded uptill the period of the colonial incursion.¹⁰⁴ The book enriches our understanding of the history of Yorubaland, especially the old Oyo Empire, with little reference to Ibadan. Hence this work tends to fill the gaps by considering not only the importance of Ibadan urban development, but also to analyze rural-urban interface in the city critically.

The oral traditions of the first two Ibadan settlements are recorded in detail in I.B. Akinyele, (1950) *Iwe Itan Ibadan, ati die ninu awon ilu agbegbe re bi Iwo, Osogbo, ati Ikirun* and was revised and enlarged by Kemi Morgan(1971-1982) in her book *Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan 1971-1982*. These two books provided in-depth knowledge of the traditional history of Ibadan and would serve as a pointer for this research. However, the books focused more on the pre-colonial period of Ibadan history, while the urban-rural interface received no attention. Similarly, Bolanle Awe, Toyin Falola and some modern academic historians have made useful contributions to the study of the history of Ibadan. Awe's Ph.D. Thesis, "*The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power*," completed in 1964, is regarded as a major breakthrough in the study of Ibadan. Awe looked at the evolution of the city from a war camp to an empire of significant value in Yorubaland.¹⁰⁵ Also, Awe, B (1967) "*Ibadan: Its Early Beginnings in The City of Ibadan*" examined in more detail the growth of Ibadan.¹⁰⁶ S.A. Akintoye (1971) "*Revolution and power politics in Yoruba-land, 1840-1893: Ibadan Expansion and the Rise of Ekitiparapo*" treated the Ibadan expansion into some other parts of Yorubaland in the 19th century.¹⁰⁷ His work examined the place of

¹⁰⁴ Johnson, S. (1921) *History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*. Lagos: C.M.S.

¹⁰⁵ Awe, B. (1964) "*The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power*". D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University.

¹⁰⁶ Awe, B. (1967) "Ibadan, its early beginnings". In P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (Eds) *The City of Ibadan*. London: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰⁷ Akintoye, S.A. (1971) *Revolution and Power Politics in Yoruba land, 1840-1893: Ibadan Expansion and the Rise of Ekitiparapo*. New York: Humanities Press.

Ibadan among the Yoruba towns and cities. Akintoye and Awe focused more on the success of Ibadan in transforming Yoruba political institutions and its ability to survive as a hinterland empire. There is no gainsaying that these works focused more on the political history of Ibadan, and from careful perusal, the rural-urban interface received no attention.

Toyin Falola's (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change*, is a literature entirely devoted to detail Ibadan political economy in the pre-colonial and colonial periods.¹⁰⁸ The book is divided into two main parts: part one covers the 19th century while part two covers the 20th century uptill the end of British imperialism. Each period looks at the theme of politics and economics, as well as how the people reacted to major changes and challenges. Falola affirmed that in the former era, not only did it direct its affairs and serve as the hub of regional power, it created and controlled an empire. In the 20th century, it became part of national and regional politics and administration. It could be asserted, therefore, that the place of Ibadan in Yoruba history could not be underestimated. However, it is discovered that the work was silent on a crucial aspect of Ibadan existence, the rural-urban interface.

Other scholars, such as Ajayi, J.F, and Smith. A (1971) *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*,¹⁰⁹ Atanda, J.(1973) *The New Oyo Empire: Indirect Rule and Change in Western Nigeria,1894-1934*,¹¹⁰ Jenkins, J.D (1965) *Politics in Ibadan* conducted a very critical and robust academic work on Ibadan realizing in Yorubaland in the 19th century and early 20th century.¹¹¹ Ajayi and Smith focused more on the pervasiveness of the 19th-century crises, especially the demographic and social dislocations of the seventeen-year war on Ibadan and some other Yoruba towns. Atanda, on the other hand, centered his work on the political supremacy of Oyo over Ibadan in the early 20th century while Jenkins based his work on the modifications and alterations in Ibadan political system..

It suffices to state that minimum attention has been allocated to the study of city-hinterland relationship in Ibadan; one exception is the study conducted by Akinola, R.A (1963) *The Ibadan Region*. The article is the first of its kind conducted on the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa. Akinola, while describing the Ibadan region as an entity that comprises

¹⁰⁸ Falola. T. (2012) *Ibadan Foundation, Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft.

¹⁰⁹ Ajayi. J.F.A and Smith, R., (1971) *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Cambridge University Press.

¹¹⁰ Atanda, J.A. (1973) *The New Oyo Empire: Indirect Rule and Change in Western Nigeria, 1894-1934*. London: Longman.

the city and the surrounding villages, faulted some of the indices used in the western countries such as bus services and circulation of newspapers as indices for City-Region. He described those indices as of little value and non-practical for describing the extent of the Ibadan Region. Akinola opined that rather than using those indices, historical, cultural, social, administrative, and economic factors would be more relevant in the study area, Ibadan. Abumere, S. (2001)¹¹², in his “*Rural-Urban Linkage: Urban Food Supply in Ibadan, 1988-1997*,” noted that farm products move from the hinterland to the city with series of constraints. Abumere’s work lacks in-depth analysis of the relationship between the two spatial sectors in other areas such as means of sustainability. Abumere’s work also fails to give a comprehensive detail on Ibadan informal sector economy which was a major player of job creation and livelihood. His study delved briefly on migration, he, however did not examine rural-urban migration which was one of the effects of urbanization in Ibadan. Lastly, he did not mention the significant roles of rural-urban linkages in Ibadan.

It is therefore challenging and thought-provoking that, despite the place of Ibadan among the traditional cum modern cities in Africa, the rural-urban interface in Ibadan is not well studied as manifested by the studies mentioned above.

¹¹¹ Jenkins, J.D. (1965) “Politics in Ibadan” Ph.D. Diss. Northwestern University.

¹¹² Abumere, S.T. (2001) *Food Supply to Ibadan: A study of Rural-Urban Linkages*. Ibadan: DPC Report. No 29

CHAPTER TWO

TRADITIONAL IBADAN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, 1830-1900

2.1 Geography and Physical Features

Ibadan is one of the largest traditional cities in African sub-Saharan and at present the Oyo State seat of power. Ibadan is situated in the Southwestern part of Nigeria at the intersection of longitude $35^{\circ}4^1\text{E}$ and latitude $7^{\circ}24\text{N}^1$. Ibadan-land, comprising Ibadan city and the tributary areas, is approximately 3,595 square kilometers in size and lies wholly within the forest zone.¹ Three major landforms units – hills, plains and river valleys – dominate the scenery of the Ibadan region. The hills are the most striking features around Ibadan town, although they constitute less than 5 per cent of the total area. Two main types are recognized as the quartzite ridges and gneiss inselbergs. Of these, the quartzite ridges are by far the most impressive, widespread and, the best known. Not only do they occur in the immediate vicinity of the city and they also occur widely within the region.² Four soil associations occur in Ibadan region. They are: Iwo, Okemesi, Egbeda and Mamu soil associations. The classification is largely based on soil parent materials. The soils of the Iwo associations were formed from coarse-grained granites and gneisses and those of Okemesi from quartz, gneisses, schists and quartzites. Those of Egbeda and Mamu were formed from fine grained biotite gneisses and schists, and from sericite schists respectively.³ Because of its latitudinal location (lat. $07^{\circ}26'\text{N}$) Ibadan enjoys the characteristic West African monsoonal climate, marked by distinct seasonal shift in the wind pattern. Between March and October, the city is under the influence of the moist maritime south-west monsoon winds which blow inland from the Atlantic Ocean. This is the rainy season. The dry season occurs from November to February when the dry dust-laden winds blow from the Sahara Desert. The physical setting of the city consists of ridges of lateritized quartzitic hills that run approximately in a northwest-southwest direction. The largest of these ridges lie in the central part of the city and contains such peaks as Mapo, Mokola and Aremo. These hills range in elevation from 160 to 275 metres above sea level, and

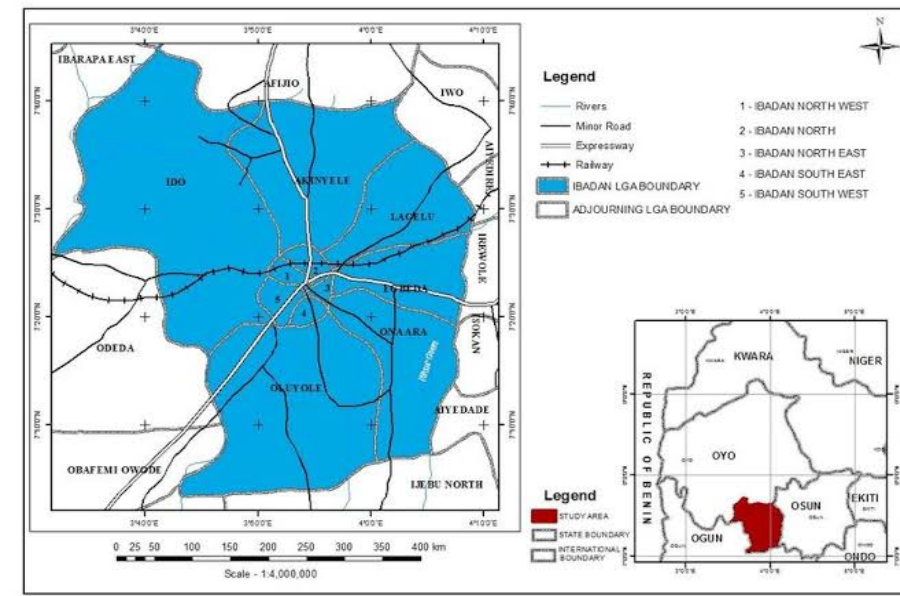
¹ Onibokun, M.A., Egunjobi, L., Obateru, O., and Agboola, T., (1994) *Managing Sustainable/Healthy Growth and Development of Ibadan: Environmental Profile of the Metropolitan Area*. Ibadan: CASSAD. P1

² Faniran, A., (1994) "Relief and Drainage" in Filani, M.O. (Ed) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication. P28

³ Aweto, A.O., (1994) "Soils" in Filani, M.O. (Ed) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication. P49

thus afford the visitor a panoramic view of the city. The area occupied by the metropolitan area of Ibadan is drained by two important rivers viz: the Ogunpa and the Ona Rivers. The former drains the eastern while the latter drains the western parts. Thus, rising in the northeastern section of the area, the Ogunpa flows southwest-wards breaking through the central ridge before turning south along a course that is parallel to the ridge. Its major tributary is the Kudeti which drains the eastern part of the ridge. On the other hand, the western parts of the city which consists of more recent residential and other developments is drained by River Ona and its numerous tributaries that include Alalubosa, Oshun and Yemoja streams.⁴

IBADAN WITHIN THE YORUBA NATION



2.2 Origins, Migrations and Settlement

Ibadan grew up as a garrison and fortress and soon became a centre of administration and a market. It was never dominated by a real bourgeoisie interested in production; rather it was dominated, first by an indigenous aristocracy who were mainly consumers, then by middlemen merchants and much later by a stratum whose common link was literacy and whose concern was the modernization of the city.⁵ The city of Ibadan remained independent and autonomous with a formidable political and economic systems uptill the year 1893. The city

⁴ Aweto.A.O.,(1994)"Soils" in Filani.M.O.(Ed)*Ibadan Region*. Ibadan:Rex Charles Publication.P49

⁵ Labinjo,J.,(1991)*Modernity and Tradition in the Politics of Ibadan 1900-1975*.Ibadan:Fountain Publication.P3

had an effective and efficient military apparatus that enabled it to set up a republican city from which it derived a larger part of its economic and other advantages. The diplomacy of establishing and governing a city-state brought the city and the British together. Though, prior to this time, the British had already asserted their authority in Lagos. Its rise to the level of a city-state, and then an empire in the 19th century was phenomenal. Its success in transforming Yoruba political institutions and adapting them to a new age during the 19th century was significant. Its capability to endure as a hinterland empire, intricately surviving the menace and the hostility of its sworn enemies to the south, became an expression of its authority and its diplomacy. As it moved to the 20th century, its bravery became manifested in various ways. Historically, the foundation of Ibadan can be categorized into three stages each represented different tradition. History reveals that the Egba Gbagura and some other inhabitants from other Yoruba towns were the first set of inhabitants of the first two settlements. The settlements by every standard were small. History also reveals that, *Lagelu*, the familial originator of the first Ibadan migrated from *Ile-Ife*. The first Ibadan disintegrated owing to obliteration; the second could not withstand the storm and suffered defeat and abandonment, while the third has remained in existence ever since. ⁶

The *Ife* centered account of the Ibadan foundation claims that the city was founded by *Lagelu* ‘nicknamed *Oro Apata maja*’ an ambitious warrior from *Atike* compound in the *Ilare* ward of *Ile-Ife*. *Lagelu* migrated with his followers from *Ile-Ife* through *Ejigbo* and settled at a forest called *Ipara*. He made himself ruler of a mixed band of robbers and outlaws whose hide-outs were in the forest. This forest belonged to *Egba Agura* people called *Ibadan Soge*. The place was primarily inhabited by fugitives, outlaws, rascals, and criminals. The geographical location of the place warranted the name given to it “*Ilu-Eba-Odan*,” meaning a town near the savannah. The settlement stood between towns like the *Ijebu* and *Egba* in the forest belt and *Oyo* in the savannah belt. The exact location within the settlement was not known, but it was believed to be near a market close to *Awotan* around the present *Eleyele* water-works. The settlement was destroyed soon after its foundation because of the levity with which the inhabitants treated the alleged mystery surrounding a tribal cult (*Egungun*), which was exposed in the market place for what mortals could withstand the wrathful indignation of the spirits of the ancestors. *Lagelu* narrowly escaped with his family and took refuge in a hill nearby; today called *Oke-’badan*. This hill is one of the three by the city’s waterworks at *Eleyele*. It is the scene of an annual festival in commemoration of events believed to have taken place there

during the sojourn of the refugees. On one of their raids, history has it that ‘a daughter of *Lagelu* captured a crown belonging to a neighboring ruler, and after showing it to her father, she ripped it to pieces in anger. This partially explained the lack of a city crown in Ibadan. When *Lagelu* and his subordinates descended from the hill, they found a new town already growing on the site of their former town. This new town belonged to the *Gbagura*, a section of the *Egba* people. The town flourished until the early part of the 19th century when it was deserted during the onslaught of internecine wars that swept across the Yoruba country.⁷

The second phase traces the settlement to a place called *Ori Yangi*, and it is said that this place is now the site of the present *Oja’ba* (the main city market), a claim which asserts the olden time of Ibadan. During this period, three bands of settlers came to settle with *Lagelu* at *Ori-yangi*. This settlement was surrounded by the following settlements: *Owu*, *Oje*, *Ofa*, *Ojoo*, *Ika*, *Ijaiye*, *Erunmu*, *Ikija*, *Ido*. The coming of the *Owu* to settle at Ibadan had a great impact on the history of Ibadan. An alliance was formed between them by taking an oath “*Oko titun, adehun Olowu*” A new hoe, the symbol of *Olowu*’s agreement.”⁸

In order for Ibadan to solidify this agreement, a farm was given to *Olowu Akinjobi* and his people to resettle. This was known as “*Ahoro-Owu*.” The Yoruba-land was enveloped in an exceptional internecine struggle in which many towns and cities were demolished. The *Egba*, who inhabited Ibadan and an extensive region all round, had inadvertently supported the warriors of the *Ife*, *Ijebu*, and *Oyo* in an attempt to demolish the capital of the neighboring Kingdom of *Owu*. With *Owu Ogbere* crushed the army then took possession of Ibadan, compressing all its original *Egba* population.⁹

During the 18th and 19th centuries, kingdoms rose and fell in Yorubaland. Some of these kingdoms were: *Oyo*, *Ijesha*, *Ekiti*, *Igbomina*, *Owo*, *Ondo*, *Ketu*, *Sabe*, *Ijebu*, and *Egbado*. History reveals that internal struggles and wars among the Yoruba towns in the early 19th century eventually led to the disintegration of old *Oyo* empire. One of the major results happened to be the dislocation of many who were rendered homeless by the wars. This eventually culminated into the southward movements on the part of the homeless. It was that crisis that gave birth to Ibadan, which because of its topography had been used as a military

⁷ Falola, T., (1985) “From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers, 1830-1904”. *The Journal of African Study*. Vol. 26. No. 1. P52

⁸ Morgan, K., (1971-1982) *Akinyele’s Outline History of Ibadan*. Part One. Ibadan: Caxton. P48

⁹ Morgan, K., (1971-1982) *Akinyele’s Outline History of Ibadan*. Part One. Ibadan: Caxton. P42

camp and which had attracted a large population of wandering soldiers from all over Yorubaland.¹⁰ The present Ibadan grew up in the site of this forsaken town. It began as a war camp of contingents of the armies of *Ife*, *Oyo*, and *Ijebu*, who fought against the *Egba* and their allies. It was in this village that the allied army therefore decided to pitch their tents about the year 1829.¹¹ The history of the foundation of Ibadan suggests that the choice of a forest-grassland boundary was not accidental but deliberate. The forest provided the much needed protection for a refugee population consisting predominantly of grassland peoples, while the nearby grassland territory provided farmland that could be more easily prepared for cultivation than the more difficult forest environment century.¹² A considerable number of the original settlers at Ibadan, such as the *Ijebus*, were migrants from forest environments. It has also been suggested that the location of Ibadan near to the forest-grassland boundary contributed to its early importance as a marketing centre for traders and goods from both the forest and the grassland areas of the western half of Nigeria.

As the 19th century advanced and warfaring became an honored and flourishing pursuit, the town drew to itself the more war-like spirits from all over Yoruba land. It was to Ibadan that the Yoruba-land looked for deliverance from Fulani incursions and pressure and the confusion and uncertainty that accompanied the wars that destroyed the Old-Oyo Empire in the 19th century.¹³ Several other agitated soldiers from *Ife* and *Ijebu* kingdoms, as well as some *Egba* aborigines, also went to stay in the settlement. However, the other Yoruba sub-groups from *Ile-Ife* and *Ijebu*, the *Oyo* Yoruba refugees repeatedly arriving at the settlement in their hundreds. The basis of a new state was thus laid by this mingled crowd of soldiers of fortune and hundreds of *Oyo*-Yoruba refugees. The united forces, either for reasons of centrality and accessibility or for the strategic nature of the hills, chose Ibadan, a former *Egba* settlement as their camp. The *Ife* and the *Oyo* settled around the present *Oja'ba* and *Mapo* Hill, while the *Ijebu* settled at *Isale Ijebu* towards the South.¹⁴ The lack of homogeneity, fear, and insecurity that brought many of them to the settlement had done much to weaken the socio-political organization which they had in their former homes. This inter-class contest was regarded as the

¹⁰ Labinjo, J., (1991) *Modernity and Tradition in the Politics of Ibadan 1900-1975*. Ibadan: Fountain Publication. P13

¹¹ Awe, B. (1963) "The Rise of Ibadan". A Ph.D Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. P71

¹² Mabogunje, A. L. (1968) *Urbanisation in Nigeria*. New York: Holmes and Mier. P187

¹³ Oral interview with His Imperial Majesty, Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Lamidi Adeyemi 11.12/4/2019

¹⁴ Morgan, K., (1971-1982) *Akinyele's outline History of Ibadan*. Part One. Ibadan: Caxton. P61

Gbanamu war (grasping fire) in Ibadan history. The political supremacy of Ife in Ibadan was shattered. As a result, the Oyo element came to predominate, and Ibadan became a largely Oyo town.¹⁵

As a military establishment, the city was able to attract large motley of people, the daring, the warriors and many others who wanted by all means to escape the norms and values of other Yoruba cities. In Ibadan, almost every Yoruba town had a son in almost every compound. The reasons for this included the fact that ambitious and young men willing to make name settled in Ibadan. The craft-men who were eager to remain relevant in the course of their economic activities also converged while the well to do and the wealthy ones who wanted to remain relevant abandoned their towns for Ibadan.¹⁶ Several of the tributary areas within 16 to 32 kilometers of the new city were deprived of inhabitants as their people were forced to move into the new town. These new arrivals found what they wanted (security and freedom). Their urban character further expressed their role as administrators, traders, and military pensioners.¹⁷

Iba Oluyole for the first time assigned specific civic and military assignments to his chiefs as a result of growth, expansion and development. His reign from about 1830 – 1847 indicated that the warriors had taken over governance in Ibadan and the city was named after him (*Ilu Oluyole (town of Oluyole)*).¹⁸ Remarkably enough, it was Ibadan with their war expertise that suppressed the aggression of the Jihadist in Yoruba-land and put a halt to their further advances at the battle of *Osogbo* in the 1840s. Ibadan carved out a niche of influence as a result of her defeat over *Ijaye* in 1862. The allies, however, did not intend to contest Ibadan supremacy. The *Ijaye* war had been conclusive to the extent that in the rivalry for the control of the Oyo speaking areas of the Yoruba country, *Ijaye* was now effectively eliminated. Similarly, the economic structure was yet to fully develop, as all economic activities were geared towards immediate, short term needs. Everybody had sufficient land, but little consideration was given to who should control it. The crops and not the lands were jealously protected because the

¹⁵ Awe B., (1967). "Ibadan, its Early Beginnings". In P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (Eds) *The City of Ibadan*. London: Cambridge University Press. P14

¹⁶ Akintoye, S.A., (1971) *Revolution and Power Politics in oYoruba-land, 1840 – 1897*. Ibadan: Longman. P14

¹⁷ Oral interview with Senator Dr.Lekan Balogun.Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland.12/2/2016

¹⁸ Ajayi, J.F. and Smith, R.S., (1971) *The Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. P2

farmers' primary concern was to produce the few commodities which they required for consumption. Their farmlands were located very close to their homes, and they did not venture far for trepidation of being kidnapped and sold into slavery. There was no large-scale commercial farming, and the settlement could not even provide sufficient food to feed its population. The exchange economy had not yet emerged with defined roles and responsibilities. The major factor responsible for these simple undeveloped practices was the temporary nature of the settlement at Ibadan.¹⁹

2.3 City Growth and Development in Pre-Colonial Ibadan

It was reported that an *Ifa* divination was performed when some traditional religious leaders arrived to purify Ibadan with sacrifices on the *Oluyole* hills. The resulting *odu* was “*Ose-meji*.” The sign became the guardian *odu* of the new city. Divine blessings were sought by the settlers for prosperity. Then, the *Oke-‘badan* or the spirit of Ibadan was instituted as a totem of worship. Also, the oracle was sought on how to preserve the growing population and emerging prosperity. *Ose-meji* meaning—double victory appeared to reassure the people of slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of snails. A close study of *Ose-meji* reveals that under the major thematic and metrical divisions, the sign is bothered with (a) survival (b) wealth (c) fertility and (d) victory). The cultural importance of this point is that Ibadan, is still the traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants in spite of the pure serendipity associated with its location and founding. The city was soon to attract settlers from the four winds, expanding by leaps and bounds. The city started as a transitory settlement and war camp (*Budo Ogun*) for the allied armies of *Ijebu*, *Oyo*, and *Ife*, where they could rest, organize, and plan further strategies and tactics to materialize their ambitions of expansion and modernization further. There was a landmark change early in the 1830s when the settlement was transformed from a mere settlement of different settlers into a permanent town principally owned, inhabited, and controlled by the Oyo refugees.²⁰ Realizing the security atmosphere of the city, it attracted numerous other homeless Oyo-Yoruba refugees escaping Southwards in search of a new abode because of the unceasing Fulani pressure on their homeland. Ibadan had a unifying influence on the people, and they saw themselves destined to living together in a new town. From its very beginning, it had a population of diverse origins, and it remained, except for Lagos, the most heterogeneous city-state in Yoruba-land throughout the 19th century.

¹⁹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. PXX1.

Second, Ibadan had no ancestral father or founder; instead, there were hundreds of co-founders, none of whom could call himself the founder of the town of its first settler.

These unique features shaped the course of its history, growth, and influence. Arguably, three principal factors were responsible for their decision to establish a new town and to choose Ibadan as their permanent site. The first among these was the fear of going back to their original homes threatened by the Fulani invasions, which were yet to end by the early 1830s. The consideration for defence and security was the second factor while suitability of the soil for farming was the third option that guaranteed the settlement and habitation. Having been forcibly displaced from their homes, the new settlers were forced to seek an area that offered consistent protection. The reason why they preferred and settled at *Oke-Mapo (Mapo-Hill)* and clustered around its brow.²¹ Apart from the hilly nature of Ibadan, the prominent leaders of Ibadan like *Ibikunle, Ogunmola, Akere, Orowusi, Latosa*, and the rest made Ibadan a safety place for people to live because of their doggedness, determination, and courage. It was noted that during the reign of *Baale Orowusi*, (1870-1871), there was no single war. *Obadoke Latosa-Are Ona kakanfo* from *Ilorin* reigned in Ibadan between (1871-1875). He waged many wars to keep Yoruba-land together and against foreign invasion. The town also got a new lease of life during the reign of *Baale Fijabi* 1893-1895 by signing a peace treaty with the British. This helped in making the city more secure for people to live.²² Adesina notes that Ibadan started and developed as a war camp. Its location followed intense commercial activities. The reason for this was that it had the economic gains of being set up on a network of communication routes. He states that within a short period of its foundation, it had developed into a big business center. Ibadan also became the leading trading center in Yoruba-land. It traded with all parts of Yoruba-land after 1850. Well-known trade routes were connecting her to the most important markets of those days.²³ The city had some articulate, vibrant, dynamic, and city growth essentially loving leaders. Ibadan expansionist move and city growth started in the early 1850s, and national expeditions were organized under the general command of *Balogun Ibikunle* and his immediate lieutenant, *Otun Balogun Ogunmola*. As a result of its military prowess, the city

²⁰ Layiwola, D.,(2015) "Ibadan: Its Beginnings to the Close of the 20th Century" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan. Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.Pp3-4

²¹ Falola,T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830- 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. Pp6-7

²² Falola,T. and Oguntomisin,D.O.,(1984)*The Military in the Nineteenth Century Yoruba Politics*.Ile-Ife:University of Ife Press.P2

²³ Adesina, O.C., (1998) *The Sabo Corridor and the Underground Foreign Exchange Market in Ibadan, Nigeria*".A seminar paper delivered at the University of Ibadan. (Department of History) P1

also widened its fields of operation. During the reign of *Oluyole*, 1835-1850, Ibadan also extended. Adventurous chiefs, which included *Osi Balogun Ayorinde*, entered the *Akoko* district east of the *Ekiti* region in 1856 and subdued the whole area, making the whole area Satellites under the tutelage of Ibadan rulers.²⁴

Nearer home, to the northeast of Ibadan, expeditions were also carried out against the *Ijesha*. The towns under the *Ijesha* sphere of influence like *Osogbo*, *Ede*, and *Ibokun*, *Ijesha* town inclusive, came under the authority of Ibadan. By 1860, its success at the *Ijaye* war in 1862 made it the heir to those areas which were formerly under *Ijaye* jurisdiction.²⁵ Ibadan's disposition to non-indigenes attracted people from different places of origin. Many came to the town all because of its great economic potentials, its dispassionate and accommodating attitude towards strangers, and the chance which it provided the hardy and the adventurous to make use of their talents. Among these migrants were people of different occupational activities who wanted to exhibit their potentials and who could no longer be accommodated in their previous homes. Within the town of Ibadan, the land was given out in block grant to military and other leaders who proceeded to settle there with their retainers and relatives. It was these blocks of land that provided the basis for the old quarters. Some of them bore the names of the chief prefixed by the most important topographic elements, whether a hill (*Oke*) road (*opo* or *popo*) minor market or space (*Ita*). Besides the families that settled in the early 1830s, more came from Northern Yoruba-land between the 1830s and 1840s were the famous Chiefs *Agbeni*, *Lanase*, *Foko*, *Ope-Agbe*, *Aladorin*, and their numerous followers.²⁶ Followed by these earlier settlers, strangers from Oyo settled at Iba's quarters, the ones from Iwo converged at Ogunmola's compound and after 1870 also to that of *Alli Iwo* moved to Agodi. The ones from Ogbomosho, *Ilora*, *Aigberi*, and *Offa* were received in the compounds of *Ope-Agbe*, and *Ibikunle*, *Latosa*, *Oderinlo*, and *Aleshinloye* respectively. Others from *Iware* went to *Osundina's* compound, those from *Oke-Asa* lived with *Aiyejenku*, and those from *Ikire* went to *Ajobo's* compound.²⁷

²⁴ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830- 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P185

²⁵ Awe, B., (1964) "The Ajele System: A study of Ibadan Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century". *JHSN*. Vol.1.P50

²⁶ Falola, T., (1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*. Ibadan: African Press.P26

²⁷ Oral Interview with Senator Dr. Lekan Balogun Osi Olubadan of Ibadan-land. 20/4/2010

Their free attitude to strangers, a result of Ibadan's disruptive foundation, and militarism resulted in sprawling compounds where the numbers of strangers (*ara-ile*) could be more than core members (*Omo-ile*). During the reign of *Bashorun Oluyole*, 1835-1850, Ibadan extended to *Ita Baale Olugbode* and *Odo-Elegun*. Also, *Ogidi*, one of his Chiefs, established *Oja-Igbo*. During his time also, the Hausas came to settle in Ibadan, and the central market at *Oriyangi* was moved to *Ojaba*, which was formerly known as *Laboshinde's* market. Also, in the 1850s, *Balogun Oderinlo* allotted land around *Bere-Mapo* to some Ibadan warlords, prominent amongst them were *Sunmola Laamo* from *Ikoyi* who later became *Otun Baale Olugbode* (1851) *Ogunmola Feesu* and *Dada Opadere*.²⁸

Apart from the military that facilitated Ibadan growth in size and might, some other towns in Yoruba land including Iwo and Ede recognized the superiority of Ibadan and willingly accepted and submitted to its leadership. The reasons are not far fetched. Some of these towns had friendship ties and kinship binding them to Ibadan. The likes of Basorun Ogunmola and Osi Balogun Ayorinde were from Feesu and Kuta areas of Iwo. *Gbongan* was brought into the Ibadan community to avoid forcible subjugation. *Aponmu* and *Ikire* realized that their former overlord, *Ile-Ife* could no longer protect them willingly transferred their allegiance to a stronger power-Ibadan.²⁹

Alaafin Atiba (1830-1850) gave adequate support and played pivotal roles in Ibadan urban development. With *Atiba's* increasing reliance on Ibadan's moral advice and military forces, the influence wielded by Ibadan military leaders became enormous. The prominent and central position occupied by Ibadan as a result of *Atiba's* support made it grow rapidly. The city urban development also benefitted from slave raiding and plundering of other towns such as Ijaye. Slave was known to be the most desired of all war booties. They were mostly needed on the farms in an economic system to produce foodstuffs and palm products needed by the Europeans. They financed the wars by being sold in exchange for weapons. In general, acquiring slaves among Ibadan was an essential aspect that determined ones economic status.³⁰

²⁸ Oyebiyi, O., (2007) *The Traditional Rulers of a Great City-Ibadan*. Ibadan: Boom Art & Publishing. P33

²⁹ Oral interview with Chief S.A. Oduola, Ibikunle's Compound, Beere, Ibadan. 15-12-2008. Aged 70. See also Morgan, K. (1971-1982). *Akinyele's outline History of Ibadan*. Part One Ibadan: Caxton. P 30.

³⁰ Falola, T. (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P126 See also Morgan, K. (1971-1982). *Akinyele's outline History of Ibadan*. Part One Ibadan: Caxton. P 30.

In Ibadan, the so called *Parakoyi* were the effects of the socio-economic and political systems. They were the middle income groups that bought slaves from the many soldiers that dotted the region. Others, especially the politicians, were warlords in their own right with hundred soldiers—slaves and free-born under them. After every successful battle, the war chiefs were entitled to 20–40 percent and 60–80 percent captives caught by free and slave soldiers, respectively. In Ibadan, slaves were sold in confined spaces, not in open stalls and street corners, as were other commodities. This helped to prevent escapes and provided the privacy needed to examine slaves before the purchase was made. The enclosures (*ita*) were projective of compounds such as *Ita-Olugbode*, *Oja’ba*, *Orita-Bashorun*, and *Ita Aregbeomo*.³¹ After establishing Ibadan, slaves who escaped from their masters in Lagos also came to Ibadan and joined the settlement. One of these slaves, *Ojerinde*, escaped with forty-one other slaves of *Ojo-Martins* and proceeded to Ibadan, and some of the slaves who had just returned from Brazil and Sierra Leone came to settle down in Ibadan.³²

Traditionally, Ibadan town walls which were estimated to be about 16 kilometers in circumference in 1857 had been greatly increased to cover more virgin land. Sixteen gates led to the town, of which four were of notable importance. These four gates included the ones leading to *Abeokuta*, *Ijebu*, *Oyo*, and *Iwo*. The farms also expanded in 1858 as far as *Lalupon* and beyond and to the north-east as far as *Apomu* in the South-East.³³ After making landmark in war and gained personal followings, the aspiring military then went to construct separate compounds where they exercised control over the people living with them. This feature was common in the first two decades of Ibadan’s existence and development. Some of these earliest lineage and compounds broke away from the traditional ones in order to be more independent. Some notable Ibadan warriors that broke away from the traditional compounds included *Sarumi Osun*, *Ogboriefon*, *Jenriyin*, *Adeyipo*, and *Tubosun*, all of whom also built their new compounds close to their former compounds at *Oja’ba*.³⁴

The original position of Ibadan to defend the Oyo territory was later changed to that of building a sphere of influence for itself. Exercising right over the land by claiming ownership

³¹ Awe, B., (1973) “Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example”. *JAH*. 14. 1. P67

³² Morgan, K.,(1971 – 1982) *Akinyele’s Outline History of Ibadan*. Part One Ibadan: Caxton. P55

³³ Awe, B.A. (1967) “Ibadan, its Early Beginning” in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan. London: Cambridge University Press. Pp 14-16

³⁴ Oral interview with Alhaji Kamarudeen Ajeigbe. Laamo Compound, Mapo.17/7/2018

either by building or cultivation continued unabated and the need for more land or farmlands necessitated expansion into the virgin land. The indigenous land tenure system encouraged movement into Ibadan as newcomers were encouraged to put their tents and stay with the existing houses where they enjoyed the same privileges as the earlier settlers, and he was expected to owe allegiance to the head of the family. The result of all these gave birth to the establishment of villages such *Omi Adio, Olodo, Erunmu, Ojoo, Moniya, Aiyetoro, Odo-Ona*, and *Olodo* within the ten miles radius of Ibadan.³⁵ Once the population increased and size enlarged, more markets were founded to be able to meet up with the demands of the people for all kinds of articles. The old markets were enlarged, while new ones were established. The oldest, most indigenous and well attended market was *Oja'ba*, named after *Iba Oluyole*. The increase being witnessed in population made it difficult for these markets to satisfy the populace. This necessitated the establishment of more markets and some of them were established by the chiefs in their domains.

Chiefs	Name of markets	Date of establishment
<i>Agbeni</i>	<i>Agbeni</i>	1840s
<i>Lanase</i>	<i>Lanase</i>	1840s
<i>Ogidi</i>	<i>Ojagbo</i>	1840s
<i>Ibikunle</i>	<i>Ayeye</i>	1840s
<i>Delesolu</i>	<i>Oje</i>	1850s
<i>Ogunmola</i>	<i>Orita Bashorun</i>	1850s
<i>Foko</i>	<i>Foko</i>	1850s
<i>Olugboda</i>	<i>Ita Baale</i>	1850s
<i>Orowusi</i>	<i>Ita Orowusi</i>	1860s
<i>Are Latosa</i>	<i>Oke Are</i>	1870s ³⁶

³⁵ Akinola, R. A., (1963) "The Ibadan Region" *Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol 6.No.2 P109

2.4 Political Structure and Chieftaincy Matters

As far as Ibadan politics was concerned, politics was about the allocation of scarce resources—very scarce indeed especially during the earlier part of her history. In pre-colonial times there were very few, if any, institutions to provide for the individuals well-being or which could be used for personal advancement. There were no schools, no civil service, no large commercial organizations, and no remunerative political positions to which people could be appointed. The only significant institution was that of chieftaincy i.e. status positions to which people were appointed by the traditional political elites. A man was appointed a chief as reward for his major contributions, either on the battle field or in civil life, to the development of the society. And since the chiefs constituted the political elite, being appointed to a chieftaincy position was recruitment into position of influence.³⁷

Ibadan from its very beginning had a population of diverse origins and no ancestral father or founder. These two peculiar features shaped the course of its history and influenced the political and economic organization that emerged between the 1830s and 1893. Ibadan, though, a traditional society in the 19th century developed within it a participant political culture. Ibadan can perhaps be said to be an exception to that mode of classification and generalization, for it was born of crisis, military and political, which shaped the development of its political system.³⁸

From its inception, Ibadan developed a political institution saddled with the responsibilities of controlling its large and diverse population and again a political institution that was bold enough to providing answers to some of the urgent problem of insecurity and that was capable of securing its economy. The newly established town had to respond effectively and quickly to the demands of war and insecurity that called for an economic base strong enough to produce foodstuffs and manufactured goods. At the same time, the settlers had a long tradition of social, political, and economic history behind them.³⁹

³⁶ Falola, T., (1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830 – 1900*. Ibe: Ibe University Press. P46

³⁷ Labijo, J., (1991) *Modernity and Tradition in the Politics of Ibadan 1900-1975*. Ibadan: Fountain Publications. P6-7

³⁸ Ibid.....P12

³⁹ Watson, R., (1999) "Ibadan-a Model of Historical Fact: Militarism and Civic Structure in a Yoruba City". *Urban History*. Vol.26.No.1.P13

A very good development in the city of Ibadan was its political organization. The problem of bringing together all the various Oyo and some other sections (for example, the few remaining *Ijebu*, *Egba*, and *Ife*) in the community under an effective political authority was to fashion a new government different from what obtained in Oyo. Their recent experience favored the search for more military leaders that could integrate them.⁴⁰ Happily among the Yoruba states, the Ibadan form of government was unique, being based on a truly democratic principle. Unlike other Yoruba towns, Ibadan had no Oba. Its ruler was known as *Baale*, an uncrowned king but who exercised his influence like any Oba and even in some respect more. With no hereditary right to the throne, the conferment of titles and recognition was based purely on wealth and merits. The political organization of the city was the modern of all the Yoruba in the 19th century. It differed from the rest in that it had no hereditary ruling lines, no ancestral founders, or a royal family. Hence all the commoners who were natives of Ibadan were eligible to chieftaincy title. Its history largely explains this anomaly. From inception, Ibadan had a population of diverse origins and remained a heterogeneous town.⁴¹ Tradition has it that service to the state was the hallmark and sole consideration for bestowing titles on individuals while the cosmopolitan nature of the city gave equal share opportunities to the natives.⁴²

The city was founded by iron and blood and such would not permit the traditional civil officeholders who might not be able to face challenges and withstand the wrath of wars to govern. The result of that was the intervention and involvement of the military in politics. Two notable aspects of administration were created, the making of policy, and the execution of the decision. The former was termed political action, while the latter was administrative action. The policy was determined by those who had political power while the execution of decisions was carried out by those having authority.⁴³

The administrative aspect of governance was hierarchical in nature, as orders were passed down the ladder from the person at the top to the bottom or down the chain. Also, the Oyo victory was a turning point in Ibadan history as the people who played vital roles in its

⁴⁰ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P9

⁴¹ Falola, T., (1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830 – 1900*. Ife: Ife University Press. P49

⁴² Falola, T., (1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830 – 1900*. Ife: Ife University Press. P122

⁴³ Oyemakinde, W., (1978) "The Impact of Nineteenth Century Warfare on Yoruba Traditional Chieftaincy". *JHSN*. IX. 2: P29

emergence transformed the camp into a permanent town and Ibadan ceased to be a camp. Consequently, a new political arrangement was called to administer the town. It was certain that civilians would find it difficult to contest for power. Men from the royal families in Oyo and other places in northern Yoruba land would also not have automatic claims to leadership. Leadership could not also be attained based on being the founder or having blood relations with the founders, as was the case in most other Yoruba towns. Indeed, a peculiar feature of the history of Ibadan was the absence of a founding family or a ruling dynasty.⁴⁴

A combination of all these attributes called for military intervention in Ibadan politics, governance and administration. The military system of government that developed in Ibadan went through many adaptations and modifications from time to time to reflect new trends in the politics of the town. The military aristocracies were notable warriors. Power and authority in the city were divided between those in the military line and the civilian line. The military line was more recognized because of its military acumen and the fact that during their many forays into tributary areas and beyond collected much booty, won the allegiance of younger men, and carved out tributary districts for themselves. This was more noticeable during Iba Oluyole's reign. His subordinates feared him for his rigidity and toughness.⁴⁵ *Bashorun Oluyole* and his colleagues collectively laid down rules for the appointment of the top military leaders and those rules in conformity with the aspirations of the political chiefs recognized merit and valor and not necessarily the traditional qualification for leadership like old age or hereditary connection with the royalty. The need to maintain peace as well as to carry on with the state administration during war period necessitated the emergence of the civil group of chiefs. The civil group of chiefs consisted two categories the *Baale*, who were males and the *Iyalode* who were females. All the *Baale* chiefs were not members of any particular ruling house. Rather they were veterans who had distinguished themselves in war. They had more experience and knowledge in military history and warfare, and above all, they were conversant with the foreign policies of every major Yoruba sub-group and their neighbours.⁴⁶

The civil chiefs were older having acquired more knowledge on the field. The system of administration at this period recognized merit, experience and valor. Chieftaincy titles were

⁴⁴ N.A.I.Iba Div:FILE No:1/1/2848 Settlement of Chieftaincy Disputes in Ibadan

⁴⁵ Watson,R.,(1999)"Ibadan-a Model of Historical Fact: Militarism and Civic Structure in a Yoruba City". *Urban History*.Vol.26.No.1.P15

⁴⁶ Oral interview with Senator Dr Lekan Balogun. Otun Olubadan of Ibadaland.7/8/2018

competed for with proven military and wealth ability.⁴⁷ Ibadan system of government was known as a ladder system where titles were ranked in two long series, which included those of the *Olubadan* line and those of the *Balogun*. The two lines were termed civil, and war chiefs and such appointments were made by the *Olubadan* and senior chiefs to a minor grade of *Mogaji*, where prominent men in agnatic lineages which had in the past produced notable chiefs were eligible for such offices. In the year 1851, a republican system of government was introduced and a well-defined political arrangement was set-up. Bale *Olughode Oyesile* (1851-1864) instituted two civil and two military chieftaincy lines in connection with Ibadan quest for power, prestige, and landmass.⁴⁸

The need for the military intervention in Ibadan politics and administration did necessitate some political organizations. In addition to being the political and administrative head of Ibadan, the *Baales* office was assigned the responsibility of maintaining orderliness in the town. He was the in charge of public interests, administrative, judicial, and otherwise, and any attempt to relegate him to a lower role was tantamount to complete deprivation of his testimonial right and authority.⁴⁹ He was assisted by some lieutenants and subordinates, which included: the *Otun Baale*, *Osi Baale*, *Eketa Baale*, *Asipa*, *Ekerin*, and *Maye*. They were war veterans with military experience, old age, and political ability. The *Baale's* success or failure was measured by his performance, the economic prosperity of the town, and the maintenance of peace and security.⁵⁰

The second category of chiefs in the civil line was the *Iyalode*, mainly for women. The title came into being as a way of appreciating a woman of valour, *Subuola* whose impacts in Ibadan war history around 1840 could not be underestimated. Other *Iyalode* during the century were *Efunsetan*, *Lanlatu*, and *Iyalaje*. The office had less responsibilities assigned to her compared to that of the *Baale*. The influence of the title holder depended on her personality and wealth. *Iyalode*, though one of the kingmakers was traditionally and specifically excluded from the eligibility of becoming the *Baale*. She was the head of her entire household and supported by female chiefs as well. Among those that had occupied the office included: *Iyalode Subuola*

⁴⁷ Mabogunje, A.L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: London University Press. P89

⁴⁸ Awe, B., (1955) "The End of an Experiment: The Collapse of the Ibadan Empire 1877-1893" *JHSN*. III. 2. P19

⁴⁹ N. A. I. Iba Prof, File No 1154: Composition of the Town Council and it is Functions.

⁵⁰ Falola, T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P124

1850-1867, *Efunsetan Aniwura* 1871-1874, *Iyaola* 1874-1893, and *Laulatu Asabi Giwa*, 1893-1919. Some of the responsibilities of the Iyalode included acting as a link between the town women and the male administrator, supervision of the market system, looking after women's welfare, and arbitrating disputes between women or between a man and his wife. She also acted as custodian of women imprisoned for theft, trade malpractices, and marital offenses.⁵¹ Some of the qualities of Iyalode and their lieutenants included richness, generosity to military leaders, powerful, and had large numbers of followers. They possessed similar qualities to those of their male counterparts. Though they were not expected to go to war, they were, however, expected to contribute to the debates leading to the declaration of war, to partly finance the war, and to assist in organizing provisions for the soldiers. The *Iyalode* also performed other duties. They attended the meetings of the *Baale* in the council where important matters of state were discussed. They also performed major responsibilities in the organization of the markets and they represented the interest of the women in a society dominated by men.⁵²

The two military chief cadres included the *Balogun* (Lord of War) and the *Seriki*. *Balogun* was regarded as the most important and the bravest warrior in the town. The real political power lay not with the civil administrators, but with the *Balogun*. No important political decisions, whether local or foreign could be taken without his permission. The office commanded the greatest respect, prestige, and influence in Ibadan and the title was conferred on a leading and most competent warrior in the town. The *Balogun* category was the most supreme, powerful, and prestigious, being made up of the leading, renowned warriors. He was the heir apparent to the leadership of Ibadan at the death of *Baale*, and the office must first be offered to the *Balogun* who could accept or reject it as soon as the *Baale* died, the *Balogun* would be called upon to assume the office of the overall leader of Ibadan. Although many *Balogun* desired to be the *Baale* so that they could reach the peak of their political careers, others did not. Four *Baloguns* refused to be *Baale* during the century: *Oderinlo* in 1847, *Akere* in 1867, *Osungbekun* in 1893, and *Akintola* in 1895. One main reason for rejecting promotion to the exalted title of *Baale* was to enable the *Balogun* to engage in more wars to make more wealth and further enhance their status. A few ambitious rulers, e.g., *Ogunmola* and *Latosa*

⁵¹ Denzer, L., (1998) *The Iyalode in Ibadan Politics and Society, C. 1850-1997*. Ibadan Humanities Research Centre. P6

⁵² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P125

combined both offices responsibilities. To make it work, their titles were changed to that of *Bashorun* and *Are Ona Kakanfo* instead of *Baale*.⁵³

The second military title chief was *Seriki*, a junior title to the *Balogun*. The *Seriki* line consisted of junior military officers. They were younger men with less wealth of experience. They were made up of active soldiers but some of them had not been able to distinguish themselves in major wars. During the inter-tribal war, the *Seriki* section used to head on the battlefield and could be promoted to the *Balogun* line if performed excellently. The *Seriki* chiefs performed responsibilities similar to those of the *Balogun*. Both the *Balogun* and *Seriki* chiefs were involved in the administration of Ibadan. No important decisions could be made in their absence as well. They made up provisional government, even in the battlefronts, and their decisions on political affairs were final. All the principal figures in the two principal categories of chiefs were represented in the *igbimo-ilu* (town-council). They met once in five days in the *Baales* residence to deliberate on important matters of administration.⁵⁴

Apart from the mentioned four categories of chiefs, Ibadan also had few non-political hereditary titles. *Oluwo* and *Apena* were both *Ogboni* titles while *Aboke* was the chief priest of *Oke'badan*. These non-political hereditary chieftaincy lines were restricted to the descendants of the *Egba* and *Ife* families.⁵⁵ The following most senior chiefs, which constituted *Olubadan* in Council was formed in 1879 by Resident F.C Fuller. The council was made of five chiefs from the *Baale* line and six chiefs from the *Balogun* line. The composition reflected the influence of the warlords in the administration of Ibadan. The administration of the town was rested in the *Olubadan* in Council.

Otun Line

Balogun Line

Otun Olubadan

Otun Balogun

Osi Olubadan

Osi Balogun

Asipa Olubadan

Asipa Balogun

Ekerin Olubadan

Ekerin Balogun

⁵³ Oral Interview with Mr. Sanusi Ogunmola of Ogunmols's Compound, Beere, Ibadan.4/8/2017

⁵⁴ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P125

⁵⁵ Awe, B., (1967) "Ibadan, Its Early Beginning" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (Eds). *The City of Ibadan*. London: Cambridge P. 19

Ekarun Olubadan

Seriki of Ibadan-land

Iyalode of Ibadan

*Ekarun Balogun.*⁵⁶

The appointment to and promotion within-grade III was the prerogative of the *Olubadan* in council in consultation with the senior chiefs which included the *Balogun, Otun Olubadan, Otun Balogun, Osi Olubadan, Ashipa Balogun, Ashipa Olubadan*; in promoting from grade III to II appointment and suitability was the primary consideration while seniority was secondary. This was done to get the best and the fittest one to rule. The appointment of the leadership was between the *Balogun* and *Otun Baale*. It was noted that a chief's rise to the post of *Baale* of Ibadan depended on three factors, the ability to fight as soldier, wealth, and long life.⁵⁷

These were the names of the traditional rulers of Ibadan from inception to 1893 when the British finally signed a peace treaty and participated in the local administration of the town.

DATE	RULERS	AREAS
1831 – 1835	Baale Oluyedun	Oja'ba
1835 – 1849	Baale Lakanle	Oja'ba
1850 -	Bashorun Oluyole	Oja'ba
1850 -	Balogun Oderinlo	Oja'ba
1850 – 1851	Baale Opaegbe	Idi Omo kure
1851 – 1864	Baale Oyeshile Olugbode	Ita Baale
1864 – 1865	Baale Ibikunle	Ita Baale
1865 – 1867	Bashorun Ogunmola	Mapo
1867 – 1870	Balogun Akere 1	Mapo
1870 – 1871	Baale Orowusi	Kobomoje
1871 – 1885	Baale Are Latosa	Oke – Are
1885 – 1893	Baale Oshingbekun	Kobomoje

⁵⁶ Tomori, L., (1997) *Contemporary Issue on the Place of Ibadan in Yoruba History*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P56

⁵⁷ N. A. I. Iba Prof file No 2573: Chiefs, Ibadan Town Appointment, Death and Dismissal.

1892 – 1895	Baale Fijabi 1	Orita Merin
1895 – 1897	Baale Oshintoki	Agbeni
1897 – 1902	Baale Fajimi	Oranyan ⁵⁸

The administration of the city was decentralized as each of these chiefs had been allocated specific section of the city to oversee. A clientage system that tied a person to one chief or another was also developed in the pre-colonial Ibadan. The emergence of this system was in connection with the history of its foundation. Self-proclaimed and distinguished warriors did so with their groups. They became *Babaogun* or patron for the protection of their subjects. Every distinguished warrior was a *Babaogun*, exercising control over numerous people living in scattered compounds. All major disputes beyond the control of the lineage heads were taken to the *Babaogun*. The *Babaogun* collected the levies, tributes, and taxes in the compounds under him, and mobilized eligible male citizens in those compounds to join his military in time of war. It was also the responsibility of the *Babaogun* to see that all laws made by the town council were adhered to by his subjects.⁵⁹ The patron was supposed to represent the interest of his compound in the council of chiefs. Another important functionary in the traditional Ibadan politics was the *Babakekere*. He was a liaison officer between the colonies and metropolis. He represented the interests of the vassal states, offered them protection and military assistance when they were attacked. He also interfered in their serious domestic problems and saw the appointment of their rulers. His most important duties were to secure the allegiance and loyalty of these colonies at all times and to see that the economic links remained.⁶⁰

There was no rule that mandating *Babakekere* to leave Ibadan before he could govern, all he did was to appoint a resident, *Ajele*. The *Ajele* was selected among his retainers, relatives, or slaves. An *Ajele* was not necessarily an indigene of Ibadan. He lived permanently in the colonies and supervised the collection of tolls and other levies. He was assigned a great deal of power over the town or a village under him. It was his duty to monitor the developments in the colonies and to alert the Ibadan authority against any subversive activities. The *Ajele* behaved

⁵⁸ Oyeniyi, O., (2007) *The Traditional Rulers of a Great City: Ibadan*. Ibadan: Boom Arts. P87.

⁵⁹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P127

⁶⁰ Lloyd, P.C., (1958). "A Comparative Study of the Political Institutions in Early Yoruba Kingdoms" Ph.D Thesis. Oxford. P304

and lived like a king. He had a palace, a host of officials, and a treasury. The rulers in the colonies were under him, and they obeyed all orders emanating from his palace. His positions had such potentialities that an ambitious *Ajele* could and often did constitute himself into the effective head of the town.⁶¹

The system of administration practiced in Ibadan authorized the city to exploit the resources of its colonies. All the vassal towns and villages paid tributes. The tributes included their principal product, agricultural, and locally manufactured goods. The proceeds were forwarded to Ibadan. A vassal town or village was free to choose and drop *Babakekere* when his administration was going out of hand. A chief with reputation, wealth, and fair-play and military ability attracted many vassal towns and villages.⁶² -

In Ibadan, no age grades societies and no *Ogboni* title holder was included in the city's administration. The *Ogboni* society flourished but not as a regular part of the political structure. The government of Ibadan was designed to facilitate the aspirations of warriors. Recruitment for the new posts was opened to all who displayed courage and heroism and opened to those who were promoted from a lower to a higher title. It should be noted that despite its military, republican, and democratic nature of government, Ibadan was not autocratic. There was, however, a class of *Mogaji* (Lineage heads) who were allowed to take titles from the lowest rung of the ladder. This was the post-1850 development to immortalize the names of the deceased chiefs by rewarding their lineages with titles. However, the *Mogaji* had to be militarily capable before he could be given a title or promoted. All titles were given on merit and could not be bought. The lineage chiefs (*Mogaji*) exercised considerable authority on members of their compounds. Most of the steps they took and the laws they made were based on the unwritten constitution and norm of every lineage, and they reflected the personality of the leader. The lineage head supervised the compound, the lineage land, and other property. He intervened in disputes for settlement among the members of his lineage. He also tried as much as possible to prevent anything that could threaten the continued survival of the lineage and compound as an entity and those incidents which could bring his people to disrepute.⁶³

The chieftaincy title system operated based on promotion from a lower cadre to a higher title and from one line to the other. When a vacancy occurred, due to death or the dismissal of a

⁶¹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P127

⁶² N. A. I. Iba Prof: file No 155/1917: Ibadan Council Rules

⁶³ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P127

chief, the chief in the rank immediately below the vacant post was moved up by one step.⁶⁴ Some chiefs could be passed over because of their irresponsibility or inability to discharge the duties expected of such office. The resources to finance the administration of the state came from many sources. The military received gifts, tribute, and taxes from the people in the colonies and the metropolis. Additional revenues also came from traders who paid tolls and market dues, and finally, the warriors had access to large spoils of war.⁶⁵

2.5 Social Institutions in Pre-colonial Ibadan

By 1850, the form that the interactions between the economy and politics would take had already become clear. The earlier decision to make Ibadan a new town had become irrevocable and the people had begun to live within, and adjust to, a socio-economic order corresponding with the needs of the military aristocracy dominating this new state. The socio-economic order continued to operate, with occasional changes and modifications until 1893 when the colonial era began.⁶⁶

Akinwowo defines consanguinity as the fact of lineal collateral relationship based upon blood and birth. By this definition, it follows that (*Ajobi*) refers to members of a family, or a group of related families in a house.⁶⁷ *Ebi* (family) might be nuclear or extended. The nuclear family (*Ebi*) was made up of a man and his wife or wives and his children. The Ibadan traditional residents was patrilocal i.e.the wives lived with the husband and his agnatic kin members.It was the duty of the father (*Baba*) to fend for the entire family and especially the children. Ibadan being agrarian city, the children learnt how to farm until they were matured enough to have their own separate portion of land. They got their liberty when they married started their own business. The extended family was another structure higher than the nuclear one. Members of the extended family usually lived in a large compound. The extended family consisted as many nuclear families as they could have within a compound. They lived in a community based live. The Ibadan was composed of many lineages (*Idile*) living in different compounds (*Agbole*). This separation into various (*agbole*) compounds began with the earliest settlers who continued the traditions practiced in their former towns of grouping themselves

⁶⁴ N. A. I. Iba Prof: file No 1154: Composition of the town council and its Functions.

⁶⁵ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P127

⁶⁶ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P79

⁶⁷ Akiwowo. A.,(1983)*Ajobi and Ajogbe:Variation on the Theme of Socialization*. University of Ife Inaugural Lecture Series 46. P12

along different lineage and kinship affiliations. Each *Idile* (lineage) lived as corporate bodies made up of people who traced their common descent and relationship to one another through ancestral and lineage male line to the founder of the *Idile*, who was also regarded as their ancestors. Many of the new settlers of the 1830 and 1840 became founders and heads of new *idile* and compounds which later grew in membership and size. Membership of the *idile* was not, however, strictly defined by birth. Marital connections were essential tickets for membership; the rule of exogamy in the *idile* made it compulsory for women to marry out of their *idile*. While wives were incorporated and assimilated into their husbands' *idile* without losing the membership of their ancestral *idile*, their children belonged primarily to the *idile* of their husbands. Each *idile* had its characteristics and distinguishing features. It owed its cohesiveness to commonly accepted customs and values. Members of the same *idile* were normally distinguished and recognized by their common attributes and symbols like common names, praise poems, cults, and facial marks. More importantly, members of the same *idile* lived together and occupied one compound. This helped to promote and strengthen a symbiotic socio-economic existence.⁶⁸ The *Agbole* or the family compound was headed by the *Mogaji* or the head of family. He was the representative of the entire compound in the village and town council. He acted as the caretaker of the family properties and also ensured that the burial grounds or *Oju-Ori* of his predecessors were well taken care of. He made sure that the compound deities which were worshipped as at when due. He ensured there was peace and tranquility within the *Ebi* or family by settling all scores and disputes. He was the custodian of family tradition and knowledge. The entire members within the compound lived a communal life.⁶⁹

The acceptance and rapid integration of strangers into a compound in Ibadan was a remarkable one. The result of this was the emergence of two types of compounds—the homogenous and the heterogenous compounds. The homogenous compound had few strangers integrated into the compound because of low economic and political advantages to offer the strangers. On the other hand, the heterogenous compound had many strangers integrated into the compound as a result of wealth, military prowess and political sagacity of the compound owners. The liberal attitude to strangers, a product of Ibadan's turbulent foundation and militarism, resulted in sprawling compounds. The *idile*, though a corporate entity, was

⁶⁸ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P33

⁶⁹ Oral interview conducted with Senator Lekan Balogun. Otun Olubadan of Ibadan. 5/5/2019

segmented into various smaller units. Each unit usually comprised a man and his wife or wives and their wards. The lineage was an economic and political unit. Status in the lineage was determined by age, and the kinship terminology ensured that every member knew exactly his position. In the meetings, the elders had the most authority. The lineage was a gerontocracy institution. Political power increased gradually with age, and wealth was largely irrelevant. Gradually, consideration of old age was replaced in many lineages by consideration of wealth and prowess. Many compounds preferred men who would go to war and popularize the name of their house.⁷⁰

The power structure had impact on the judicial system in Ibadan. The Ibadan judicial system clearly allowed the compound to hear cases and resolve conflicts. Some of the cases resolved at the compound level included matrimonial matters, land, and debt judgments.⁷¹ The second (*Igbejo ijoye*) dealt with cases involving members of different compounds, third was an appeal court (*Igbejo Balogun*), while the last was the Supreme Court (*Igbejo Ilu*), the only competent court to try the serious cases of murder and other offenses that called for capital punishment. Such cases were held at *Apejo's* day in the house of the ruler of the town.⁷²

The concepts of kinship and marriage were notable in the Ibadan social system. The social system on inheritance stipulated that properties that belonged to the ancestors or founders of a lineage belonged to every member of that lineage and could not be alienated. Traditional and honourary titles as well as land were lineage properties that could not be transferred except on special occasion. The general principle was that anything a man held by his efforts was transferable to his sons without necessary enquiry while the left over of the deceased properties could be passed to his brothers depending on their relationship while alive. It was a taboo in Ibadan for the senior ones to inherit the properties of the junior ones. In many compounds, wives were inherited as property. By tradition, the sharing of a deceased property was divided through the mothers and not sons.⁷³

Ibadan had peculiar ways of doing things. On marriage, the responsibility of the father was to provide the necessary materials that might be needed for a son marriage. One of these

⁷⁰ N. A. I. Iba Prof: file No 1154: Composition of the town council and its Functions.

⁷¹ N. A. I. Iba Prof: file No 1026: Government of the city of Ibadan

⁷² N. A. I. Iba Prof: File No 1026: Government of the City of Ibadan

⁷³ Oral Interview with Alhaji Abdul Oduola Ibikunle's compound, Beere, Ibadan. 15-12-2008. Aged 70.

materials was the bridewealth. The father without any hesitation made provision for the bridewealth for his son's first wife. For other marriages after, the responsibility of payment fell on the husband himself. Numerous payments were attached to marriage. The bridewealth received from the husband was for the family and was divided among the bride's lineage. The rights of the woman to domestic labour immediately transferred to the husband through marriage. Other rights that were transferred to the husband included rights of sole sexual access over the wife and the rights to all the children. In some compounds, when the husband died, those rights were transferred and inherited by his younger brother. A wife that sued for divorce had to repay back the bridewealth to the husband family.⁷⁴

Indigenous Ibadan people did not joke or play with religion. Religion was an integral part of their daily activities from time immemorial. Ibadan practiced similar religion with other Yoruba towns except few ones that were unique with them. They had people following the nature gods such as *Sanpona*, *Osun*, *Sango*, *Ogun* and some functional gods such as *Orunmila*, and *Obatala*. Lineages had their patron gods. It could be recalled that warfare left a footprint on the institution of *egungun*, which was regarded as the spirits of the dead ancestors. The masquerades had an annual outing lasting for two weeks or seventeen days, and were usually held in June. It always came forward during the new yam harvest and many Ibadan from some tributary areas converged in the city for the festival. The costumes of the masquerades were the responsibility of the whole lineage as every member of the lineage donated one thing or the other in parts of the costumes. It was also the tradition to pay or contribute by all the members of the lineage towards a successful outing. Historically, one unique festival in Ibadan being participated by all and sundry irrespective of the lineage was *Okebadan*. There was a strong relationship between this religion festival and the history of the city itself. The hill of Ibadan was believed to harbor a supernatural or spiritual being that protected the early settlers from the wrath of their enemies and attackers. It was a known fact among the adherents and worshippers that this deity was a goddess that loved the people and usually offered them children and material things they needed. The name of this female spirit was '*Atage Olomu Oru*,' which means '*Atage* owner of breasts like an *oru* pot. The female spirit of *Okebadan*, the hill for which the first founders of the town came, consisted simply of two large pots at the foot of the tree. Hence Kolanuts were placed by praying women at any time of the year, and a bull was

⁷⁴ This was the tradition in almost all Yoruba towns. This tradition however has been altered in some areas as a result of modernization which has affected some of the indigenous values of some Yoruba towns. Be it as it may, the system was obvious in the indigenous areas of Ibadan such as Bere, Mapo, Ojaba, Ayeye, Kobomoje among many others.

sacrificed at the annual festival. Women went to the shrine to pray for children. Sacrifices were also made at the shrine in the time of drought or of public calamity. The festival of *Oke'badan* displayed an association between sex and agriculture, which explained the character of the ritual and public festivity. The date of the *Oke'badan* festival was fixed by the *Aboke*, who was regarded as the chief priest and custodian of the cult.⁷⁵ The *Oke-Badan* was dedicated both to the spirits of the hill, as a thanksgiving for the refuge that was provided in periods of dangers and also to *Lagelu*, the mythical founder of the town. *Okebadan* was significant in the religious and socio-cultural lives of the people of Ibadan and this accounted for why the *Okebadan* festival was celebrated annually with pomp and pageantry. The festival provided an opportunity not only for merriment but also for criticisms, as songs were composed to condemn or praise rulers and their policies.⁷⁶

Ibadan was not homogenous in terms of religious affinities. The traditional religion preceded both Islam and Christianity in the city. The jihadists who were taken as slave by the Ibadan warriors in the early 1830s during the reign of *Iba Oluyole* introduced Islam.⁷⁷ Also, the Ibadan imamate was pioneered by the itinerant Muslim clerics who migrated from Nupe, Ilorin, and other places in northern Nigeria. Many of them acted as preachers, spiritual advisers, and medicine-men. One of the major factors that made the traditional ruling class to accommodate them was their ability to proffer solutions to most of the prevailing challenges and the efficacy of their prayers. At war times, they acted as spiritual advisers and medicine-men. They purveyed Islamic and herbal charms and amulets to protect their clients against physical injury. *Iba Oluyole* received *Sheikh Uthman Abubakar Basunu* (1871) for the potency of his prayers. Similarly, during the *Kiriji war* (1877-1886) between Ibadan and the *Ekiti-Parapo*, *Alfa Sulaimon Alagunfon* participated actively on the war-front. Most of the indigenous Ibadan were Muslims, and the various Muslim festivals and occasions of great importance attracted many people from the surrounding villages into the city. *Baale Opeagbe* (1850-1851) was the one who gave land for the construction of the Central Mosque.⁷⁸ The central mosque was situated at the center of the town a few yards away from *Mapo Hill* and the *Iba market*. It was a meeting

⁷⁵ Adekola, O.O., (2015) "Trends in Traditional Religion in Ibadan" in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. Pp236-240.

⁷⁶ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P333

⁷⁷ Mabogunje, A.L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: London University Press. P43

⁷⁸ Jimoh, L.A., (2015) "The Imamate in Ibadan" in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. p258-259.

ground for Muslims. The new constitution was secular, and a good number of the power holders were also either Muslims or tolerant of Islam. Whist Islam was not too significant a factor in power competition, chiefs no doubt enjoyed the association with Islamic teachers and charm makers as well as the mysteries and the fun provided by the new foreign Arabic language. *Ahmad Quifu and Usman B.Abu Bakr* were the first notable preachers who came to Ibadan in the 1830s.⁷⁹

One of the centers of Christianity in Nigeria in the early period was Ibadan. Christianity's seed was planted in Yoruba land in the 1840s with the large scale movement of liberated slaves and renewed evangelical interests in Africa. The Church Missionary Society was the first to make its impact in Ibadan. The church's first representatives were couples, David and Anna Hinderer. They were also the first European to reside in Ibadan. They did not settle down until the reign of *Baale Olugbode Oyeshile*. The first Christian settlement in the town was at *Kudeti*, St. David's Cathedral, which was regarded as the premier church of the city was built. It is perhaps an indication of the greater number of Christian adherents among the immigrants' communities in the city that the cathedral of the Diocese is at St. James, *Ogunpa*, rather than *Kudeti*.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, the seed germinated and grew. The mission houses expanded, and additional converts were made each year. By 1859, 135 converts had been baptized at *kudeti*, and the first church was established in 1854. In 1868, a new church, St Peters, was opened at *Aremo*, and in the following year, St James's was opened around *Ogunpa*. In 1879, in attendance were two mission schools, with about 67 registered students. By 1889, the three churches had converts numbering up to four hundred people, who were concentrated in the neighborhoods of *kudeti*, *Alafara*, *Labiran*, *Oke-ofa*, and *Agodi*. Other missions later joined the Anglicans and made progress in subsequent years. Notable among these missions were the Methodist who made a beginning in 1888, the Roman Catholics in 1895, the Baptists in 1906, the Salvation Army in 1921, and the Seven Day Adventists in 1926.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Adekola, O.O., (2015) Trends in Traditional Religion in Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.

⁸⁰ Ajayi, S.A., (2015) "Christian Missionary Enterprises in Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P222.

⁸¹ Ajayi, S.A., (2015) "Christian Missionary Enterprises in Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P223

2.6 The Economic Structure of Pre-Colonial Ibadan

The mechanism of production and distribution at Ibadan operated largely within a viable structure, and it showed three major important characteristics. First, the economy was diversified. Larger part of the population engaged in farming. Some other people exploited the resources within their localities as hunters and craftsmen. This gave birth to what economists could refer to as primary and secondary activities. The economy was therefore characterized by a high degree of specialization. Because no domestic unit could provide all of its own needs and because mineral and other natural resources were not ubiquitous, an inevitable symbiotic relationship existed among producers and traders. Second, the economy was developed beyond the subsistence level. The people produced far more than their immediate needs, and there were avenues, through the organized trading system to dispose of the surplus. Finally, the economic system was dynamic. From 1830 to 1890, there was growth in every sphere of the economy, which exhibited a lot of adaptations to changes within and without. Production was increased to keep pace with huge population and demands from both within and outside.⁸²

Apparently, three major sectors made up Ibadan's traditional economy and they were farming, manufacturing (craft), and trading (marketing). Agriculture was a remarkable economic activity in the traditional Ibadan. Farming absorbed huge number of people and was the foundation in which all other indigenous economic activities were set. Agriculture made it possible to create and accumulate wealth in terms of foodstuffs and cash crops production. Farming encouraged a degree of urbanization, for it could best be practiced in a settled community. By creating a surplus, farming stimulated specialization, and this made it possible for people to engage in agriculture and to finance non-agricultural activities.⁸³

In Ibadan, every family without exception had a lineage or compound farmlands situated at the outskirts of the city. Four types of fields where traditional farmers worked were identified in Ibadan. These included the *Ogba* (garden) sited close to the compound and fenced to prevent animals from making incursions into it. This type of farming was significant in the early days of Ibadan foundation. It was closer to home because of security. It began to disappear in the late 1840s as a result of the influx of more people. As population increased, no serious farmer relied any-longer on garden. They went further to the virgin lands in the forest to secure more space for their farming activities. Though they did not abandon garden completely as it was being

⁸² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830–1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P 77

attended to by the women because of its closeness to home and the need for immediate farm produce.⁸⁴ *Akuro* or farm located within the banks of streams or swamps was the second type. Its size relied heavily on the extent of the bank and the swamp where it was established. It was perhaps a post-1850 development. The largeness of the town after 1850 necessitated the spread of the population slightly away from *Mapo* Hill, and those who moved close to the streams exploited the potentialities of the fertile bank. The banks of *Kudeti*, *Alafara*, and *Gege* were noted for the production of vegetables, though other crops like yam, beans, and maize were also grown there. The major benefit it was its suitability for use during the dry season. The third type was the *Oko-Etile* (neighborhood farms) mostly farmed outside the town wall specifically because of fertile land availability. The farm was not more than 8kms to the city of Ibadan traditionally. The city expansion later engulfed it and it became part of the city.⁸⁵ It became a burden for people to retreat back to the city after days job because of the distance to be covered. The result of this was the emergence of the fourth type of field regarded as *Abuleko* (farmsteads) in distant places.⁸⁶ The farmers worked there until around noon before retreating to their temporary huts (*ago*) or home to eat and rest for a while. After this, they would return to their farms to work for a few hours before returning home in the evening. The farmers had temporary houses where they lived. They returned to the town when they had social or religious activities to perform and at the end of the farming season.⁸⁷

The challenges faced by the people to retreat back to the city after the day's job on the farm gave birth to rural-urban relationship. The distance of these farms from the city had become unbearable and stressful. Some of these farms were not less than twenty-five to forty-eight kilometers from the town. The farmsteads continued to be multiplied to be able to supply the teeming population enough food. The farming zone stretched to the neighborhood of *Apomu* in the east and *Lalupon* in the northeast.⁸⁸

⁸³ N.A.I.Iba DIV. File No:1/1/-1359/s.23 Ibadan District Council Market Rules

⁸⁴ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P79

⁸⁵ Adejuwon, J.O., (1963) "Farming and Farmlands in Ibadan, Western Nigeria". (Ph.D Thesis, University of London. P12

⁸⁶ Falola, T., (1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State, Ibadan, 1830-1900*. Ife: Ife University Press. P54.

⁸⁷ Falola, T., (2012). *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P81P80

⁸⁸ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P81

The emergence of these farmsteads was a remarkable one in the agricultural history of Ibadan as it created a rural economy distinct from the urban economy. Farming took the lead in these farmsteads and the activity of farming was closely tied with the urban economy. The farmsteads became the pool where the city drew its food and other agricultural produce needed by the people. On the other hand, those in the farmsteads relied on specialized crafts and markets of the metropolis to dispose their agricultural. Their farm produce were taken to the city for sale. They took their farm products to Ibadan for sale. Some of these villages were *Oyedeji, Lagun, Apatere, Lalupon, Ogburo, Iroko, Onidundu, Orile Odo, Alata, Arapaja, Akufo, Ido, Omi Adio, Akanran, Araromi Aperin, Olunloyo Ijaye, and Latunde* among many others. Every *abuleko* was connected with an *idile* in Ibadan. It was the members of the *idile* who established a farmstead, and the name of the *idile* was given to it. For example, the *ile Agbo* in Ibadan had its farm, called *aba Agbo*, about 20kms east of the town.⁸⁹

In operating some of these farms, operations and styles were alike. Operations such as land learing, heaps making, sowing and harvesting were performed same way. Some of the instruments used were similar. The working tools included the cutlass, knife, ax, hoe, baskets, and ropes. The tools were locally produced, a fact of Ibadan ingenuity for technology. The system of farming was shifting cultivation and mixed cropping which involved a periodic abandonment of the farm to stay unattended to for it to refertilise. There was no fixed number of years to cultivate a farm before abandoning it as long as the land brought good yields, the farmer continued to make use of it. The second method, mixed cropping, did not involve the abandonment of land but same plot was used for quite a number of crops.⁹⁰

The effective organization of human and land resources played significant role in Ibadan traditional agriculture and other economic activities. The labour demands on farms were fulfilled by the lineage (*Idile*). It was within this established family structure Ibadan economic activities were done historically.⁹¹ The individual was only engaged in productive activity, mainly within the framework of the lineage. It was partly because every household did its economic work that the Ibadan placed value on large families. Those that wanted to become successful farmers and at the same time wanted to enhance their financial and wealth status had

⁸⁹ Oral interview conducted with Barrister Sarafadeen Ali.6/7/2018

⁹⁰ Oral interview conducted with Oloye Lekan Alabi.8/5/2016

⁹¹ Falola,T.,(1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900* Ife: Ife University Press.91.

many wives and children. The family labour was well efficient and organized and they met the standard of the period. The family allowed everyone to make a living as access to factors of production was through one's membership of a lineage while the production and consumption units were the smaller household units of the lineage. In Ibadan the role being played traditionally by the family coined their production system a family mode of production.⁹²

The factors of production including land fell under the purview of family structure and all family members obtained theirs from the lineage one. All the male members worked as a team and supervised by the founder and the proceeds were shared according to the wants of individual by the founder. The father or the husband mobilized and controlled his wife or wives and children on production. Products or profits attained from this did not belong to the *idile* but the household. Each household thus formed a recognizable economic unit that multiplied to secure more labor force. Hence, a large family was the norm. Man strove to marry as many wives as possible unless they had no means.⁹³

The lineage also insured everyone within the lineage against starvation and unemployment. The success and failure recorded in the lineage economic activities were shared together. A father gave his children time to work for themselves and earn whatever income accrued from such work. The working hours were divided into two: morning duty (*ise-aro*) and sun-fall duty (*ise-ale*). A father's power was constrained with norms that regulated the use of labour. Exceptions were granted to women and their daughters to enable them engaged in producing and selling commodities of their choice. The senior wives had the greater advantage to leave home for days and participated in long-distance trade while the junior wives stayed at home looking after the children and the husband welfare. Married women always accompanied their husbands to farm and spearheaded the task of harvesting and sales.⁹⁴

Other means to acquire additional labour on farm included *Iwofa*, *Aaro*, and *Owe*. These were cooperative work groups engaged and integrated into the household to reinforce the family mode of production. The *Iwofa* system (pawn) allowed a borrower to surrender a young man as collateral to work for the creditor until the debt was repaid. The creditors were moderated by the customs from maltreating the *Iwofa* (pawn) or subjecting them to more work than necessary.

⁹² Oral interview conducted with Professor Surajudeen Bankole.3/6/2019

⁹³ Oral interview with Alhaji Kabiru Ibikunle of Ibikunle Family,Ayeye,Ibadan.23-3-2012.Aged 72

⁹⁴ Oral interview with PA Oladipo. Baale of Abanla. 4/2/2013

An *Iwofa* worked for the creditor until the principal or capital was paid and his services represented the interest on the loan. Working arrangement was based on mutual trust and agreement.⁹⁵ The *Aaro* and *Owe* on the other hand, allowed the farmer to meet heavy work loads. *Aaro* involved two or more people of equal strength that engaged in the same occupation. It brought together in rotation members of the same family, age group, and friends. *Aaro* was more common among farmers than other professionals. Difficult tasks were handled and performed within the shortest and limited time. It was a sort of working club where members rotated their services to work collectively for one another in turn. Cheating and laziness were frowned upon. *Owe* was another cooperative group work. It was like the *Aaro*, kin, and friends worked together for one person. The difference between *Aaro* and *Owe* was that labour was rotational in *Owe*, and could be reciprocated at any other time. *Owe* involved more hands than the *Aaro* as the number of participants depended on the type of work and the social connections of the person who raised the *Owe*. Participants were entertained with food as an expression of gratitude and not instead of monetary payments for their services.⁹⁶

Traditionally and because of the way Ibadan was founded, Ibadan had numerous slaves. These slaves were integrated into the economic system. They constituted assets as well as a source of wealth and power to those who had enough of them. They worked on their masters farms. Some of them lived in the outlying villages and farmsteads while their masters lived in the city. Their masters made use of them to generate more revenue from farming as they did arduous work. Slaves were preferred to work on farm than the freeborn as their masters believed their loyalty in discharging their responsibilities. They could also be disciplined and be prevented from gaining strength that could set them free.⁹⁷

Not everyone farmed. Some other people engaged in some other economic activities. A large number manufactured and produced array of goods including cloth, dyes, pots, iron implements, soap, oil, and household utensils. These people possessed special skill to process raw materials into finished manufactured goods. It was an ancient sector of the Ibadan

⁹⁵ Oral interview with Baale of Aba Nla, Chief T.A. Oladipo, 15-12-2008 Aged 80.

⁹⁶ N.A.I.Oyo Prof:File No:1/1028 Iwofa,Slavery and pawning in British West Africa.

⁹⁷ Falola, T.,(1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State. Ibadan, 1830-1900*.Ife: Ife university Press. P63

economy.⁹⁸ Craft production was based on household units. The lineages passed the ideas of production from one generation to the other. The organization of craft industries along the family line had many advantages as it exercised control over entry, regulated prices, standardized products, and workmanship.⁹⁹ The craftsmen made available tools for farm works. Craft specialization was important for the economic life of the town. The craftsmen primarily made use of local materials found locally and items from other locations.¹⁰⁰ Basic to the agro-allied industries, farming, and other activities was the availability of tools-iron implements in particular. These tools were made by blacksmiths, highly skilled professionals who were prominent and indispensable in society. This occupation was restricted to some lineages which were concentrated in *Bere, Eleta, Oja'ba, Agbede-Adodo* quarters of the town. Entry into this profession was highly restricted and made lucrative as it allowed the practitioners to retain their prestige. It was easier to discipline practitioners, regulate practices, and to standardize products.¹⁰¹ Blacksmiths were concentrated in five areas of the town for two reasons. First, in the case of *Oja'ba* and *Bere*, they were among the first places to be occupied by the earliest settlers. Second, iron ore deposits were available in other places. The earliest practitioners in *Oja'ba* and *Bere* were those who had learned the craft before they came to Ibadan. In *Oja'ba*, two lineages were prominent from the 1830s; these were *Ile-Kure* and *Ige*. The urban development and the availability of iron ore led to the establishment of lineages noted for this craft in other places earlier mentioned.¹⁰²

Gathering and collecting, including livestock keeping were major economic activities associated with farming. Gathering and collecting were never relied upon for livelihood; however, they formed an integral part of the economy. The activity was done in the morning and served as a form of training for the youths to learn how to wake up early in the morning. Livestock keeping on the other hand was a notable part-time economic activity. It was kept for leisure and income generation while animals and birds were kept as subsidiary to farming and

⁹⁸ Oral interview with Alhaji Kabiru Ibikunle, Ibikunle Compound Ayeye, Ibadan. 23-3-2012. Aged 72 See also Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830–1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P.81

⁹⁹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830–1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P.81

¹⁰⁰ Folorunsho, C.A., (1998) "The History and Anthropology of Labour Mobilization for Agricultural Production among the Yoruba". *West African Journal of Archeology*. 28:2. P.70.

¹⁰¹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P.87

¹⁰² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P. 87

not as separate occupation. Some of these animals and birds were goats, sheep, cats, ducks, and chickens, which were used for different purposes. Some were taken as food while some served as pets in different homes and the other used for hunting. A few rich citizens kept the horse for prestige and as a means of transportation. They were fed on what the owners ate, though they were allowed to roam and fend for themselves. They were given many kinds of names.¹⁰³

From time immemorial, goods were largely exchanged in the markets as there were other non-market institutions that allowed for goods to be distributed without the use of any currency. Production was still at infancy until the goods were sold in the market. The principal locations in the traditional economy of Ibadan were land on which farming was carried out and the market in which farmers exchanged their products for other goods. Major markets in the traditional Ibadan were created on the command of an *Oba* while their opening was usually heralded by the performance of appropriate rituals by the palace servants on his behalf. The market was thus, in most cases, both spiritually and ritually related to the *Oba*. It was the ruler's function to preserve peace between the town's component segments and to symbolize its unity as peace and unity were requirements for market transactions.¹⁰⁴

The market was an integral part of Ibadan society and it provided for both the social and economic contacts between the city and the neighboring villages. From the traditional Yoruba social organization, it seems that the system of reciprocal services and redistribution of farm products found among members of extended families and between simple folk and sovereign classes led to the development of trade and market.¹⁰⁵

A market in the traditional Ibadan conception was a place where people met to exchange goods. It occupied an open space in a delimited area. Market emerged as a function of division of labor. The traditional markets were expanded and new ones constructed to cater for the needs of the people. The most ancient, biggest, and most attended markets in the town were *Oja'ba*

¹⁰³ Livestocks were kept in Ibadan to augment the income from earned farming activities. They also engaged in the activity to make livestock available for sacrifices and rituals during various festivities such as *Egungun, Oke-badan* and *Ileya*.

¹⁰⁴ Ritual performances were indispensable activity in the traditional era of Ibadan before a market could be set up in Ibadan. This was to appease their progenitors and for the sustainability of the market.

¹⁰⁵ Ilori, C.O., (1962) "Economic Organization of Traditional Markets in Yoruba-land". *Nigerian Agricultural Journal*. Vol.4. No2. p35

and *Orita-merin* located almost at the center of the town and established on *Mapo Hill*.¹⁰⁶ These markets were not only commercial centers but an important social center. The markets were held every morning and evening. Many other markets were established in Ibadan to cope with the expanding population. Among the notable markets that were established between 1840 and 1893 were *Oja'gbo*, *Ita-ege*, *Yeosa*, *Beyeruka*, *Ode-Aje*, *Adebiopon*, *Oranyan*, *Isale-Apanpa*, *Ibuko*, *Ayeye*, *Oje*, *Itabale*. *Oja'ba* was particularly famous for wholesale transactions in locally manufactured and imported goods.¹⁰⁷ Markets were held either daily (*Oja-Ojojumo*) or periodically every fourth or eight-day (*Oja-Ororun* or *Ojo-kesan-kesan*). These daily markets included *Ibuko*, *Labo*, *Elekuro*, *Ayeye*, *Orita merin*, and they served the needs of the people living close to places where they were located. Buyers bought in small quantities since they could go the following day again. Cooked food and perishable goods like vegetables were brought from the farms to be disposed of on same day. The daily markets were held either in the morning or in the evening, and in the case of *Oja'ba*, it was attended both in the morning and in the evening.¹⁰⁸

Oje market was a periodic market established in 1840 by *Areago Delesolu* and *Oderinlo*.¹⁰⁹ Being a periodic market, traders had to prepare in advance and travel not only from the tributary areas but from the neighbouring towns to attend and participate in marketing. The market days were worked out to avoid clashing with other periodic markets somewhere else. A large number of people attended *Oje* periodic market and the quantity of trade was huge. Some traders visited the town gates to meet rural farmers and negotiated with them to buy their produce. They would later bring those farm produce to the main market to resell. A small percentage of women and children also hawked around to sell their goods.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Olaniyi,R.,(2015)"Economic History of Ibadan" in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan:Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.p22

¹⁰⁷ Awe,B.A., (1973)"Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example", *J.A.H.*, ixv, 1. P42

¹⁰⁸ Awe,B.A., (1973) "Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example", *J.A.H.*, ixv, 1. P P42

¹⁰⁹ Oral Interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadanland.9/6/2018

¹¹⁰ Ojo, O., (2008) "The Organization of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Yoruba-land, ca 1777-ca1856". *The African Studies*. 41.1.P77

Two principal factors that aided marketing in Ibadan included transportation and communication. They were very essential that their availability helped enhanced production and exchange and this was made feasible by the number of trade networks existed in Ibadan. The wideness of these roads was different and the amount of trade and regularity of traffic also differed. A major different between the city road and the hinterlands road was that the town roads were broader and wider compared to the feeder which linked some of these villages that were very narrow and intricate. The commonest mode of transporting goods in all these routes during the period was head portorage. Traders carried their loads on their heads, and some made use of their slaves and household labour to transport their goods for them.¹¹¹

For the markets to remain peaceful and for orderliness to be maintained, the overall control and governance of the markets were placed under the supervision of the *Baale* (Olubadan). The village markets were supervised by the village heads with the consent of Olubadan. It was the custom and a standing order for the village heads to notify the Olubadan in the city when a market was to be established in the rural villages as the villages were under the Olubadan's jurisdiction. This was an indication that the Olubadan had the prerogative rights over the village settlements in Ibadan. The Olubadan therefore appointed some people that would serve as market officials for the smooth governance of the markets. These market officials served as link between the Olubadan and the markets. They reported to him the daily activities of the markets. As rightly said, the affairs of the rural markets were attended to by the market elders who represented not only the village head but the Olubadan. They were not in any position to control the prices of goods in the market but morally interceded and appealed to the seller to break-bulk for the buyer who could not afford to purchase in quantity set out by the seller. They also settled an immediate dispute involving cheating, brawling, rioting, contamination of food articles, and petty thefts. The night markets in Ibadan were more important social centers than the day time markets. They were places where people celebrated important occasions.¹¹² People celebrating weddings, funerals, and other occasions danced to the night market. It was also an accepted place of rendezvous for unattached males and females.

¹¹¹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830 – 1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P109

¹¹² Ojo, O., (2008) "The Organization of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Yoruba-land, ca 1777-ca1856". *The African Studies*. 41.1:77

The non-market institutions in Ibadan were meant to make life meaningful for all by exchanging goods without monetary exchange. It was quite different from trade by barter where the arrangement was goods for goods exchanged. It was an institutionalized arrangement for the exchange of goods and services without the beneficiary paying a dime. The system could be in various forms including the provision of needs by the head of a household in conformity with the norms of the household, presentation of gifts during political, religious and social events or programmes, payments of tributes and allocation, compulsory gifts, and inheriting the property of the deceased. All of this involved allocation, distribution, and redistribution of wealth in the community.¹¹³ The side effect of this system was that it could not satisfy and cope with the existing demands of the people. Inheritance was occasional, and gift-giving was not enough for distributing the resources of the society.¹¹⁴

The forms of rural land tenure in Ibadan were affected by many interacting factors. Some of these factors included systems of family and inheritance, the rules that governed the disposal of family and individual property at death, and the kind of political organization existing in the community. The traditional land ownership system practiced in Ibadan necessitated the movement from the city to the hinterlands. Thus, under the family system, head chiefs, and all individual members of the family had rights in family land. This system was well depicted in the Ibadan land tenure system where under the customary tenure arrangements; the land was considered as belonging to past, present, and future generations. What all these meant in terms of land was that in principle, anyone was free to farm, without tribute, on the land of any compound to which they could trace descent, in both male and female lines. Consequently, no one could not acquire farmland by descent rights if they wanted. Interests in family land were not alienated except with the knowledge and full consent of those elders considered as principal members of the landowning family. This land tenure system and the backward method of agriculture practiced led to rapid exhaustion of the soil fertility of the land surrounding the town. Following the deterioration of soil fertility of the nearby farms, the farmers were forced to move further into the virgin forest, with the result that, towards the end of the last century, the radius of rural settlements had increased to

¹¹³ Oral Interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadanland.8/7/2018

¹¹⁴ Guyer, J. (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to feed Ibadan 1968-1988*. London: Edinburgh University Press. P18

10 miles. The result of this was the establishment of villages like *Erunmu, Ojoo, Moniya, Iroko, Olojuoro, Gbola* and *Olode* within the ten miles radius of Ibadan came into being.¹¹⁵ With greater demand for farmland, it became necessary for the farmers and their families to go farther afield in quest of good virgin forest for the new crops. The increased security and the growth of economic crops kept them longer on these distant farms so that they returned to the town only when occasion demanded. This movement resulted in a shift from the former purely subsistence agriculture to large scale farming.¹¹⁶

2.7 Filial Relations in the Traditional Ibadan Compounds

The role of compound in the filial relationship in Ibadan could not be ignored. It was the unit that promoted and strengthened mutual relationship among the people of a particular lineage. For proper and adequate identification, different compounds were identified by some traits which included hereditary chieftaincy title, cult, ritual affiliation, tribal mark, migratory source, religion and genealogical link. The type of craft traditionally practiced in a compound could also serve as trait to identify a compound. Without any iota of doubt, compound in Ibadan was regarded as the most basic and fundamental unit that a person or group of persons associated with through lineage ancestor. This *Idile* (lineage) in Ibadan constituted by all persons, both male and female who could trace their descent to the founder of the compound with series of accepted genealogical.¹¹⁷

There was a turning point in the 1830s when Ibadan transformed from just a camp of warriors into a permanent town. Many compounds were established by the settlers who came from different directions to have a home in the city after the fall of the old Oyo Empire. There existed several compounds such as *Ope-Agbe, Ibikunle, Ogunmola, Akere, Ali-Iwo, Olugbode, Jenriyin*. More compounds were also settled in Ibadan before the colonial incursion in 1893. Such compounds included *Agbeni, Lanase, Foko*, among many others. Ibadan was later composed of different lineages (*idile*) living in different compounds (*agbo-ile*). This division into various compounds started with the earlier settlers who continued the tradition practiced in their former towns of grouping themselves along different lineage and

¹¹⁵ Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. London: Edinburgh University Press. P42 See also, Akinola, R.A., (1963) "Ibadan Region". *Nigerian Geographical Journal*. Vol. 6 No 1. P106

¹¹⁶ Oral interview with Pa Adebayo. Otun Baale of Omi-Adio. 8/7/2015

¹¹⁷ Lloyd, P.C., (1951) "The Yoruba Lineage". *Africa*. Vol. xxv. P236

kinship affiliations. A very remarkable characteristic of Ibadan compound was the integration of many strangers into them. The older men in the house were the core of the compound. Although a few percentage of them lived in the villages and came back to the town at intervals. They formed the pool of descendants through the father-line of the men who founded the root “*idi*” of the compound “*ile*.” However, some men who resided in their maternal compounds maintained affinity with their fathers’ lineage. The advantage of being a member of a lineage included the right to inherit land that belonged to the founder of the compound as well competed for titles within the family or lineage set up.¹¹⁸

Historically, the tradition of a lineage was preserved in ritual chant (*rara*) and praise songs (*oriki*) that were transferred from generation to generation. The chants not only served and defined the structural affinities of people in a compound but preserved the history behind the past happenings. Those who belonged to the same lineage had a common praise name (*oriki*) or same facial marks.¹¹⁹ The chant and song formed notable aspect of the compound during programmes such as funeral, birth, marriages, and other critical events. Kinship served as the coordinating principle in a filial relationship as it determined access to factors of production which included land, labor, capital, and entrepreneurship. It solidified ones right to compound’s assets.¹²⁰

Economic bond also existed in a compound within the frame work of filial relationship. Individuals and households within a compound relied heavily economically on the proceeds of the whole compound. The independence of a household as the basic production unit did not degenerate into abandoning other members of the compound. The production and consumption unit worked within the established framework of the compound. The compound provided insurance to every member against starvation and unemployment. Success and failure in economic ventures were shared. For example, if a farmer had a successful harvest, he would give part of it, however small to some others in the compound.

¹¹⁸ Schwab, W.B. (1955) “kinship and Lineage among the Yoruba”. *Africa*. P353

¹¹⁹ It was revealed that the history of some compounds in Ibadan was attached to ritual chant and praise songs. Such families included Ogunmola and Olugbode in the Bere area of the city.

¹²⁰ The basic and primary unit of relationship in Ibadan was the compound affiliation. It helped in coordinating the activities of individual as well as the entire lineage.

If his crops failed, others would come to his aids. Their living together fostered the spirit of oneness, which no member could ignore.¹²¹

As an integral part of kinship solidarity, it was the usual practice of all the male members of a small compound to work together in a member's farm to compliment his labour force, especially during the land clearing and hoeing period. The members drew up a roster of activities which took nearly everybody to one another's farm. The system made for efficient mobilization of labor on a large scale. Women producers in the compound made similar cooperation. Majority of them teamed up to work for a single woman, and the process was repeated until everybody had her turn. Cooperation in economic matters was carried further in some compounds where the cash crop trees (kola-nut and palm-tree) were collectively owned. The men plucked the fruits, and the women processed and prepared them for markets.¹²²

The basic social institution that allowed individual to make a living was the compound. Other people that could be found in a particular compound apart from the so called core members included wives, apprentices, pawns or strangers. The intergration of non member into a compound led into the emergence of two types of compounds in Ibadan: the homogenous and the heterogeneous compounds. The stranger elements were not many in the homogenous compounds while the heterogenous ones had a large percentage of strangers. The ability to satisfy the strangers ecomnomically and politically differentiated the two compounds.¹²³

In Ibadan compounds from time immemorial, those chosen as the head of the compounds known as *Mogaji* were not necessarily the oldest as age was replaced with power, wealth, influence and recognition. The *Mogaji* after being conferred with the title co-ordinated all the activities of the compound home and away. Some compounds normally appointed someone who had made a mark in the city. He was charged with responsibilities of seeing to the welfare of the members of his compound and maintained cordial relation among them. He served as judge in some of the matters within the compound and ensured that no member of his compound got into trouble, while those who did were bailed out. He supervised and controlled the compound's property such as land, both in the city and in the village. No

¹²¹ Oral interview with Pa Olakunleyin. Balogun of Ibadan.16/4/2017

¹²² Oral interview with Dr Lekan Are, Oke-Are, Ibadan. 3-6-2015. Aged 78.

¹²³ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P33

family land in the village could be sold or alienated without his consent. Land formed the bridge between the dead and the living and this made it difficult for anyone to tamper with it without notifying others especially the *Mogaji* who represented both the dead on earth and the living.¹²⁴

Training of the youths formed parts of compound bond. The first place that offered training and served as the educational unit in Ibadan was the compound. Just as people worked within their respective compounds, so also they got their training mainly from their immediate compounds. Everyone was trained the family craft and the training was not strictly the responsibility of the parents but everybody in the compound. Vocational training and character training were learnt in the compound. The virtues of respect, honesty, humility, steadfastness, diligence were all learnt in the compound. The women were also taught the family gods (*Orisa*) and were permitted to observe some of the propitiation rites. By watching their elders, they learned the dances and songs associated with various ceremonies.¹²⁵

The efficacy and power of the ancestral spirits in the lives of the living was not a thing to toy with among the members of a compound. The concept of reincarnation was prioritized as allegiance to lineage ties was inevitable. All these reinforced compound social norms and were central to continuity and cohesion of the compound. The members believed in the ancestral blessings from the dead such that anyone that did contrarily faced misfortune and condemnation.¹²⁶ The corporate existence of a lineage also operated within the marriage institution such that marriage did not end at the demise of a male member as the wife was inherited by another member of the compound junior to the deceased.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Oral interview, Senator Lekan Balogun, Osi-Olubadan of Ibadan, 72, Alli-Iwo compound, Ibadan. 22/1/2012.

¹²⁵ Training was one of the major value systems recognized in Ibadan to be performed not only by the biological parents but by any other blood related individuals. It was a way of inculcating the family norms and values into the younger generation for sustainability.

¹²⁶ It was forbidden for any member of a lineage to engage in incest and other heinous acts that could tarnish the image of the family. This act was condemned in totality and anybody found guilty could be banished from being a member of such lineage and asked to move farer away from the family compound to serve as deterrent for others.

¹²⁷ Wife inheritance (*opo-sisu*) in Ibadan lineage set up was a means to cement the relationship between two lineages. Some family tradition frowned at woman coming back to their family (*Ile-mosu*) after being divorced or after the death of their husbands.

2.8 Ibadan in the aftermath of the Yoruba Wars

Ibadan was the aftermath of the political crises that engulfed Yorubaland in the early 19th century. Its growth from about 1829 when it was built to become an urban centre from about 1860 was the result of its strategic location in the heart of Yorubaland.¹²⁸ From its very beginning, war was the main feature of Ibadan. In the early 1830s, the city was primarily concerned with carving out a state of its own and through that became involved in wars with few hostile neighbours. The primary concern was how to build a virile strong city that would have unquestionable passage to the both political and economic activities of the region. The city however became famous and respected after halting the incursion of the Muslim jihadists from Ilorin at the battle of Osogbo in 1840.¹²⁹ This aided Ibadan expansion and it grew up as an administrative center where policies were made. The city also extended to the tributary areas. Ibadan administrative region extended in the 1890s and covered many parts of Yorubaland with an estimating population of over 120,000 souls.¹³⁰

The city-state built by Ibadan during this period was comparable to that of Oyo. It brought down *Ijaye* and its *Ijebu/Egba* allies in 1862 to become the most outstanding town among its peers. Ibadan while engaging in external wars between 1840s and 1870s conquered virtually all the Yoruba towns in the eastern sphere. Beginning from the 1870, Ibadan had mapped out an empire encompassing a huge part in the central and eastern half of Yorubaland. Its success was however short-lived because of the peace treaty of 1893.¹³¹ The history of the next seventy years was a story of war, but also of steadily increasing wealth and power for Ibadan whose population increased by birth, influx of immigrants, and the acquisition of slaves. By 1886, Ibadan had increased their fighting capacity by exchanging slaves for guns and gun-powder which were available in Lagos. In 1893, Governor Carter with a small staff and military force went to both Oyo and Ilorin and after lengthy negotiations, he induced both sides to lay down their arms and make peace. The Ibadan army at Ikirun dispersed to their homes, and the Ilorin and Offa did likewise. The British intervention put a final end to the

¹²⁸ Ikporukpo, C.O., (1994) "Perspectives on Ibadan Region: An Overview" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P1

¹²⁹ Akinjogbin, I.A., (1970) "A chronology of Yoruba History, 1789-1840". *Odu*. 2. P82. See also Law. R.C.C., (1970). "The Chronology of Yoruba War in the Early Nineteenth Century". *JHSN*. 5. P211-212

¹³⁰ Mabogunje, A. L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: University of London Press. P192

¹³¹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P205

internecine wars among the Yorubas, and for Ibadan, that meant the beginning of a new structure of government, new opportunities and new politics.¹³²

The British had their ulterior motives for intervening in the seventeen year war which started in 1877 and ended in 1893. Apart from the rivalry between the French and the British to carve a niche for themselves in Yorubaland as a result of external trade and commerce in Africa which had become so competitive, the growing influence of Germany was another threat to the British and the French traders. The scramble to partition Africa thus gave way to British influence in Nigeria as the the British intervention in the *Kiriji* war was to ensure continuity in external trade. The British administration tried to curb any other world power that might be interested in Yoruba-land through the signing of the peace treaty in 1893. These goals coupled with many others eventually led to the British annexation of Ibadan. Although, Lagos, Ijebu, Itsekiri, Nembe-Brass, Benin and Aro had been earlier subdued and occupied in 1851, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1901 and 1902 respectively.¹³³

The security and military needs of Ibadan brought her closer with the British in the late 19th century and both parties saw each other as business allies. To the British government and merchants, Ibadan had a monopoly of control over large rich agricultural and forest resources, the potentials that were needed in Britain and some other European countries. Ibadan also needed the help of the British government in Lagos to secure weapons independently of its two aggressive rivals-the *Egba* and *Ijebu*. The Yoruba war provided the necessary excuse for the British to colonize the whole of Yoruba-land in an era of unparalleled territorial acquisition during the last two decades of the 19th century.¹³⁴ The fear of Ibadan to stand as stumbling block against British policies made Governor Carter to propose to station a resident with a military force in Ibadan to monitor developments and report anti-British and anti-peace moves to Lagos. Also, the merchants in Europe faced depression between 1873 and 1896 and this forced many of them to be interested in Ibadan. The proposal of Governor Carter was initially rejected by the chiefs such as Balogun Osungbekun who understood the implications.¹³⁵

¹³² Labinjo, J., (1991) *Modernity and Tradition in the Politics of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Fountain Publications. P160.

¹³³ Oyeweso, S., (1992) *The Post Gowon Nigerian Account of the Nigerian Civil War, 1975-1990: A Preliminary Review*. African Peace Research Institute. P4.

¹³⁴ The details of the wars are in Akintoye (1971) *Revolution and Power Politics in Ibadan-land, 1840-1893*. Pp42-68 See also Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. Ibadan. P285

¹³⁵ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan foundation growth and change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P286-290

August 5, 1893 was the D.day when Ibadan chiefs signed a treaty that ended Ibadan supremacy in Yorubaland. Captain Bower and his cohorts had already stationed themselves for the governance of Ibadan by December 1893.¹³⁶ This eventually diminished the administrative exercise of Ibadan over other Yoruba towns as its administrative region and was, therefore reduced to Ibadan province and *Oshun* divisions.¹³⁷ The treaty was notable for the loss of Ibadan sovereignty, power and independence and the beginning of the British administration in Ibadan.¹³⁸

The subjugation of Ibadan by the British had many implications. Ibadan was interested to regaining its crumbling empire while the British focused on how to incorporate the city and other Yoruba towns in its colony. Some of the Ibadan chiefs that signed the peace treaty of 1893 lacked education and could not interpret the meaning of the treaty very well. They thought the treaty meant peace, securing open roads, and freedom of action. However, the treaty meant different thing entirely and it provided for some provisions: the treaty placed Ibadan and some of the towns including Iwo, Osogbo, Ikirun, Ogbomosho, and Iseyin earlier being controlled by Ibadan under the control of the British, the treaty also placed Oyo and its king, the *Alaafin of Oyo* over Ibadan and other Yoruba towns, the treaty also subjected Ibadan to allow for free movement of persons coming to Ibadan from any direction, the treaty also coersed Ibadan to release the land needed by the British to set up both their economic and political activities.¹³⁹ The implication of this was that Ibadan became just an outlet that supplied raw materials for British industries and the burden of taking care of the British officials also became the responsibility of Ibadan.¹⁴⁰ In a nutshell, the agreement between Ibadan and the British was the last and end of Ibadan supremacy and the colonization of the one time Yoruba superstar.¹⁴¹ Though, all these did not put a halt to the power rivalry among the warrior chiefs in Ibadan such as *Aare Latosa Obadoke* who still believed they would soon get over their predicaments.¹⁴²

Without wasting much time, the British exploited all the available resources and imposed its authority over Ibadan. Ibadan economy was designed to feed that of Britian while

¹³⁶ Falola.T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P285

¹³⁷ Ikporukpo.C.O.,(1994)"Perspectives on Ibadan Region: An overview" in M.O.Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles p11

¹³⁸ Falola,T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft .P286-290

¹³⁹ Falola.T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*. Lagos: Modelor. P26

¹⁴⁰ Falola.T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P290

¹⁴¹ Falola.T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*. Lagos: Modelor. P16.

Ibadan chiefs' influences were undermined to guarantee total subjugation and control. A year after 1893, majority of Ibadan chiefs had become irrelevant and their influence withered away. One critical example of this was the humiliation Baale Sanusi suffered from Bower in 1894.¹⁴³

The Ibadan chiefs continued to struggle to regain their lost power and authority to the British. Between 1893 and 1897, the British in their own ingenuity allowed the indigenous administrative system to continue but structured it to be subservient to British authority. Failure on the part of the chiefs to prove their military acumen and prowess made it difficult for them to mobilize politically. The chiefs were unable to enjoy power like their predecessors as they were hindered by the British. Failure to go to war was tantamount to failure to acquire fame and influence.¹⁴⁴

The foundation for the new system was laid between 1893-1913. In December 1893, Captain R.L. Bower arrived in Ibadan being the first Resident and Travelling Commissioner of the interior of the Yoruba. His area of jurisdiction covered the *Ibadan, Oyo, Ife, Igbomina, Ijesa, and Ekiti* territories.¹⁴⁵ Without hesitation, the colonial administrator strategised and inaugurated the Ibadan Town Council in August 1897.¹⁴⁶ The council was placed under the authority of the British. The intent of the British was to make use of the indigenous chiefs to engage the people. The council had eleven high chiefs and a Briton, F.C.Fuller became the chairman. This system of government could well be described as indirect rule system of government. The colonial administration then existed by the side of the traditional system and was responsible for tax collection and the provision of modern services.¹⁴⁷ The system allowed the chiefs to administer local issues and to govern the populace at a very low cost. To make this work, local chiefs were co-opted and assigned duties for effective control and exploitation.¹⁴⁸

To further curtail the power of the chiefs, Bower indicated that the council was only to play a subordinate role and he made use of the soldiers of the Royal West African Frontier

¹⁴² Johnson,S.,(1921)*History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British protectorate*.Lagos:CMS.P629

¹⁴³ Akinyele.I.B.,(1950) *Iwe Itan Ibadan*. (3rd ed) Exeter: James Townsend and Sons Limited.P121-122; See also Johnson. S. (1921) *History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Protectorates*. Lagos: CMS. P644

¹⁴⁴ Falola, T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P364.

¹⁴⁵ See Falola T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P364

¹⁴⁶ Falola T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P366

¹⁴⁷ See Lloyd, P.C.,(1967) *African in Social Change*. Maryland: Penguin. P62

Force. This system of administration made significant changes in Ibadan administration as good number of chiefs were excluded from attending the meeting. Those excluded included the *Seriki* line, the *Iyalode* and the council was no longer headed by the *Baale* but by the Resident. Reason for this was not far fetched, the council needed the literate and experienced administrators to guide its activities.¹⁴⁹ Some changes were introduced in 1901 following the Native Council Ordinance in 1901 initiated by Governor Sir William Mc Gregor. The *Baale* became the president, and the Resident was only to advise when necessary. The council was given the power to deliberate on the issues of internal administration and matters that affected the people located within its area of jurisdiction. Consequently, the council was more involved than before in local administration and played major roles including allowing the chiefs to exercise a measure of control over their people, passing of rules on critical areas such as sanitation, trade, agriculture, land, market sites, and administration of justice, religion, customs, and security. These rules extended to villages and towns subordinate to Ibadan.¹⁵⁰ The most outstanding legislations were on domestic slavery, rubber, land, and spirit. The council was also involved in issues relating to the other towns in the Ibadan district and Ibadan itself was divided into eighteen quarters in 1912.¹⁵¹

There were alterations and modifications in the judicial system between 1897 and 1913. The judicial powers earlier enjoyed by the family head, the *Mogaji* were taken away from them with the advent of new system. The priests too who had earlier enjoyed some influence based on alleged spiritual powers were dealt with significantly. The courts were established to interpret laws made by the colonial masters. The native courts, though, presided over by native chiefs were meant to pursue the interest of the colonial power, both as tribunals of justice and the executive arm of government.¹⁵²

The establishment of administrative control paved way for the imposition and colonization of a new economic and social structure. The new political system created new colonial economy. The introduction of colonial economic policy did not come lightly as diplomacy and force were often resorted to demonstrate the relationship between politics and

¹⁴⁸ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. p292

¹⁴⁹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P364

¹⁵⁰ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P368

¹⁵¹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P371

¹⁵² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Modelor. P409.

economy.¹⁵³ These measures touched on transportation, currency, labor, land, and tolls. Alterations and modifications were meant to improve the development of a cash crop economy, encourage the domination of the exchange sector by interests that understood the needs of the colonial régime and achieve the immediate trade flow to the port of Lagos.¹⁵⁴

The railway and the roads were notable features of Ibadan development in the early 20th century. They were regarded as the vital tools of development. Not only the European merchants knew the potentialities of the railway, the Ibadan populace too realized the good its introduction would bring.¹⁵⁵ It was considered that produce which was lying waste for want of the means of transport in the interior could be easily evacuated.¹⁵⁶ The need to construct more roads and widen the previous ones was borne out of the fact that the local transport system which had been used in the past could not accommodate the volume of traffic for the anticipated expansion in cash crops. Two main criticisms were made: the traditional roads were narrow and the cost of head portage too high.¹⁵⁷ The construction of railway system which commenced in Lagos in 1895 reached Abeokuta in 1900 and Ibadan in 1901.¹⁵⁸ This singular innovation accelerated the pace of economic development in Ibadan as the modern business centre; *Gbagi* was located close to the traditional centre of the city. The influx of different people into the city was the result of the railways.¹⁵⁹

The influence of the railway at the beginning was restricted to certain areas and this seriously hampered the tapping of wealth of the interior. Apart from this, the cost of taking some crops to the railway station was huge because many producers had not been opportuned to be linked into the export business. On the other hand, the motor car was a new invention and the ones produced were not only slow but highly costly and heavy. Those in operation of motor car included not only the Europeans but African private firms and individuals. One private Nigerian individual in the transport business was *W.A. Dawodu*. The responsibilities of the colonial government included building of roads and they also planned the routes in order to feed the railways.¹⁶⁰ Road project commenced in 1897. The newly

¹⁵³ Several authors have made their contributions on the British Administration in Nigeria. For instance, Atanda, J. A., (1973) *The New Oyo Empire*. Chapter Six, Ekundare, R.O., (1973) *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860-1960*, and Hopkins A.G (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa* chapters five and six.

¹⁵⁴ Falola, T., (1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945*. Ibadan: Modelor. P15

¹⁵⁵ Tamuno, T.N., (1964) "Genesis of the Nigerian Railway". *Nigerian Magazine*. No 83. P280

¹⁵⁶ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P294.

¹⁵⁷ Oral interview with Dr. Surajudeen Bankole, Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Economics, University of Ibadan.

¹⁵⁸ Adebayo, M.K.O., (2006) *Itan Ilu Omi Adio ati Opa-Ogun Ibadan*. Ibadan: Goldfield. P57

¹⁵⁹ Ayeni B. (1994). "The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan. Its Growth and Structure" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P75

¹⁶⁰ Hopkins, A.G., (1973) *An Economic History on West Africa*. New York: Longman. P281

constructed roads followed the existing footpaths and not too wide. Actions began on road construction and linkage so that by October 1906; Ibadan had been linked with Lagos by road wide enough to take a car. Not only that, for the British to evacuate more resources from the interior of Ibadan, 20miles of road was built to connect Ibadan with its immediate hinterlands. The notable objective of this was to link the major production centres with the railways and the markets. The British were able to construct new roads because labour was in abundance and cheap and at times free. More roads linking the interior were widened between 1920 and 1921. Not quite satisfied with the level and extent of roads available in Ibadan, in 1921, the Ibadan district administration constructed more than forty miles of roads with Ibadan city benefitting from a quarter of this. These additional roads brought the total network of roads in the Oyo province to 413 ¼ miles. Out of which Ibadan had the following; Ibadan towns(20 miles), *Ibadan to Akanran*(14 miles) *Ibadan to Olodo*(7miles), *Ibadan to Oyo*(33 miles) *Ibadan to Ife*(56 miles), *Ibadan to Ijebu- Ode*(44 miles), and *Ibadan to Ilugun* (20miles). A few bridges, notably at *Gege* and *Bode* neighborhoods were built in 1925.¹⁶¹

Another notable impact of the early colonial administration was the introduction of currency to replace the old indigenous cowries. Demonetizing cowries was a good step taking by the British to achieving their economic aims. They considered cowries a constraint to trade because of its weight to transport. Also, its supply was difficult to control and it required much time and attention in counting.¹⁶² To the British, currency was an integral part of a viable economy and society and by 1913 the use of cowries had been drastically reduced to the barest minimum. It was only meant and used for local transactions.¹⁶³

Economic structures in the early 1900s were due to several economic changes and transformations embarked upon by the British.¹⁶⁴ The dominant motives for the colonial masters included the search for cheap raw materials and markets for colonial goods. The colonial economic policy was geared towards agriculture and trade. The authorities stimulated the production of crops like palm oil, cotton, cocoa, and rubber and they became the dominant future of the colonial economy. Their production was remarkable as they formed a direct source of cash income for the producers. The colonial administration changed the process of production by introducing new ways to replace the old traditional method of production. The new method of production no doubt increased the yield and

¹⁶¹ Falola.T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*.Ibadan:Modelor. P191

¹⁶² Falola T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P292

¹⁶³ Falola T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P293

enhanced the income of the producers.¹⁶⁵ The Agricultural Department which was established in Ibadan ventured into research to improve the yields of cash crops. The Department encouraged farmers to participate in Agric shows where outstanding farmers were rewarded. The first agricultural show was held in Ibadan in 1910.¹⁶⁶

The interest in cocoa cultivation in Ibadan and other parts of Yoruba-land led to a corresponding increase in the volume of cocoa exported. The knowledge of cocoa reached Ibadan through traders, soldiers, and agents of the Christian converts. Most of the earliest cocoa planters in Ibadan were either converts or probable Christians. E.E.Morakinyo, Ogunwole, Okoga, Orukotan, and Cornelius Phillip established new cocoa farms in about twenty-four villages in the four corners of the town. The villages included *Agbakin*, *Otun-Agbakin*, *Arun*, *Kute*, and *Iroko* to the North of the town. To the south of the town were villages like *Eripa*, *Onipe*, *Isokun*, *Gbedun*, *Olojuoro*, *Ayorinde*, *Idiose*, *Ogbere*, *Alabidun*, *Alaguntan*, *Oloruda*, *Aladun*, *Onimo*, *Akinboade*, *Laogun*, *Abalega*, *Ajugbona*, *Araromi-Aperin* and *Amodu-Afunsho*.¹⁶⁷

By 1913, cocoa was not only the bride of all crops but had the greatest demand and attracted higher prices in the global market. Other reasons adduced for the growth of cocoa included the physical environment and extensive farmland, under-employment among the younger men and the availability of individuals whose personal backgrounds and experiences led them to be more willing to experiment with new production activities than were the majority of their compatriots. Among them were *Adebisi Giwa* and *Salami Agbaje*.¹⁶⁸

Traditionally, Ibadan operated modest market-oriented economies in agriculture, craft, and trade. Various articles of trade were marketed at the various network of markets such as daily, periodic, and the long distance markets. The relative peace that came with colonization ushered in a new dawn in Ibadan economic activities. It broadened the marketing activities and extended the farmlands.¹⁶⁹ Virtually all the cash crops produced were taken out of Ibadan and this was done by the European merchants and their indigenous

¹⁶⁴ Lloyd. P.C., (1967) *African in Social Change*. Maryland: Penguin. P74

¹⁶⁵ Lloyd. P.C., (1967) *African in Social Change*. Maryland: Penguin. P75

¹⁶⁶ Falola.T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*.Ibadan:Modelor. P100

¹⁶⁷ Berry.S. S.,(1975) *Cocoa, Custom and Social Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P61; see also Falola. T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893 – 1945*.

¹⁶⁸ Oral interview with Senator Dr. Lekan Balogun, Osi Olubadan of Ibadan-land Aged: 70years

¹⁶⁸ Akinola.R.A., (1963) "Ibadan Region".*Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol.6. No.2. P110

¹⁶⁹ Akinola.R.A., (1963) "Ibadan Region".*Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol.6. No.2. P110

allies. Some of the European merchants at the fore front then included *Patterson Zochonis* (PZ), *Witt and Buch*, *Pickering and Berthoud*, *John Holt*, *Fernandez*, and *G.L.Gaiser*. The number rose to twenty-four in 1906: thirteen British; five German; one French; one Brazilian; and four Nigerian. By 1913, the number had increased to seventy. These firms dominated the export-import trade. They bought the agricultural and forest products and sold European goods in return.¹⁷⁰

Prior to the period of colonization, what obtained was that the Ibadan traders sold to the intermediaries, the likes of the *Egbas* and *Ijebus* but the European firms made this unnecessary and expanded the contact with Lagos directly. Local trade thereby developed in response to imports.¹⁷¹ The colonial economy also introduced not only forced labour but wage labour. The former became pronounced in some public works such as road construction and building of infrstructures such as schools, hospitals and offices. The chiefs were mandated to make labour available when and where necessary. Forced labor became pronounced in some of the public works such as road construction, building of houses, and offices by the new administration. All the cocoa roads and railways were built through the use of forced or cheap labor. Another instance was the construction of Mapo hall where larger parts of the labour used for construction were not paid. Forced labour in a nutshell attracted no remuneration or payment.¹⁷²

On the other hand, wage labour attracted remuneration and the employment in this category were the army, police force, government departments, and trading firms. Other private firms and individuals from Lagos also came to Ibadan to recruit cheap labor. By the 1920s, wage labor had become established, and this necessitated education or the idea of sending children to school. The introduction of wage labor also produced some social effects such as the increasing money in the circulation as well as avenue for social mobility. This generated a lot of movement from the village settlements to the city. The effect of this was the dislocation of people and alterations and modifications of culture. The social as well as cultural beliefs and practices were challenged. Families were also divided - a set in the village

¹⁷⁰ Mabogunje, A.L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. New York: Holmes and Meier. P196

¹⁷¹ Falola, T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P205

¹⁷² The new method of labour recruitment after the war in Ibadan was through compulsion. It was unlike the group labour recruitment method of Aro and Owe practiced before 1893.

and another set in the city. Another major effect was the disappearance of the abled body men in the village and this affected farm production significantly.¹⁷³

There was no doubt that with the introduction of colonial system, the traditional manufactures continued to thrive. This was made possible by the closeness of the markets and the availability of raw materials at their disposal. This was particularly true of wares such as pots, which were produced cheaply and with local materials.¹⁷⁴ Despite all the changes and modifications that emerged in the distributive system during the colonial period, the indigenous economic system continued to survive and thrive. It owed its success to the ability and capacity of individuals to innovate and modify. As traditional ties of dependence, notable slavery were loosened, a large new group of independent traders began to make its mark.¹⁷⁵ There emerged and developed few indigenous traders who competed with the Europeans and the *Lebano-Syrians*. They included *Salami Agbaje*, perhaps the wealthiest in the 1920s and *Adebisi Giwa*.¹⁷⁶

The Ibadan women also fared well during the early period of colonization. They expanded the scope and the style of their economic activities. Their influence rested on their control of immense trading and organization networks. They operated in the markets (the daily, periodic, morning and night markets) and sold foodstuffs, locally-produced goods, and imported items. These traders bought their goods from producers, intermediaries, and foreign firms. The construction of the railway transformed their commercial networks and opened new opportunities for the expansion of the distributive trade. Prominent among them included *Rukayat Ajisomo* and *Rolatu Ajisomo*.¹⁷⁷

This chapter concludes that the open-door policy of the indigenous Ibadan people was remarkable in its foundation. Ibadan was heterogenous in nature as a result of population diversity. The city had no ancestral founder and this made it impossible for anyone to lay claim to its authority. A combination of this shaped and influenced the city's growth and

¹⁷³ A major effect of urbanization in Ibadan was the rural-urban migration. The availability of wage labour as well as infrastructural facilities in the city aided the movement. However, it had major effects such as absence of able body men in the rural areas which drastically affected rural productivity.

¹⁷⁴ Oral interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadan-land.5/3/2018

¹⁷⁵ Oral interview with Alhaja Aminatu Abiodun, the Iyalode of Ibadan. Aged 80years.6/7/2019

¹⁷⁶ Falola, T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P627-628

¹⁷⁷ Denzer, L., (1998) *The Iyalode in Ibadan Politics and Society, 1850-1997*. Ibadan: Africa Human Monographs. P13

development. It also shaped not only its political, social and religious activities but also its economic activities. Being a town of warrior, the kind of political institution that evolved and developed was unique in Yorubaland. The system also provided immediate answers to the problem of insecurity ravaging the Yorubaland at the period. The system was also able to protect its economy. The conferment of titles in Ibadan was not hereditary as there were no ruling families but purely based on wealth and merits. The British colonial masters subjugated the city and brought it under British administration and control with the peace treaty of 1893. It devised a modern political institution that catered for the cosmopolitan nature of the city. Although, there were no hereditary chieftaincies, those who were appointed chiefs were Oyo-Yoruba extraction. In Ibadan, lineage was the basic unit of cooperation and each lineage (*Idile*) both in the city and the rural areas was a corporate body made up of people who had common descent and relationship through the male line to the founder of the compound who was also regarded as their progenitor(*orisun*). Each compound had its characteristics and distinguishing features that could be used for identification. It owed its cohesiveness both at the city and the surrounding villages to a commonly accepted customs, norms and values. Members of the same compound were normally distinguished and recognized by their common attributes and symbols like common names, praise poems, cults, and facial marks. More importantly, members of the same compound lived together and occupied one compound both at home and on the farm. This allowed for mutual co-existence and strengthened the bond of existence. The lineage was not only a political unit but an economic institution that enabled everyone to make a living. Properties were owned together and could not be sold or alienated.

The economy became broadened and diversified into primary and secondary sectors. It featured high degree of specialization-agrarian and non- agrarian. This aided the inevitable symbiotic linkage among the rural and the urban dwellers. Every lineage or compound in the city had its farmlands in the surrounding rural areas, and the need for more farmlands necessitated expansion into the virgin areas (*egan*). The creation of these farmsteads was a landmark and significant development in Ibadan history. It created a rural economy interwoven with the urban economy. The farmsteads were not distinct as *oko*, and *ile* seemed to be continuous while an individual was at once a part of both spaces. The farmers worked and lived on the farm for many days in a year and only returned to the town when they had social or religious activities to perform or perhaps at the end of the farming season. This brought about the linkage between the rural and the urban areas. Linkages started evolving in the areas of agriculture, marketing, and livelihood. Certainly, in Ibadan, market formed a

formidable nexus between the urban and rural areas. It involved movements of people and goods and fulfilled important social and economic functions.

Market place in Ibadan served as link between the city and the villages. Trading contacts, high density of population, and a political structure powerful enough to secure and maintain the market peace were necessary conditions that aided the emergence of numerous markets in Ibadan. The market, whether daily or periodic, was an important feature that served central place function. Markets in Ibadan varied in size and the range of goods offered, and they were held either daily (*Oja-ojojumo*) or periodically every fourth or eight-day (*Oja-ororun* or *Ojokesan-kesan*). Some non-market institutions also took place in Ibadan. This allowed goods to be distributed without the use of any currency in the city. It was an institutionalized arrangement for the allocation of goods and services from one person to another without the recipient paying or giving anything in return. It took various forms, such as producing the needs of a household by the family head in conformity with the mode of production, gift-giving during social, religious, and political ceremonies. All these involved allocations, distribution, and re-distribution of wealth and goods in the Ibadan society. It was revealed that it was difficult, if not impossible, to separate the rural from the urban in traditional Ibadan set up.

The period of colonization brought a new era into Ibadan. Some of the traditional ways of doing things were altered and at times modified. A new system of government was introduced to cater for not only the indigenous population but some other migrants from different places including the British themselves. A council of chief was established. The resident became the president or the chairman while other chiefs including the Baale were under his supervision. The council was allowed to make certain decisions that had direct contact with the populace. The economic system was modified. Railways were constructed to facilitate the movement of goods lying waste at the interior. Roads were also constructed to complement the railways and facilitated the expansion of the city as well as to meet the demand of the city population. Cowries were demonetized and paved way for currency. This significantly aided trade and marketing and provided avenue for wage labour and social mobility. Despite colonial incursions in Ibadan, the Ibadan indigenous economic system thrived. Some notable Ibadan indigenes competed favourably with their European counterparts' during the period. The list included Salami Agbaje and Adebisi Giwa. The judicial system was reformed and courts were granted more power to deal with issues.

CHAPTER THREE

CITY GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN IBADAN, 1900-1999

3.1 British Colonization and Urbanization in Ibadan

Urbanization is a significant social process in human society. Cities become an abode where man's economic and social activities could be integrated for optimum result. However, the basic assumption here is that several reasons could be adduced to why urban life emerges anywhere. Some of these reasons are environmental, ritual, political, and economical.¹

Ibadan urban development was both traditional and modern. Whatever the acceptable tradition on the founding of the city, the fact that it was not the handiwork of only one group of Yoruba is wholly agreed on. It is believed that the traditional hospitality of the indigenous Ibadan man was largely due to this diverse descent and urbanization.² The colonial city should not be seen as historical exception. It could be argued that all cities, no matter what the society, location, or point in history, have always been tools of colonization. They are places where contact is unavoidable between different cultures. Cities have continued to play a major role as social mixing pots and cultural disseminators by influencing the entire area under their jurisdiction. The reason for this is that the city dwellers who control the surroundings are, by definition, new inhabitants from elsewhere, such as the countryside, another village, or abroad. The city, therefore, brings some civilization into symbiosis, especially that of the people who initially lived there and that of the conquerors.³

The indigenous and traditional populations of Ibadan were tolerant, accommodating and understanding. These were some of their attributes from time immemorial uptill the period of British intervention. These features clarified the indigenous Ibadan man as a man with open heart. Another major attribute of the city was that the city did not experience any social or racial conflicts that could consume it. The contact with the British largely brought about different layer of urban activity and urban life. Ibadan became a city of a hybrid

¹ Freud, B., (2007) *The African city: A History*. London: Cambridge University Press. P1

² Mabogunje, A. L., (1967) "The Morphology of Ibadan" in Lloyd P. C. , A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. P35

³ Freud, B., (2007) *The African city: A History*. London: Cambridge University Press. P33

character. A process of modernization that seriously altered life in the town and involved new physical infrastructure did emerge.⁴

Urbanization is, therefore, regarded as a major driving factor of land-use changes and a transformation process from a traditional agricultural society to a modern metropolitan society associated with major changes in social and economic structure. The urban process is closely related to urbanization, which can also be defined as an increasing proportion of people drawn into cities. Two major forces are attributable to the urbanization process in Ibadan in the period of British intervention from 1893-1960. These were internal and external forces, otherwise known as push and pull factors or centripetal or centrifugal forces. The pull factors which are magnetic in nature are facilitated by village-city migration that promised migrants higher productivity occupations, urban service, commerce, and manufacturing sectors. On the other hand, the push factors include the non availability of basic amenities, low standard of living, unemployment and under-employment that dissuade the rural dwellers from continuing living in the areas.⁵

The factors affecting city growth can be categorized according to some criteria. They can be grouped chronologically according to those prominent in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. Absolutely, the pre-colonial Ibadan city grew with the growth of commercial ties and increased military power. However, the absence of a manufacturing base and high transport network served as constraints to urban population growth. Even more, binding was the absence of a marketed agricultural surplus to feed large cities. The Ibadan agricultural surpluses were faced with rudimentary transport networks. The capacity for farmers to produce more than subsistence needs were severed by high rural population density.⁶

The colonial powers rarely established cities, but they did stimulate growth in some existing cities. There was virtually no interest by the British in Ibadan to encourage urbanization. From their perspective, urbanization could only cause indigenous workers to shift away from occupations of direct use to the central country while increasing potential political unrest in the 19th century continued. The major British contribution to the

⁴ Jenkins,D.G.,(1965) *Politics in Ibadan*: A dissertation submitted to the graduate school for the award of Ph.D. Evanston University.P30

⁵ Beeker,C., (1994) *Beyond Urban Bias in Africa: Urbanization in an Era of Structural Adjustment*.London:James Currey. P77

⁶ Beeker,C., (1994) *Beyond Urban Bias in Africa: Urbanization in an Era of Structural Adjustment*.London:James Currey. p75

development of Ibadan grew out of the colonial preoccupation with natural resources and export crops. To gain access to the interior where most croplands were located necessitated the construction of roads and railways. The invasion of the market area by roads encouraged considerable encroachment by residential buildings. Although *Mapo Hall*, the British-built center of the Ibadan Native Administration, opened in 1929 and situated on a hill.⁷

The railway and the roads therefore were important in the early 20th century. The railway received the most important attention and considerations. The both European merchants and administrators were convinced of its potentials.⁸ It was believed that the railway would make it possible to evacuate produce which was lying waste in the interior because of transportation problem. Joseph Chamberlain emphasized that without the railway, no progress will be possible, and that vast territory acquired by the United Kingdom would remain undeveloped estates for the indefinite period.⁹ There seem to have been three main reasons for this exceptional degree of an official entrepreneur. First, building railways in territories that had been acquired not only recently, but by force, raised several potentially explosive issues regarding land rights, labor supplies and, ultimately, political control. The British government felt that all these matters were best kept in official hands. Second, from the outset, the railway had a military and administrative function as well as an economic one. The colonial government had a close interest in the direction of railway routes and the timing of construction because they wanted to move soldiers and officials to key points as quickly as possible.¹⁰ Also, to the colonial government, the indigenous transport system which had serviced trade for centuries was not enough for the anticipated expansion in cash crops. Two main criticisms were made that the indigenous roads were narrow and the cost of head portage from one location to the other was too high.¹¹ As the major exponent of the new system of commercial organization introduced into the country, the railways whose construction began from Lagos in 1895 reached Abeokuta in 1900 and Ibadan in 1901.¹² By 1903, various European firms were given leaseholds and allowed settling down in the city. The period was significant in Ibadan history as it led to the foundation of a modern business center and a European reservation area. The modern business center was located west of the

⁷ Askari, E.K.,(1967) *Yoruba Towns and Cities: An Enquiry into the Nature of Urban Phenomena*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. P41

⁸ Tamuno,T.N., (1964) "Genesis of the Nigerian Railway". *Nigerian Magazine*. No 83. P280

⁹ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan. P294.

¹⁰ Hopkins, A.G. (1973) *An Economic History on West Africa*.London:Longman. P96.

¹¹ Oral interview with Dr.Surajudeen Bankole,Dept. of Economics, University of Ibadan. 4/5/2013

¹² Adebayo, M.K.O.,(2006) *Itan Ilu Omi Adio ati Opa-Ogun Ibadan*. Ibadan:Goldfield. P57

traditional city by the railway station and named *Gbagi*. The modern business district covered an area of over 350 acres and housed the largest concentration of business activities in the city. The extension of the railways to Ibadan was a turning point in the history of Ibadan as it marked the arrival of the Europeans and other immigrants from other areas.¹³

It was revealed that tapping the wealth of the interior was a bit difficult, and it became apparent that the influence of the railway was restricted to a small area on either side of the track. Large numbers of widely dispersed producers had not been brought into the export economy because the cost of taking their crops to the railway station was high about price obtainable. The motor car was a new invention, though the type produced at that time was slow, expensive, and so heavy that it tended to devour the roads it traveled on. The importation and operation of motor transport were in the hands of private firms, both Africans and Europeans. Road building, however, was undertaken mainly by the colonial governments, which on the whole planned routes to feed the railways.¹⁴ A road project began in Ibadan in 1897.¹⁵ The new roads followed the existing footpaths and were not too wide. By October 1906, Ibadan had been linked with Lagos by road wide enough to take a car. Besides, Ibadan and its environs had at least 20 miles of roads. The program on roads was to link the major production centers with the markets and the railways. It was easy for the administration to construct new roads because labor was cheap and sometimes free. In 1920 and 1921, the provincial government did not build new roads except the widening of the Ibadan to Ife road and a short deviation to the *Sasa* River. In 1921, the Ibadan district administration constructed and paid for a total addition of forty miles, with Ibadan city benefitting from a quarter of this. These additional roads brought the total network of roads in the Oyo province to 413 ¼ miles. Out of which Ibadan had the following; Ibadan towns(20 miles), *Ibadan to Akanran*(14 miles) *Ibadan to Olodo*(7miles), *Ibadan to Oyo*(33 miles) *Ibadan to Ife*(56 miles), *Ibadan to Ijebu- Ode*(44 miles), and *Ibadan to Ilugun* (20miles). A few bridges, notably at *Gege* and *Bode* neighborhoods were built in 1925.¹⁶ Ibadan city benefitted from modern transport in many of the ways predicted by classical economists. Freight rates were reduced greatly. These dramatic reductions had two main effects. First, in substituting machinery for human power, modern transport encouraged a more efficient

¹³ Ayeni B.,(1994).“The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan. Its Growth and Structure” in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P75

¹⁴ Hopkins, A.G., (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*. New York: Longman. P281

¹⁵ Falola, T.(2012)*Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P431

¹⁶ Falola, T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893 – 1945*.Ibadan:Modelor. P191

combination of factors of production by releasing scarce labor resources for other employment, by increasing mobility, and by spreading information about market opportunities. The Europeans moved into the interior while the Africans traveled to cocoa farms and towns. Second, the fall in the cost of transport was an external economy which accelerated the expansion of the export sector by making production profitable over a wide area and for a large number of farmers.¹⁷

The establishment of an administrative control was just one important method; others had to be taken towards the total imposition of and consolidation of a new economic and social structure. One of them was the introduction of a general-purpose currency to replace the cowries. An immediate step was taken to demonetize the cowry, the only indigenous currency. The cowry was considered a major obstacle to trade. It had the demerits of bulk and weight of transport. It was difficult to control its supply, and it required too much time and attention in counting.¹⁸ The British regarded currency as an integral part of the economy and society. By 1913, the use of cowry had been pushed to local trade alone, and it was only meant for local transactions, especially foodstuffs. Though the colonial government was very cautious, it did not stop people from using the cowries, but the payment could only be made to and by the colonial authority in British currency. This was a subtle method of forcing the people to recognize it as legal tender. Traders who dealt in imported items either refused it or exploited the people.¹⁹ To the British, the cowry was inefficient and weak. They regarded it as a hindrance to the development of large scale commerce. They did not also like cowry as they believed that it would retard the growth of the market economy, which was only conceived in terms of trade with Europe and not trade between the Yoruba producers and consumers. Taxes were received in and not in kind. Both Bower and Fuller popularized the use of British silver coins, and payments could only be made to and by the colonial authority in the British currency.²⁰ The most potent agent of change in this regard was Africans themselves, especially the elites that realized that cash transactions would enable them to strike a better bargain. Banking institutions developed as a result of the increasing European currencies in circulation.²¹

¹⁷ Hopkins, A. G., (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*. New York: Longman. P281

¹⁸ Falola T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P292

¹⁹ Falola T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P293

²⁰ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P77

²¹ Okigbo, P., (1965) "Social Consequences of Economic Development in West Africa" in L. Piore and D. Bergle (eds) *African Social Problems of Change and Conflicts*. San Francisco: Chadler. P415

The economic structure and urban development of West African cities, Ibadan inclusive was a result of the interaction of several economic changes in the early 20th century. The agricultural and mineral resources of the interior were evacuated to the city and to the coast for export. This was made possible by the construction of railways in the early 20th century. A combination of trade and commerce developed.²² The British were interested in cheap raw materials for the overseas industries and ready made markets for finished products. The British authority also promoted and stimulated the production of cash crops including palm oil, cotton, cocoa, and rubber and these crops became the dominant feature of the colonial economy. These were the main pillars of external trade, and they constituted a direct source of cash income for the producers. It was noted that the method of production had been largely traditional as the wealthiest cocoa farmer still grew in the manners of his forefathers. The colonial administration brought new changes in the technique of production to facilitate increased production. The Agricultural Departments in the colonial governments had their stations directing research towards the improvement of the local farming method.²³ An Agriculture Department was established in Ibadan in 1910. The Department engaged in research to improve the yields of cash crops. The Department encouraged participation in Agricultural show where the so-called dedicated farmers and chiefs were rewarded with prizes. This annual show began in Lagos in 1903, and two chiefs represented Ibadan. Subsequent ones were also attended, including the 1908 *Sekondi* (in Ghana) show where Ibadan won ten prizes. In 1910, the first agricultural show was held in Ibadan, and others were held after that to attract farmers from several parts of Yoruba-land. The aim of the lectures and the new machines that were advertised was to boost production for the external market.²⁴ The interest in cocoa cultivation in Ibadan and other parts of Yoruba-land led to a corresponding increase in the volume of coca exported. The knowledge of cocoa reached Ibadan through traders, soldiers, and agents of the Christian converts. Most of the initial cocoa planters in Ibadan were either converts or potential Christians. These men E.E. *Morakinyo*, *Ogunwole*, *Okoga*, *Orukotan*, and *Cornelius Phillip*, established new cocoa farms in about twenty-four villages in the four corners of the town. The villages included *Agbakin*, *Otun-Agbakin*, *Arun*, *Kute*, and *Iroko* to the North of the town. To the south of the town were villages like *Eripa*, *Onipe*, *Isokun*, *Gbedun*, *Olojuoro*, *Ayorinde*, *Idiose*, *Ogbere*, *Alabidun*, *Alaguntan*, *Oloruda*, *Aladun*, *Onimo*, *Akinboade*, *Laogun*, *Abalega*, *Ajugbona*,

²² Lloyd. P.C., (1967) *African in Social Change*. Maryland: Penguin. P74

²³ Lloyd. P.C., (1967) *African in Social Change*. Maryland: Penguin. P75

²⁴ Falola.T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893 – 1945*.Ibadan:Modelor.P100

Araromi-Aperin and *Amodu-Afunsho*.²⁵ The production of goods was just one strategy of colonial exploitation. Another similarly important strategy was to secure maximum advantages in the disposals of the goods. The organization of trade had to favour the colonial government. With the establishment of British rule, the organization of trade in the pre-1893 era, which was one of the cooperation and collaboration between Ibadan and the British, was drastically modified. The pre-1893 relations recognized Ibadan's autonomy and sovereignty as it used to supply the coast with slaves, palm-oil, and foodstuffs. This pattern of trade began to take a new turn after 1893 as Ibadan producers were required to sell their products mainly to the British and also to buy from them.²⁶ The production of food was left in the hands of the peasant households who tilled small plots of land with little or no technologies. The pressure on export crops affected food crop production significantly and the city experienced famine in 1901, 1905, 1909, and 1916.²⁷

By 1913, cocoa had become the number one cash crop following its profitability. It attracted higher prices and had a more reliable market. There are other reasons as well that aided the growth of cocoa. First, Ibadan had individuals whose personal backgrounds and experiences led them to be more willing to experiment with new production activities than were the majority of their compatriots. Among them were *Adebisi Giwa* and *Salami Agbaje*.²⁸ The second reason was the demobilization that accompanied the imposition of colonial rule in 1893, which led to a large number of underemployed younger men who searched for various opportunities and means to make a living. The final reason was the physical environment and extensive farmland.²⁹

Long before and after the war, Ibadan developed market-oriented economies to suit agriculture, craft, and trade. The British also encouraged and recognized dual economic components of both the indigenous and modern sectors.³⁰ It was revealed that virtually all the cash crops produced were taken out of Ibadan. The exchange involved in this process of transfer was dominated by European firms and their few indigenous allies. European commercial firms gradually established themselves. In 1899, only one firm, Lagos Stores, had a branch. By 1903, six others had joined: *Patterson Zochonis (PZ)*, *Witt and Buch*,

²⁵ Berry.S. S.,(1975) *Cocoa, Custom and Social Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P61

²⁶ Falola T. (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. P301

²⁷ Beer.C. F., and William. G., (1975)"The Politics of the Ibadan Peasantry".*The African Review*.Vol.5:3. P237

²⁸ Oral interview with Senator Dr. Lekan Balogun, Osi Olubadan of Ibadan-land Aged: 70years

²⁹ Akinola.R.A.,(1963)"Ibadan Region".*Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol.6. No.2. P115

Pickering and Berthoud, John Holt, Fernandez, and G.L.Gaiser. The number rose to twenty-four in 1906: thirteen British; five German; one French; one Brazilian; and four Nigerian. By 1913, the number had increased to seventy.³¹

Traders either came to Ibadan or Ibadan traders took the goods to Lagos or sold them to the *Egba* and *Ijebu* intermediaries; but the European firms made this unnecessary, thus diminishing the need for direct contact with Lagos. Local trade had to develop in response to imports.³² The interest of the government was also dictated by the links that local trade had with the external. There were other results of the firms on the economy. They attempted to penetrate as many neighborhoods and villages as possible. The method was simple: commissioned agents were hired to operate small shops. These agents received imported goods for sale.³³

Both forced and wage labor became new features after the war. Forced labor was employed in some of the public works such as road construction, the building of houses, and offices by the new administration, dispensaries, and schools. To procure forced labor, chiefs were instructed to supply the number required. Forced labor attracted no remuneration. While it was true that labor was sometimes used for free in the pre-colonial society through the *Aro* and *Owe* cooperative groups, there was no compulsion, and participants were entitled to some rewards such as free food and drinks. The labor force that emerged after the war and the period of the colonial master was exploitative as its goal was to maximize the appropriation of surplus, reduce the rewards that labor was entitled to, restrict mobility and limit the options open to people to determine what they wanted to do.³⁴ Economic activities imposed a heavy demand on people's labor. All the cocoa roads and railways were built through the use of forced or cheap labor. Chiefs were requested on several occasions to supply labor for public work. Little regard was paid to the conditions of work; laborers were overworked and underpaid. For instance, the council hall at *Mapo* was built by laborers who paid no regard to hours of working and were constantly seen at work by lamplight. Cases of flogging to punish laborers were also reported. It was clear that the use of free (forced) labor had the backing of the administration. When some people complained in 1924, Lagos dismissed them by

³⁰ Akinola.R.A.,(1963) "Ibadan Region".*Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol.6. No.2. P110

³¹ Mabogunje, A.L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: London University Press.P196

³² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan: Bookcraft. P205

³³ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan: Bookcraft. P409

³⁴ The new method of labour recruitment after the war in Ibadan was through compulsion. It was unlike the group labour recruitment method of Aro and Owe practiced before 1893.

allowing any community to engage in public work by making use of its citizenry. Five years later, it instructed that the courts should not be used to force people to supply free labor; rather, chiefs and political officers should employ their moral influence.³⁵

Wage labor emerged as well. The largest wage employment was the army, police force, government departments, and trading firms. Other private firms and individuals from Lagos also came to Ibadan to recruit cheap labor. By the 1920s, wage labor had become established. The introduction of wage labor produced social effects including increasing the amount of money in circulation and additional opportunities for social mobility. This eventually increased rural-urban migration. The aftermath of this was the dislocation of peoples as well as the disappearance of some social and cultural beliefs and practices. It also led to the informal separation of families as men recruited to work in plantations often had to leave their families behind. The implication of this was that women and children took up new roles in the absence of their husbands and fathers. To this end, in some rural areas farming and the production of food crops was left into the hands of women and children, and this drastically reduced productivity.³⁶

It would be recalled that even though there were modifications and changes in the economic sphere of Ibadan in the years after the seventeen-year civil war, the traditional manufactures continued to survive and thrived.³⁷ This was particularly true of wares such as pots, which were costly to transport over long distances and produced mainly by cheap labor. Second, some products continued to sell, even though they competed directly with cheaper European imports because consumers highly regarded them. Local salt remained in demand because its taste was preferred and because it was thought to enhance virility. Similarly, local iron-ware was held to be stronger and more durable than imported substitutes. Third, traditional crafts survived because they were able to secure a niche as a special line in a differentiated market. Fourth, some crafts survived by employing new techniques. Thus the use of sewing machines enabled tailors to cut their production costs and increase their output. By far, the greater part of domestic trade remained in the hands of Africans themselves. The

³⁵ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P228

³⁶ A major effect of urbanization in Ibadan was the rural-urban migration. The availability of wage labour as well as infrastructural facilities in the city aided the movement. However, it had major effects such as absence of able body men in the rural areas which drastically affected rural productivity.

³⁷ Oral interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadan-land. 6/4/2018

success of local traders in expanding and redirecting internal trade in the 20th century was a feat that had not been fully acknowledged.³⁸

Despite all the changes and improvements that took place in the distributive system in the period following the Yoruba civil war in Ibadan, the indigenous system continued to survive and thrive. Ibadan had the ability and capacity to innovate and modify. Few of these innovations were significant. In the first place, there were important changes in personnel.³⁹ In Ibadan, there were the indigenous traders who were few ranking entrepreneurs who competed with Europeans and *Lebano-Syrians*. They were more interested in cocoa and palm-kernel business than in selling foreign goods where they could be easily out-manuevered by their foreign counterparts. Few of them, like Salami Agbaje, perhaps the wealthiest in the 1920s and *Adebisi Giwa* allied with chiefs and administrators primarily to influence their decision making to suit their economic pursuits.⁴⁰ Next to the top traders were several intermediaries who linked producers, petty sand traders with the firms. Not all were indigenes of Ibadan, as traders from other Yoruba towns, notably from among the *Ijebu*, also participated. Intermediaries specialized in retails. They bought in bulk from the firms and sold their goods in small quantities to the people. Some had shops, while some hawked their wares. *Akinpelu Obisesan* was one of these men who worked as a shopkeeper for Messer Millers, an agent for the U.A.C, and later to Chief *Adebisi Giwa*.⁴¹

Women traders have always been important in West-Africa, but the growth of the economy especially since the Second World War, had enabled some of them to expand their activities and to invest in other enterprises.⁴² In Ibadan, these women operated in the markets (the daily and periodic, morning and night) and sold foodstuffs, locally-produced goods, as well as imported items. These traders bought their products from producers, intermediaries, and foreign firms. Their influence rested on their control of immense trading and organization networks. Although, when the British assumed control of Ibadan in 1893, they were stripped of their power, *Iyalode Lanlatu Asabi Giwa* appeared to have been a forceful personality. During her reign as the *Iyalode* of Ibadan, the railway was built transforming commercial networks and opened new opportunities for the expansion of the distributive trade. Other

³⁸ Hopkins, A. G., (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*. New York: Longman. P281

³⁹ Oral interview with Alhaja Aminatu Abiodun, the Iyalode of Ibadan. Aged 80years

⁴⁰ Falola, T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft..Pp627-628

⁴¹ Falola, T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P629

⁴² Hopkins, A. G., (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*. New York: Longman. P252

prominent women in the city included *Rukayat Ajisomo* and *Rolatu Ajisomo*.⁴³ Because of the diversity of the goods more frequently sold and the periodicity of marketing activities, it was not easy to identify a hierarchy among the markets below the *Iba* market. Generally, most markets operated every day during the day time. The intensity of marketing activities was related to the income density in the neighborhood and the specialized character of the markets. Thus, the *Dugbe* market, located in the middle of the immigrant half of the city closed by the *Gbagi* business district, became the most important market in the colonial period.⁴⁴

Ibadan had some certain and unique characteristics that distinguished it from other Yoruba cities and predisposed it to serve as a point of concentration for human groups. The site was dominated by a range of lateralized quartzite hills, known as *Oke*, over which the city sprawled. It was a city of hills, and many of its wards took their names from the hills on which they were located. Thus, we have *Oke-Bola*, *Oke-Ado*, *Oke-Foko*, *Oke-Offa*, and *Oke-Aremo*, *Okeseni*. The defending advantage attracted the first settlers to the area. Moreover, Ibadan was situated between the forest and grassland, and this aided agriculture and provided an important place for the exchange of the products of the grasslands and the forests.⁴⁵ Within a short time, the town of Ibadan began to derive great advantages from its frontier's location.

Of the earlier significance of Ibadan urban development was the ability of the surrounding agricultural areas to support population concentrations of the urban centre. Citizenship was an attribute of one's urban membership, and it was in the cities that political relationships were regulated. Births, deaths, and marriages were celebrated, and religious functions observed. While many Yoruba tribes were capitals of states which comprised of homogeneous ethnic groups, Ibadan was populated by people from all Yoruba land and beyond.⁴⁶ The maximization of military and political power as well as income maximization defined the objective and aspirations of Ibadan traditional urbanism. A core group of Yoruba people were pushed and attracted to Ibadan and an early tradition of cultural heterogeneity and diverse social and linguistics, therefore, emerged. The whole socio-territorial area

⁴³ Denzer, L., (1998) *The Iyalode in Ibadan Politics and Society, 1850 – 1997*. Ibadan: Africa Human Monographs. P13

⁴⁴ Mabogunje, A. L.,(1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: London University Press. P208

⁴⁵ Mabogunje, A. L.,(1961) *Ibadan-Black Metropolis*. Magazine. No68. P15

⁴⁶ Awe, B.,(1967) "Ibadan, Its Early Beginning" in Lloyd. P. C, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. P11-12

identified as Ibadan attracted more kin from the deserted war engulfing towns of Yoruba states.⁴⁷

The advent of the British Resident after the peace treaty of 1893 with *Baale Fijabi* and the Ibadan High Chiefs was a landmark in Ibadan urban history as it became modern regional commercial center. Their arrival to Ibadan in 1893, thus, brought about alien ideas of urban existence as well as alien institutions to the scene. Since most of these institutions tended to be spaced-orientated, it was unavoidable that they could not be integrated into or contained within the old city. They therefore found new locations. This phenomenon had a snow-ball effect: there was an influx of immigrant experts and technocrats who exploited local resources. The success of their activities and their improved living standard advertised the opportunities to prospective immigrants into the locality. Growth and development were natural concomitants of these economic phenomena and movements.⁴⁸

The more modern sectors of the city lie to the north and west of the range of hills first traversed by the founding fathers. Some of the hills included *Oke-Sapati*, *Oke-Oluokun*, *Oke-Are*, *Oke-Foko*, etc. The settlement patterns were marked out by variation in architectural patterns and, to some extent, the social-economic stratification within the sprawling city. The British colonial residents and engineers of the 1920s and 1930s were very impressed by the range of hills, and they proceeded to crown three of the central crests with some significant architectural compositions. The most impressive was *Mapo Hall*, built-in 1925, and whose design was reminiscent of the Greek Parthenon in Athens. T. Jones' fascination with the location was revealed in his conception of the approaches to the Hall. He constructed a broad avenue with a double carriageway to facilitate easier movement to the Hall from the Residency. The avenue was known as Taffy Jones Highway or *Ogunmola Road*. *Mapo Hall* served as the Town Hall, and its gallery provided office space for the Town Council. The two other buildings of peculiar architectural interest and urban technology were the Customary Court in Oke-Are, built-in 1936, and Bower's Memorial Tower in *Oke-Aremo* in 1937.⁴⁹

Loschian central place theory (CPT) "predicts that a well-ordered system of cities will develop because of the interaction of agglomeration economies and transportation availability

⁴⁷ Mabogunje, A. L. (1967) "The Morphology of Ibadan" in Lloyd P. C. , A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. P35

⁴⁸ Mabogunje, A. L. (1967) "The Morphology of Ibadan" in Lloyd P. C. , A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. P35

⁴⁹ Mabogunje, A. L., (1961) *Ibadan-Black Metropolis. Magazine: No 68. p17*

and describes transport as a notable prerequisite of the efficient functioning of a city”.⁵⁰ Before the advent of the British in Ibadan, transportation infrastructure was weak. The British colonialists realized the fact that it was the facility for moving people, goods, and services quickly and economically. Of all infrastructural systems, transport is perhaps the one that has the closest interaction with the growth and pattern of land use within the city. At any point in a city’s development, its existing socio-economic activity patterns determine the transportation needs.⁵¹ Ibadan was an important commercial center long before it became politically significant. After the administration, came the railway which was located at the western extreme of the city. The railway line from Lagos reached Ibadan in 1901, and this ushered in a new era of the city’s subsequent growth as a commercial center and a transportation node.

As the town expanded, the administration of the town was vested in *Olubadan* and the council. It should be pointed out that the town was too big for administration by a single central executive and that there must be some delegation of responsibility to committees. The city was later divided into quarters and the quarters were grouped into wards. Each quarter had its council composed chiefly of the *Baale* (landlords or their nominees). This was set up to serve as an information bureau for all administrative matters. Each quarter council was allowed to select two or three members to the ward councils of its area.⁵²

Ibadan retained its attraction for people from different parts of Nigeria, foreign traders, some natives from the West-African region, some from Europe, and the Middle East. The construction of the railways marked the influx of Europeans and some other ethnic groups including *Ibo*, *Ibibio*, *Edo*, *Urhobo*, *Nupe*, *Igbira*, *Hausa* and *Fulani* into the city. While a significant population of such migrants easily found abode among the Ibadan people, a considerable number of them were located on new sites. *Mokola*, for example, was laid out for occupation by such ethnic groups as *Nupes* and *Igbiras*, while *Sabo* was for the Fulani extractions. *Oke-Ado* and *Oke-Bola* were laid out for occupation for other Yoruba-sub ethnic groups such as *Ijebu* and *Egba*.⁵³ Over the years, as the railway linked diverse parts of the country together and the road linkage was extended and improved, more and more people

⁵⁰ Beeker, C., (1994) *Beyond Urban Bias in Africa: Urbanization in an era of Structural Adjustment*. London: James Currey. P73

⁵¹ Filani, M. O., (1994) “Transportation” in Filani, M. O, F. O. Akintola and C. O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P179

⁵² Oral Interview with Chief Omowale Kuye, Otun-Olubadan of Ibadan land. 14-6-2012. Aged 80

speaking different languages and with varying educational qualifications migrated to Ibadan. The *Ibos*, *Ibiobios*, *Efiks*, *Ijaws*, *Edos*, *Ishan's*, *Urhobos*, *Hausas*, *Nupes*, and the *Igbiras* converged in the city.⁵⁴

Various European firms were in 1903 granted leasehold to land. Thus, the new European business district in Ibadan was called *Gbagi*, which means 'to peg.' It was not until after 1910 with the extensive cultivation of cocoa in the region, especially East of Ibadan, that there grew up considerable purchasing power in the rural area sufficient to support numerous commercial activities in Ibadan. By 1918, many European Firms already established in Lagos had opened branches in Ibadan. Their list included the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, *Miller Brothers*, *G.B. Ollivant and Co.*, *Patterson and Zochonis (PZ) Ltd*, *John Holt, and Co. Ltd*, *Union Trading Company*, *The United Africa Company Ltd.*, *J.T. Chanraian and Co Ltd*. The population of the Europeans increased to 409, and non-Europeans increased to 187. The rise in the commercial importance of Ibadan attracted several people into the city and encouraged further diversification in the character of its population-based.⁵⁵

To understand the internal structure of Ibadan, it is necessary to appreciate the nature of the interaction of the two major centers of economic activity in the city: *Iba* market and *Gbagi*. The *Gbagi* Business District was the major center of gravity of economic activity in Ibadan. As a result, it dominated the *Iba* Market and influenced locational decisions everywhere in the city. For most people, there was invariably a need to go to *Gbagi* either to work or to shop, and there was a great advantage in living not too far away from the district. The situation encouraged a high concentration of residents around the center.⁵⁶

The 1930s witnessed the growth of the *Lebano-Syrians* in Ibadan. More than any non-Nigerian group, they constructed new buildings and gained access to more land. In 1935, *Gbagi* Street was re-named Lebanon-street and in 1936, the *Lebano-Syrians* complained to the District Officer and council that Lebanon Street could no longer contain them and they demanded for expansion which later was granted. They diversified their trade by engaging in banking, retailing, produce processing and a host of others. Their businesses swelled and at

⁵³ Ayeni, B., (1994) "The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan: Its Growth and Structure" in Filani, M. O, F. O. Akintola and C. O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P75

⁵⁴ Mabogunje, A. L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: University of London Press. P195

⁵⁵ N.A.I.Oyo Prof:File No:6/15-c12/28-Registration of European Aliens

⁵⁶ N.A.I.Oyo Prof:File No:1/544-Jubilee Market:Purchase from Ibadan Native Authority

least a dozen of them competed successfully with European firms. They continued to stay close to one another; this enabled new members to be integrated into their community. Different societies and clubs sprang up between 1910 and 1920, and notable among them were: Band of Unity, the Patriotic Associations, the Ibadan Progressive Union, *Egbe Agba Otan* and the Teachers Union. These societies were essential to the socio-economic development of Ibadan and the emergence of Ibadan as an urban center.⁵⁷

Ibadan retained its attraction for strangers. Its large population coupled with the fertile land for cocoa offered potentials for those who were eager to stay in the place. As an administrative center, it was a good choice for job seekers, skilled or unskilled. Also, as an urban center, it was a good place for youths in search of freedom and escaped from the restrictions of smaller settlements. The stranger elements could be categorized in several ways: elite and non-elite; Nigerians and Non-Nigerians; rich and poor; employed and non-Employed. The groups were many, and the prominent ones were the Europeans, *Lebano-Syrians*, *Ijebu*, *Egba*, and *Hausa*. There were several others, such as *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Nupe*, *Igbo*, *Urhobo*, etc. The 1930s was a period of expansion for the *Lebano-Syrians* in terms of the number of their men involved in trade diversification and control of more shops. In 1935, *Gbagi* Street was re-named Lebanon Street on the ground that it was the street assigned to Syrians and Lebanese people.⁵⁸

The Hausa settlement in Ibadan was also regarded as the native stranger settlement. The Hausas were concentrated in *Sabon-Gari* while the peaceful atmosphere and the trading opportunities in Ibadan allowed them to swell in number and permanent. The area was badly congested, and in 1941, the senior resident, Mr.H.F.M.White, gave approval for the layout of an area bounded by the Ibadan-Oyo-road known as the yank hill, the northern boundary of crown land and the *Tappa* and the *Igbira* settlements. This swelled up the number of *Igbira* and Ilorin settlements in the *Mokola* area of the city. The *Ijebus* was also well established in Ibadan since the pre-colonial period, and not all of them were regarded as strangers. Descendants of settlers of the 19th century, in particular, those who lived in *Isale-Ijebu*, were integrated. The same was true of converts to Christianity in the 1890s and early 20th century. Converts who belonged to the community of Christians in *Arema* and *Oke-Offa* had also been integrated into the city since the 19th century. Those who were regarded as strangers were outsiders to these two groups. They came mostly in search of economic opportunities during

⁵⁷ Falola, T.,(1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*.Lagos: Modelor. P273

the 20th century. They constituted more or less a distinct group and lived close to the shops, notably in *Agbokojo*, *Oke-Bola*, and *Oke-Ado*.⁵⁹

As a result of urbanization, some nationalities struggled to liberate themselves by attempting to form a group identity, which could enable them to tap the benefits of cooperation and close habitation. The case of Igbo was a good example. In 1935, they formed the Igbo Mother Union as they began to congregate on *Tappa Hill* to the east and behind Sabo. The role of the non-Ibadan living in Ibadan during this period cannot be ignored, if only for their large numbers and the competition and interactions generated by their presence. With the establishment of the colonial government, state agencies, a university in the 1940s, extensive market networks, the city became diverse and heterogeneous. In all the competitions and controversy, the administration did not pursue measures that would alienate the non-indigenes of the city. British officials, European traders, *Lebano-Syrians*, and a good number of other key participants in the import-export trade were themselves strangers, and the chiefs were made known that they could not expel the strangers without permission of the administrative officers.⁶⁰

Ibadan became the seat of power for the western region in 1946. It became a major center for the attraction of many more expatriates and other Yoruba sub-ethnic groups both into the civil service and into the ever-increasing range of opportunities in the city. The contribution of government to population concentration in Ibadan was considerable during this period. The government recognized the already growing population of the city and its strategic geo-political position and economic viability. The number of accompanying personnel was substantial not only in respect of the administrative arm of government, but also of the various agents of other ministries such as education, health, trade, and commerce. Government employees, married and unmarried, came with their relatives and dependants, thereby further increased the population as well as the degree of time consciousness and schedules of urban work. Consequently, more residential areas were needed, and the city began to grow mainly outside the city wall. The Government Reservation Area (GRA), which was established in 1893 on *Agodi Hill*, became inadequate; hence, Jericho, The Commercial

⁵⁸ Falola, T., (1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*.Lagos: Modelor. P273

⁵⁹ Falola, T., (1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893–1945*.Lagos: Modelor. P297

⁶⁰ Beeker, C., (1994) *Beyond Urban Bias in Africa: Urbanization in an era of Structural Adjustment*.London:James Currey.P77

Reservation links, and the New Reservations were established mainly for migrants whose number by 1952 had reached over two thousand.⁶¹

Ibadan was not only the largest but one the most cosmopolitan city in Yoruba land. Since the early 1930s, an increasing number of strangers migrated to settle in Ibadan to work in government establishments and tertiary institutions as well as to engage in retail trade. The concentration of some of the oldest federal educational establishments and the research institutions, including the University of Ibadan, attracted even more Nigerians to Ibadan for education and employment. The large and increasing number of foreigners, notably British academic researchers and administrative staff as well as Lebanese, Syrian, and Indian traders, created a great demand for domestic servants during the 1950s as many of these unskilled house helps came from the eastern states.⁶²

The need for certificate in some wage labour aided educational development. In 1955, when Universal Free Primary Education was introduced, the Ibadan City Council under the chairmanship of Late *Adegoke Adelabu* acquired land for more than fifty primary schools in Ibadan. Earlier in 1913, Ibadan Grammar School had been established. In 1957, Ibadan City Council established Lagelu Grammar School, and in 1959, Ibadan Provisional Council established Teacher Training College located at Iwo Road. In considering the educational hinterland of Ibadan city, it appears appropriate to start with the reasons given by the Elliot Commission of 1943 for choosing Ibadan as the seat of Nigeria's first university. Indeed, Ibadan was chosen as it was noted to be a vibrant urban centre. By the 1940s, with the donations of extensive acres of land leased for nine hundred and ninety-nine years by the *Olubadan* and his chiefs to the colonial government for the establishment of the first university in 1948, Ibadan became the leading center of education in the country. Beginning from the 1920s, there was a pool of Ibadan educated elites based in Lagos and more who had received education in Abeokuta and far away Sierra Leone. As more schools were created in Ibadan, more students enrolled and graduated.⁶³ The year 1952 had a special significance for the growth of Ibadan as the city became the capital of a semi-autonomous Western Region. In terms of the administrative set-up, this meant the rapid expansion of staff and building in Ibadan. More than ever before, Ibadan became the focal point of political and economic

⁶¹ Ayeni, B., (1994) "The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan, Its Growth and Structure" in Filani, M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo.(eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P75

⁶² Udo, R.K., (1994) "Ibadan in its Regional Setting" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P14

⁶³ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P33

activities. As Ibadan became active in the politics of Nigeria towards the 1950s, the city became a rallying point for all prominent politicians in the country. The 1940s and 1950s politics shaped the city to become stratified and cosmopolitan. The central Ibadan that was originally settled in the 19th century was becoming too crowded. The *Bodija* Housing Estates was established in 1959 to relieve pressure on the GRAs and catered for the needs of the growing number of Nigerian professionals. In preparations for independence in 1960, modern office and residential accommodation required the presence of construction experts, apprentices, casual labourers as well as building equipment in Ibadan. There was an exchange of visitors and guests of employees, traders, speculators, and the rest. The hinterland around Ibadan was also gradually opened up and exposed to urbanizing influences. The fight for independence, administrative, and economic changes helped to explain the increase in the population of Ibadan from 200, 000 to 627,373 in 1963.⁶⁴

3.2 Urban Growth and Development in Ibadan in the Post Independence Era

The post-colonial or post-independence city is the most recent in the annals of urban development. It emerged after independence from colonial rule, and it was one step beyond the colonial city. While the colonial power administratively controlled the former, the latter was controlled by the local elites. The post-colonial city was more commercial and industrial and witnessed an explosive increase in the rate of urbanization.⁶⁵

Political independence meant tremendous liberation and the freedom to move and live permanently in cities. The rural-urban migration which political independence provoked throughout the regions was partly the result of the close association of urbanism with modernism. Many factors have been adduced to the rapid development of cities in the post-colonial era. The most obvious was the rapid rate of total population growth. Three explanations can be offered for this phenomenon. First, mortality rates were lower in most urban areas than in the surrounding countryside, largely because basic services are more readily available in the urban areas, but also because urban dwellers have higher average incomes than their rural counterparts. The second factor causing urban development is rural-urban migration. The third factor has to do with the low fertility rate in the urban center.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Mabogunje, A.L., (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: London University Press. P186

⁶⁵ Beeker, C., (1994) *Beyond Urban Bias in Africa: Urbanization in an era of Structural Adjustment*. London: James Currey. P84

⁶⁶ Oral interview with Dr. Surajudeen Abiodun, Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan

The fight for independence brought a lot of people to Ibadan, being the headquarters of the western region. A remarkable feature of the growth of Ibadan city since the 1960s was the disappearance of land in the face of a rapid expansion of urban land uses. *Oyelese* estimated the total area of the city approximately as 103.8sqkm in 1980. In 1970, it was 1.25,000. This revealed that the urban landscape of Ibadan had completely spread over about 101.9sqkm while the former farmlands and river floodplains within the city had been built upon.⁶⁷

The flow of persons, goods, and services to and from is as a result of transportation networks. Inter and intra-urban transports in Ibadan were notable features that joined nearly all sectors of life. They played vital roles in urban development as well. Ibadan, as the commercial and administrative hub of a large hinterland, became an important nodal center. Ibadan was linked to the North, South, East, and West by good roads. The private sector was the major supplier of public transport while the state government and the various local governments in the city supplemented with their buses. Transportation was regarded as a major platform for the interaction of the city with its hinterland. All cities dependent on transportation to utilize the surplus of the land for their support as they imported many of their basic requirements, most especially foodstuffs, and in turn, exported manufactured goods and other centralized services to the urban centers. Thus, the spatial interaction between any given city and its surrounding region depends mostly on the degree of its transportation connections with the Region.⁶⁸

The Western Region crisis of 1962 and the subsequent farmers uprising in 1968, coupled with the military coup of January 1966 and the subsequent Nigerian civil war that began in July 1967 and ended in 1970, constituted a period of population uncertainties. Ibadan was part of the engulfing socio-political turmoil which sparked off migrations. However, the post-war period was one of the population consolidation and rapid expansion. Consequently, Ibadan expanded spatially with more modern architectural designs. In 1968 Ibadan was sub-Saharan African's largest city. Although it was the administrative capital of one of the four Nigerian regions, the state of several major educational and research institutions, a major market in consumption of goods and the largest Yoruba polity. By 1988, the boundaries were several miles further out, the population had at least tripled, and people

⁶⁷ Areola, O. (1994) "The Spatial Growth of Ibadan City and its Impact on the Rural Hinterland in Ibadan" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo(eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P99

⁶⁸ Filani, M.O.,(1994) "Transportation" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo(eds)*Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P86

had poured in from all over West Africa. The population was a cosmopolitan mix of people from all over Nigeria and beyond.⁶⁹

The meteoric growth of the southern Nigerian cities after about 1974 was a function of the oil boom and post-civil war efforts at democratization. Over the next decade, the Nigerian minority groups poured back in, augmented by immigrants from all over West Africa searching for an escape from the Sahelian drought, the Ghanaian penury, and growing disorder in Liberia. As a result, there was a boom in the construction industry generated by the countries oil wealth after the civil war (1967–1970) and this facilitated transportation network that expanded the city of Ibadan. This could be attributed to the second theory of the urbanization process, referred to as urban bias theory.⁷⁰

Certain sections of the city that appeared depressed for years without any marked physical development suddenly sprang to life. Commerce, rather than industry, formed the historical base for the development of Ibadan city. Some industrial concerns were noticeable in the city scene. However, the industries in Ibadan produced consumer goods of assembly types, and mostly small scale undertakings. Ibadan was, however, noted for its commercial activities. The informal sector activities dominated the commercial life of Ibadan. There were many markets in the city while there was a lot of street trading, as the Central Business District had become congested and had been relocated. Ibadan continued to expand in all areas including all the major routes, that is, Lagos to South, *Ile-Ife* to the East, *Abeokuta* to the West, and *Oyo* to the North to cover a large expanse of land over 100sqkm.⁷¹

It was revealed that by 1964, the population of Ibadan had become more diverse and heterogeneous in its socio-economic characteristics. As the city offered an increasingly wider range of employment opportunities, it also attracted people from other parts of Nigeria and different ethnic groups.⁷² There was an explosive concentration of population and materials in Ibadan city, as a consequence of the political, administrative, and economic changes in the environment. Also, Mabogunje ascribed the growth of the city to what he termed growth by

⁶⁹ Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. London: Edinburg University Press. P85

⁷⁰ Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. London: Edinburg University Press. P10

⁷¹ Ayeni, B., (1994) "The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan, Its Growth and Structure" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Chales. P76.

⁷² Mabogunje, A.L., (1967) "Morphology of Ibadan" in Lloyd P.C., A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe.B. (eds) *The Ibadan City*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. P42

fission by which he means the disintegration of the compound system and the development of other districts to growth by spatial expansion.⁷³ Thus, an indigenous Ibadan man having attained a certain level of income and social status moved away from the family house, where he paid no rent to live in another part in the city. This covered such areas as *Molete*, *Oluyole* Estate, Ring Road, *Odo-Ona*, *Apata Ganga*, *Ojoo* villages, and settlements that lie east and south of the traditional city.⁷⁴

Drawing an example from *Ojoo* and *Sasa* in the Northern axis of the city, it was revealed that *Ojoo*, a settlement, was founded in the late 19th century. One of the two major factors that have worked in enhancing its importance and expansion was the construction of the Oyo-Ibadan highway. However, a much more obvious catalyst seemed to be the extension of the Lagos-Ibadan expressway to *Ojoo*. The second factor being the existence of the University of Ibadan, the closeness of the Polytechnic as well as the proximity of the Nigeria Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER) and the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) with increasing problem of housing in the city for workers and students in the institutions especially in the mid-1970.⁷⁵

It was revealed that in 1980, 42% of *Ojoo* residents had linkage with Ibadan. This confirmed growth by fission of Mabogunje where indigenes of some traditional house in the core Ibadan moved to the suburb to settle. Migrants from other places within Oyo State also formed the next major group of people. *Sasa* to the immediate North of *Ojoo* was also a resettlement community resulted from the resettlement of thirty-two affected villages, which were formerly on the plot of land that was acquired by the Federal Government for the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA).⁷⁶

Sasa to the immediate north of *Ojoo* is another example in the study of the spread of Ibadan city. As the name indicates, *Sasa* Resettlement Community resulted from the resettlement of 32 affected villages which were formerly on the plot of land that was acquired by the Federal Government for the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture. This brought about a better outlay of the area and an agglomeration of a sizeable population in a location that was then at the fringe of Ibadan. Since then, the community has experienced

⁷³ Mabogunje, A.L., (1967) opcit note 38. P43

⁷⁴ Oral interview with Senator Moshood Lekan Balogun, Osi Olubadan of Ibadan land.5-5-2018.

⁷⁵ Afolayan, A.A., (1994) "Migration, Social Links and Residential Mobility" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P138

⁷⁶ Oral Interview with Senator Dr. Moshood Lekan Balogun, Osi Olubadan of Ibadan.7/5/2016

considerable population growth to about 7,000 by 1982 after overcoming its initial teething period in take off. The sample survey of Sasa conducted in 1982 reveals that as major place of origin of 81% of the respondents. This is as expected since majority of the residents were displaced Ibadan people, formerly living on the farmlands in the acquired villages. However, the remaining 19% who claimed other places as their origin is a clear indication of the injections of new groups of people into the community. The next important places of origin are towns in the north, especially Kano, from which about 6% of the people originated. The presence of the northerners in Sasa is associated with the development of Sasa as a major market centre for foodstuffs brought from the north for the Ibadan market. Sasa market was a daily market and operated from the morning till late in the evening. The market was always attended by all and sundry irrespective of destinations. The market took the lead and specialized in the sales pepper, tomatoes, onions, and other soup ingredients over *Bodija* and *Orita-Merin* and *Oja'ba*. Other places from where the residents came from included Ilorin and other towns in Oyo and Osun States, such as *Ogbomosho*, *Oyo*, *Ilesha*, *Iwo* and a very few proportion from towns in Ondo, Ogun, Edo and Delta states. The periods of relocation of those displaced in the community which were between 1963 and 1969, stand out clearly as the major inflow period when 64.5% of the respondents moved into Sasa. After the major inflow, the next important period was between 1975 and 1979, when 12.5% of the residents moved in. In the most recent past, the proportion was about 14% which is another indicator of the increasing inflow of people into the community.⁷⁷

All Ibadan people in Sasa community have family houses in the city proper, that is, in the traditional heart of the city. The major locations of these family houses are *Beere* and *Ayeye* and followed by *Alekuso*, *Oopo-Yeosa*, *Orita-Merin* and *Inalende*. Less important locations, but which were mentioned are *Isale-Alfa*, *Oja'gbo*, *Alafara*, *Ita-Bale*, *Labo*, *Odo-Osun*, *Oke-Ofa*, *Atipe* and *Yemetu*. Many of these Ibadan people in Sasa still go their family compounds in the city to observe special occasions, such as naming, wedding and funeral ceremonies. Also, the high frequency of their visiting the core centre of the city, about 12km

⁷⁷ Afolayan, A.A., (1994) "Migration, Social Links and Residential Mobility in the Ibadan Region: A Case Study of Ojoo and Sasa Residents" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P142

away at least once a week can be attributed to the social attachment of the people to the city and the economic linkages between the city and *Sasa* community.⁷⁸

Many new developments also sprang up around 1973 to generate the outward growth of the city in almost all directions. They included the construction of the Ibadan-Lagos expressway, which passed through the Southern, Eastern, and Northern parts of the city. Within the city itself, these major roads passed through *Fajuyi-Mokola-University of Ibadan road, Mapo-Isale-Ijebu stretch, Queen Elizabeth and Parliament Road, and Ring-Road road*. Some secondary roads connected the city with the hinterlands. Notable among these were the *Orita-Aperin-Olorunsogo-Akanran roads; Agugu-Oremeji-Egbeda-Tuba road and Academy-Olomi-Olojuoro road*, all of which made an overhead connecting with the eastern by-pass.⁷⁹

The organization of the Housing Estate, the Wire and Cable factory, and the NNPC oil storage depot at *Owode in Abeokuta road*; the building of the new Airport and the commissioning of *Ajoda New Town in Ife road*; the building of the *Leyland Motor Assembly plant* and the *Triplex Glass Factory in Iwo road* and the building of the new army barracks near *Ojoo* to the North of the city.⁸⁰ These developments led to a sharp reduction in the proportion of land devoted to non-urban land uses at the fringes of the city. Gbadegesin clearly showed this in a micro-study of land use carried out in the *Orogun River Catchment*, which included parts of the University of Ibadan, *Agbowo, Ojoo*, and expressway in the Northern sector of the city. Based on Gbadegesin's work, by 1981, residential buildings had taken over most of the available farmlands and part of fallow land existing in 1973.⁸¹

In 1976, Ibadan was made the capital of Oyo State among the three states created out of the old western region, following the 19 state structures by the Federal Military Government. Ibadan was, thus, brought closer to less than 157 kilometers of good road to *Akure*. The effect of this was to constitute Ibadan town into a prominent development centre with considerable population growth. The creation of eleven local governments was due to

⁷⁸ Afolayan, A.A., (1994) "Migration, Social Links and Residential Mobility in the Ibadan Region: A Case Study of Ojoo and Sasa Residents" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P142

⁷⁹ Areola, O., (1994) "The Spatial Growth of Ibadan and its Impacts on the Rural Hinterland" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P99

⁸⁰ Areola, O., (1994) "The Spatial Growth of Ibadan and its Impacts on the Rural Hinterland" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P99

⁸¹ Areola, O., (1994) "The Spatial Growth of Ibadan and its Impacts on the Rural Hinterland" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P99

the largeness of the city as the central council in Mapo was divided into five local governments of Ibadan North, with the headquarters at *Agodi*; Ibadan North East, with the headquarters at Iwo Road; Ibadan South East, with its headquarters at *Mapo*; Ibadan North West, with its headquarters at *Onireke* and Ibadan South West, with its headquarters at *Oluoyole Estate*.⁸²

Several major sources of the population characterized the 1980s and 1990s flow into Ibadan. There were increased public and private investments, which brought in men and materials to exploit the resources available in the locality. This increased population through government planning also attracted other businesses and trades. Government planned employment-generating projects resulted in both anticipated and unintended population in Ibadan. Many private clinics were established between 1980 and 1990 to attend to many patients with health problems beyond the capacity of government hospitals. Overwhelmed by the surging increase in the number of families and households, educational planners provided more schools and colleges to localize the movement of children and prevent out-migration. The mere presence of such educational facilities also acted as further population pull factors. The expressway perhaps became a facilitator of urban expansion in the southern and southeastern sectors of the city and the traditional sector of the city also continued to spread further and further into the countryside especially along *Akanran-Ijebu-Igbo* in the *Ona-Ara Local Government*, *Alomonja-Idi-Ayunre* in the *Oluoyole Local Government*, *Ojoo, Sasa, Moniya* in the *Akinyele* axis, *Gbagi, Adegbayi- Olode* in the *Egbeda Local Government*, *Apata-Meridian-Omi-Adio* in the *Ido Local Government* and *Monatan-Olodo* in the *Lagelu Local Government*.⁸³

3.3 The City-Region/Fringe in Ibadan

The urban-rural fringe in Ibadan and the extent of development could be classified into phases: firstly, was the extension before the arrival of some foreign presence; the second phase shows what development looked like after the establishment of a British Residency on *Agodi Hill* and the modernization and improvement of roads in 1896; the effect of the rail line is shown in the third phase, and the aftermath of making Ibadan a provincial secretariat while the founding of the Ibadan University is shown in the fourth phase[1946-48] and the fifth phase shows the impact of a bye-pass in 1963, while the last and the sixth phase reflected the effects

⁸² Oral interview with Dr. Victor Omololu Olunloyo of Olunloyo's compound Kudeti, Ibadan.5/8/2016

that the Lagos-Ibadan expressway constructed in 1973 had on the pattern of development and spatial expansion of Ibadan. Congestion in the lower city of Ibadan, increasing commercial, educational, administrative roles of the city, and more importantly, the oil boom of the 1970s and its attendant massive rural-urban migration led to the growth of the fringes of Ibadan. This caused the disappearance of non-urban land use in the face of a rapid expansion of urban land use in the city. By 1973, the urban landscape had spread over about 101.9sq km resulting from building upon formerly non-urban land, and urban land uses were confined to the urban fringe. The immediate rural hinterlands had become residential lands, and in some directions, the spreading suburbs began to approach the adjacent independent settlements with the old farmland of the indigenes increasingly taking up and the population growing from distant immigration, the population of food consumers must have risen even faster than the absolute number of urban residents.⁸⁴

By 1981, the built-up area of Ibadan was estimated at 136 sq km, and by 1984 the extent of development was 176. Sq km. Thus by 1988, it was 214sq.km. The fringes of Ibadan were easily identified by the direction of growth especially that anchored on the major road outlets from the city. Toward the north along Oyo road, linear developments had occurred on both sides of the road from *Sasa* to the IITA. This pattern of growth continued to spread north toward *Moniya*, which is a large settlement. Other villages that had fused to the northern fringe of Ibadan included *Alegongo*, *Ashi*, which have grown alongside the Army barracks [*Odogbo* cantonment] in *Ojoo* and the Lagos Ibadan bye-pass. In the north-eastern direction, new industries were established. For example, the new airport, the Nigeria Breweries PLC., *Olubadan Housing*, and *Industrial Estates*, *New Gbagi Shopping Complex*, and many others all along the new Ife road had been expanded Ibadan in this sector, leading to development along the road for over 7kms from Iwo road intersection. Similarly, *Leyland*, *Triplex*, and *Exide Battery Factories*, along *Iwo Road*, led to the development of *Monatan* and the surrounding villages, which are rapidly expanding toward *Olodo*, threatening the territorial limit of *Ajoda* New Town. Towards the eastern fringe, the bye-pass of the Lagos-

⁸³ Areola, O., (1994) "The Spatial Growth of Ibadan and its Impacts on the Rural Hinterland" in Filani M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P99

⁸⁴ Ayeni, B., (1994) "The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan: Its Growth and Structure" in Filani, M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P77, See also Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. London: Edinburgh University Press. P85

Ibadan expressway from the Toll Gate in the south-east to the Iwo Road intersection in the northeast served as a distinct line from which the fringe commenced.⁸⁵

Developments in this direction spread eastward through the express flyovers across the bye-pass at different intervals linking *Ogbere* road at *Oremeji*, *Akanran* road at *Olorunsogo*, *Egbedatuba* road at Muslim and *Olunde-Olojuoro* road at Academy. In this section of the town, development was largely characterized by an uncontrolled urban sprawl and the largest single concentration of sprawl in all the directions of growth in the fringes of Ibadan. The extent of sprawl eastwards has been estimated to extend about 7km from the express flyovers. In the South, along old Lagos road, development in the fringe had reached 3km from *Podo*. This is about 2.5km from *Alomaja*, a settlement with a large industrial concentration and development in the *Oluyole Local Government*. However, along Abeokuta road in the South-Western direction, development in the fringe included the *Owode*. Housing Estate, the Military Command School, the Petroleum Oil Depot, The Nigerian Wire and Cable all of which attracted the construction of new houses in the area. So vast, that the linear development linked *Omi-Adio*, a nearby town to Ibadan. Finally, in the Western direction, the construction of the *Sango-Eleyeile* road led to the fusing of Sango with the old *Eleyeile* in this section, while other developments were spreading toward *Eleyeile* waterworks via *Ijokodo*. The government reserve along *Apete* road, which served as a major check to further westward spread had been built up.⁸⁶

Unplanned urban expansion which developed mainly along the major transportation routes included the suburbs to the west and north of the core area. These areas included Sanyo, Ifelodun, Onipepeye, Old-Ife road, General Gas, Olorunsogo, Ogbere, Akobo, Bembo/Owode Estate, and Apete and many more. Some of these areas that were hitherto rural began to swell and were integrated into the city or at best transformed into peri-urban. such former rural areas included Omi-Adio and Ojoo.⁸⁷

The effects of urban expansion in Ibadan can be described as two sides of a coin. These could be in the form of opportunities or challenges to both sectors. A notable feature of

⁸⁵ Ayorinde, D., (1994) "Controlling Development in Urban Fringes: A Case Study of Ibadan, Nigeria" in Albert. I.O. Adisa. J. and T. Agboola (eds) *Urban Management and Urban Crises in Africa*. Ibadan: IFRA. P12

⁸⁶ Ayorinde, D., (1994) "Controlling Development in Urban Fringes: A Case Study of Ibadan, Nigeria" in Albert. I.O. Adisa. J. and T. Agboola (eds) *Urban Management and Urban Crises in Africa*. Ibadan: IFRA. P12

⁸⁷ Adelekan, I.O. (2016) *Urban Africa Risk knowledge University of Ibadan*. Ibadan City Diagnostic Report (4) P4.

Ibadan society was a high rate of urbanization, which had great results on the tributary areas. Ibadan region provided good illustrations of the impact of urbanization on the rural economy. A significant feature of the development of Ibadan city since the 1960s was the disappearance of the non-urban land uses. From 1980s uptill the 1990s, the Ibadan-Lagos highway brought forth the greatest urban sprawl in the southern and southeastern sectors of the city where the conventional and the traditional sector of the city spread further and further into the countryside, especially along Akanran/Ijebu-Igbo and Ife roads.⁸⁸ Perhaps, the most obvious impact of this expansion was the encroachment of the urban centers on rural land. The extent of this infringement was particularly great, judging from the analysis of the spatial growth of the city. This was so because land speculators, usually city dwellers, penetrated the countryside far in advance of the expansion of the city. Land speculations had reached as far as Omi-Adio about 16km on the Ibadan-Abeokuta road, Moniya 15km on Ibadan-Oyo road, Lalupon, 15kms on Ibadan Iwo road and Egbeda, 15kms. It was revealed that once a piece of land was sold to speculators, the traditional farmers abandoned their farms.⁸⁹ In a few cases, the new city-dwelling landowners continued to cultivate the land to ensure effective occupation until such a time that they were ready to build on it.

On the part of the urban farmers, farming was a part-time job and they could not adequately bridge the vacuum created by the departure of the traditional farmers. The extent of production was not often as high as that of the former traditional farmers and the urban farmers mostly produced for self-consumption. Many city-based farmers could no longer find sufficient land to cultivate in the urban fringe and have had to lease land in nearby villages and farm settlements such as (*Akufo*). A look round the fringes of Ibadan city revealed much derelict cocoa, kola-nut, citrus, and arable farmlands especially along Akanran, Ife, Iwo, and Oyo roads.⁹⁰

A major implication of this was that many inhabitants of the numerous satellite villages and fringes in the Ibadan region moved back to the city or changed occupations. The new economic activities which were found in the region were those that served the needs of the big city. The most prominent among these economic activities included poultry farming,

⁸⁸ Areola, O. (1994) "The spatial growth of Ibadan and its impacts on the Rural Hinterlands" in Filani, M.O.F. O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporulapo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan Rex Charles. P101

⁸⁹ Areola, O. (1994) "The Spatial Growth of Ibadan and its Impacts on the Rural Hinterlands" in Filani, M.O. F. O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporulapo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P102

saw-milling, quarrying, charcoal burning, and brick-making. Poultry farming became prominent in the late 1970s and was engaged mostly by urban dwellers who had acquired land in the rural areas. The boom in the construction industry in the fringes in the 1970s created a great demand for wood. Hence, saw-milling, an informal economy became a major activity in the peri-urban. The youngest and the promising in the rural hinterlands were taken away from the farm to go to earn softer money in the newly developed urban fringe construction industry. The need for space and development in the rural hinterland turned a suburban section of the city made brick-making an occupation on vacant plots of land in emerging housing estates. Such locations were readily accessible to the lorries bringing in sand from the countryside and most of the new buildings which required bricks and other building materials. The large concentration of people in Ibadan provided a ready made market for these products.⁹¹

The aftermath of urban development in the peri-urban region increased the demands for goods and services produced within the vicinity of the suburb. Business activities such as retail, personal services and cottage industries developed. These economic activities included hairdressing, electronics, auto repairs, plumbing, electric wiring and installations, and painting and a host others.⁹²

Some of the more remarkable environmental repercussions of urbanization in the Ibadan region included disastrous flood and solid wastes pollution. Some quarries near the urban-rural fringe became the dumping site for scrap metal.⁹³ The Ibadan city region was hit because of its stupendous growth over time. Some of the informal housing units were built in unregulated and uncoordinated areas in the peri-urban. The eastern bye-pass of the Lagos-Ibadan expressway was good examples of this type of development.⁹⁴ Although the growth was in all directions, the major expansion appeared to be along the northern and southwestern

⁹⁰ Oral interview conducted with Oloye Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan. Aged 65years

⁹¹ Oral interview conducted with Senator Lekan Balogun, Otun Olubadan of Ibadan land. Aged 74

⁹² Oral interview conducted with Oloye Sarafadeen Ali.Maye Olubadan of Ibadanland.5/5/2017

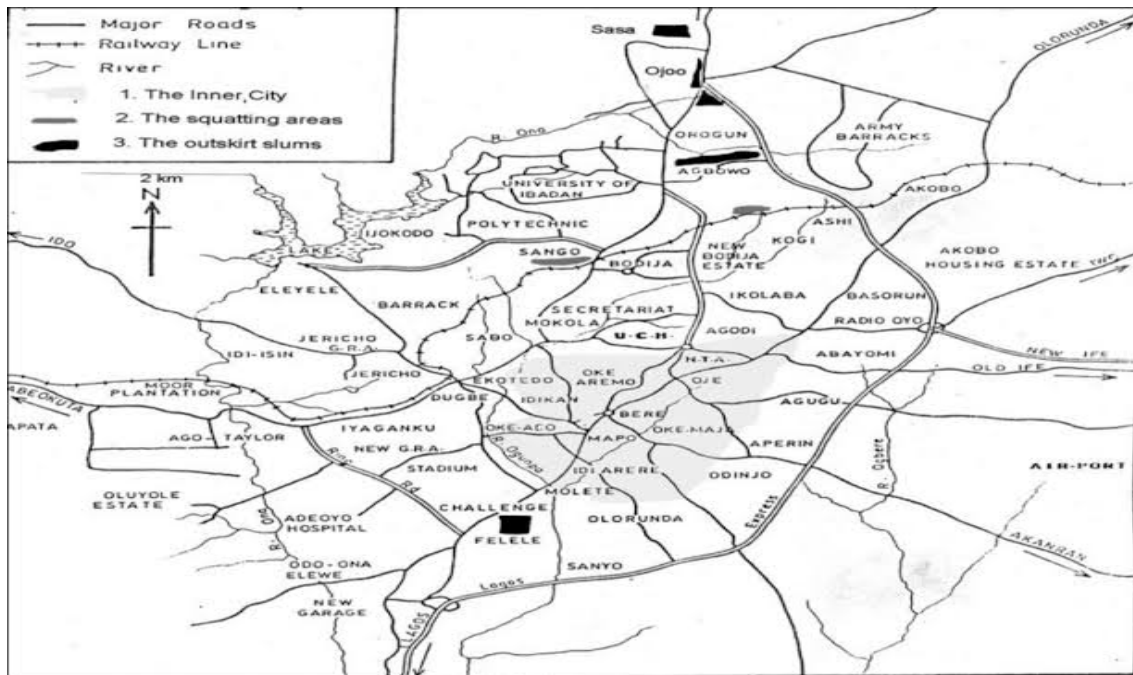
⁹³ Areola, O. (1994) "The spatial growth of Ibadan and its impacts on the rural hinterlands" in Filani, M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikponkpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan Rex Charles. P102

⁹⁴ Oral interview conducted with Chief Lukmon Alade. Aged 56.22/5/2019

areas such as *Olorunsogo, Ogbere, Agugu, Gbelekale, Kehinsi, and Aroye; Agbon, Akobo, Alegongo, Ashi, Ogburo, Isebo and Elere* to mention but a few.⁹⁵

The availability of land encouraged the siting of factories at the peripheral areas of the city especially along Oyo-Ibadan Road, Ibadan-Lagos Road, and Ibadan-Abeokuta Road. Despite the space-filling character of industrial growth in Ibadan city, some industrial plants at least one, the Nigerian Bottling Company, was known to have moved into the suburb. One of the reasons for suburbanization of industrial activity was the diseconomies associated with downtown locations given restrictions on physical expansion. Other companies included United Beverages, Eagle Flour Mills, and Nigerian Wire and Cable. Over the years, what constituted the periphery of the fringe of Ibadan changed in line with urban development, Hence industries located in areas once regarded as fringe areas were now said to be within the city. Examples were Sanyo Nig.Ltd, situated along the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway (Odo-oba village) and Askar paints at Eleyele.⁹⁶

IBADAN CITY REGION/FRINGE



⁹⁵ Oral interview conducted with Dr Moruf Adekunle Alabi, URP Dept. University of Ibadan. 23-5-2016. Aged 47.

⁹⁶ Afolayan, A.A. (1994) "Migration, Social links and Residential Mobility" in Filani, M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan Rex Charles P157

In conclusion, this chapter reveals that Ibadan was organized around networks of compounds and later became the largest purely indigenous city in African sub-Saharan. At a time, it was the economic hub centre of the southwest. Ibadan urbanization came in two forms. These were the pre-industrial urban development and the technological orientated urban development. The city began to expand based on the fact that the indigenous population of the city was pleasant to live with. Also, the city did not register any pronounced conflicts that could consume it. This contributed to its growth, expansion, and urbanization. The changes and improvements in some of the values and attitudes of the city after 1893 when the British came transformed the city from being indigenous to a modern one. Some of these changes and improvement included the interaction of several economic activities. These changes included the introduction of currency, which replaced the cowries as well as the construction of railroad undertaken in the early 20th century, which linked the northern and southern regions. This was a notable development that enabled the agricultural and mineral resources of the interior to be brought down to the city as well as the coast for export. The export trade became the dominant feature of the Ibadan economy and as well as the pillars of external trade that formed a direct source of cash income for the producers. The colonial administration also introduced more changes in the area of production and wage labour. The introduction of wage labour produced social effects such as the increasing amount of money in circulation as well as additional opportunities for social mobility. This served as the impetus for migration, and people began to migrate from the village to the city. Other factors included low level or no presence of infrastructural facilities and high standard of living in the rural and urban areas respectively served as stimulants for migration and urbanization process in Ibadan. Ibadan, having been recognized as the seat of power in 1946, became the rallying point of politics and economic activities in western Nigeria. The city also became the home of many prominent politicians from within and outside the region. The developments witnessed during this period triggered more developments into the suburbs, and the hinterlands were gradually opened up and exposed to urbanizing influences. The result of this was the disappearance of the traditional farmers as most of the lands had been converted to urban use. The dislocation of peoples also had a notable implication on society and culture. New economic activities that had monumental effects sprang up in some of these peri-urban areas. Social beliefs and cultural practices in rural areas, as well as the city, were challenged, altered, and modified in some aspects. The mode of production as well as livelihood options of the both city and peri-urban dwellers were notably affected.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE URBAN-RURAL NETWORK AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES, 1900-1999

4.1 Nature of Urban –Rural Interface in Ibadan

The settlements in the surrounding districts of Ibadan are mostly villages, many of which were founded towards the last quarter of the 19th century. In the colonization of the surrounding territory; hunters took the lead in the radial movement from the base in Ibadan. They were invariably followed by the tillers of the soil, many of whom were displaced farmers from the war devastated towns and villages of northern Yorubaland. Even before the stoppage of inter-tribal wars by the British, many families of Ibadan warriors went out to farm in these districts, and the hunters also became part-time farmers. Most of the villages bore the names of their founders. As distance from the town increased, it became more and more difficult for all these groups of settlers to return to the walled town at the end of the days work. It was then necessary for them to erect semi-permanent structures to house themselves and their families.¹ They stayed on the farm except during the seasons of important festivals or when there were rumours of wars. With the pacification of Yorubaland and the establishment of Pax Britanica in 1893, farmers were no longer faced with the constant fear that they might be over-run by invaders. As a result, most of the villages grew quickly, became more permanent, and have even extended the farming area to the limit of the territory available to the town. In this process, they dotted the outer farming zone with farm hamlets closely linked with town compounds, which were still regarded as the real home of their families.²

The people were also encouraged to settle permanently on the farms by the new economic incentives, which arose as a result of the introduction of cocoa, coupled with heavy overseas demand for other commercial crops such as palm produce and cotton. These factors were great inducements to own lands and land that had been held communally began to be divided into individual estates or plots. With greater demands for farmlands, it became necessary for the farmers and their families to go further afield in quest of good virgin forest for the new crop. The increased security and the growth of economic crops kept them much longer on these distant farms, so that they returned to the town only when occasion demanded. This movement resulted in a shift from the former purely subsistence agriculture

¹ Akinola, R. A., (1963) "The Ibadan Region" *Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol 6.No.2.P105

² Ibid.....P106

to farming for both cash and subsistence. Most of the Ibadan farmers had rooms or houses in Ibadan to which they return at certain intervals. The majority of the farmers in the nearby villages spent on the average five nights every week on their farms and the remaining two in Ibadan. The post-war boom in agricultural products enabled the government to build more roads and the development in road transport caused many villages to closely knit with the town.³

As a result of the historical development briefly summarized above, there were periodical migrations of people between the city and the surrounding villages. The movement was based on a long tradition, The villages were regarded as offshoots of the city which were socially, politically, and economically dependent upon the city. The populations of all the satellite villages look to the compounds in the city as their home, An example of cultural tie was shown in the fact that persons who were born in these satellite villages, where they also spent their working life, were on their death buried not in the villages but in the ancestral compounds in Ibadan. The basic cultural functions of the city were associated with the fact that for many people in the satellite villages, the city was the spiritual headquarters. One of the closest ties between the tributary areas and Ibadan was the fact that certain religious rites and festivals were performed in Ibadan, which was the seat of gods. For the villages, Ibadan was the religious centre of their numerous gods such as Egungun, Ogun, Obatala, Orishaoko, Yemoja and the Okebadan. Egungun was the most practiced and widely accepted among the people of Ibadan rural and urban after the Oke'badan. Notable among the Ibadan Egunguns were Oloolu, Atipako, Abidielege, and Alapansanpa.⁴ During *Egungun* festivals, it was customary for the principal *Egunguns* such as Oloolu and Alapansanpa to visit the compounds of chiefs and their family members to pray for them and receive their yearly gifts. Secondly, these annual religious festivals provided occasions for the celebration of the heroic deeds and achievements of their ancestors. Therefore, the Egungun masquerades were usually referred to as *ara-orun* (natives of heaven) The annual celebration of the Egungun festival among the Ibadan arose out of the belief that the ancestral spirits kept constant watch over their relations on earth. Even when they were in spiritual realm, people believed that the ancestors had the power to protect, guide, warn, or punish their earthly relations. Ogun was one of the primordial deities in Ibadan ranked high in status because of how the city was founded—a warrior town. Ogun was

³ Akinola, R. A., (1963) "The Ibadan Region" *Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol 6.No.2.P107

⁴ Ibid.....P108

believed to preside over oaths and covenants. In the city and various villages in Ibadan, there were numerous Ogun shrines. These shrines were built outside the houses of the adherents. In the shrines, periodic offerings and sacrifices were made by all the family members who practiced and believed in it. Even those that had accepted Islam and Christianity did participate through financial contributions. There was a central Ogun shrine or temple by the side of the *Ose-Meji* temple at Oja'ba. Here, Ogun was worshipped annually by all Ogun devotees and believers from the city and the hinterland, especially the hunters. It is also worthy of note that the hunter's death rite (*Isipa-Ode*) was very much celebrated in Ibadan as hunters converged, went to the bush, killed animals and performed lasting rite for the departed souls. During this period, hunters came from different locations to do the rite.⁵

In addition to the indigenous religious, Islam influence can be traced to the foundation of the city. This was because Muslims were among the original population that settled in Ibadan in 1829. Islam continued to grow in Ibadan in the 20th century. The central mosque at Oja'ba developed as the rallying point for all Muslims. In both the city and the hinterlands, there was only one Chief Imam as the Muslim community presented a united force. On the other hand, the first Christian denomination to get to Ibadan was the Church Missionary Society (CMS) as David Hinderer founded the first missionary Anglican Church at Kudeti in 1853. Other missionaries soon followed; the Methodist came in 1888, Roman Catholic, 1895, Baptist in 1906, Salvation Army 1921, and Seventh Day in 1826. Apart from orthodox churches, there were many African churches and some independent churches in Ibadan. Festivals such as Eid-L-kabir, Eid-L-Fitri, Christmas and other Christian and Muslim celebrations also drew many people from the villages into town. Some important family ceremonies such as naming and marriage were sometimes performed in the city, even though the people normally lived in villages some ten to twenty-five miles away from Ibadan.⁶ The Ibadan people in the city as well as in the village saw in Islam a form of (*Olaju* enlightenment). This was especially true of the external aspects of the religion—the new way of dressing, the new mode of greeting, the parade on horseback during the Muslim festivals etc. Islam became fashionable among many compounds as they sought to perpetuate it within

⁵ Adekola, O.O., (2015) "Trends in Traditional Religious Worship in Ibadan, 1951-2000" in Layiwola, D. (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P 233-239. See also Adeboye, A. O., (2003) "The city of Ibadan" in Oguntomisin, G.O (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1. Ibadan: Bookshelf Ltd. P16

⁶ Adeboye, A.O., (2003) "The city of Ibadan" in Oguntomisin, G.O (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1. Ibadan: Bookshelf Ltd. P16

their families such that their descendants automatically became Muslims. Aside from these religious obligations, the large and small Islamic organizations in Ibadan organized and participated in social activities in the community. For instance, they mobilized their members for social functions, such as naming ceremonies, funerals, marriages, and completion of Islamic studies. At the family compounds in the city, Islamic festivals such as Eid-L-Kabir and Eid-L-Fitri were usually celebrated with funfare. During Eid-L-Molud and Laylatul-Quodri, family members gathered in their traditional compounds in the city to celebrate. Eid-Kabir (*Ileya*) was always celebrated with pomp and paegentry while children from the village joined their family members in the city to move round family members' houses, various age groups came together to celebrate in a colourful atmosphere. This usually happened on the bthrid day of the festival. Also family meeting, settling of disputes, contributions towards family events, engagements and activities among all the family members from the both rural and urban were held during the period except when there was an emergency. Rams were shared and sent to kin and kith in the village that could not make it to the city during the period for one reason or the other.⁷

One of the centres of intense missionary activity in Nigeria in the 19th and 20th centuries was Ibadan. Christianity was first introduced in Ibadan in 1852 by David Hinderer, a German missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) He acquired land from the Baale and thereafter made Kudeti the seat of evangelization. Apart from establishing a church in Ibadan, (now St. David Cathedral, Kudeti) he also established a day school where some of the Ibadan chiefs, high ranking men in the society and interested residents of the town sent their children to acquire Western education. From their initial base in Kudeti, the missionaries went further to establish more churches in other parts of Ibadan, notably in Aremo and Ogunpa. Before the close of the 19th century; the Roman Catholic Mission had spread its tentacles to Ibadan. By the beginning of the 20th century, Christianity had been firmly rooted in Ibadan. The likes of First Baptist Church, Idikan was built in 1905 and many others followed suit both the orthodox and the pentecostals. The consequences of the missionary enterprises in Ibadan included religious, economic, social and political. The greatest and perhaps most remarkable achievements were in the areas of religious/spiritual development, as well as the provision of educational and health/medical services. Even though the missios adopted different approaches to the implementation of their policies, they

⁷ Oral interview conducted for Muslim clerics in Ibadan. See also Adeboye. A. O.,(2003) "The city of Ibadan" in Oguntomisin.G.O (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1.Ibadan:Bookshelf Ltd.

all regarded education as an indispensable tool in the course of evangelization. The missionary education in Ibadan was designed to aid religion-to enable converts to read and have greater understanding of the Bible. Schools such as St, David School, Kudeti founded in 1853, St, Peters School Aremo and St. James School, Oke-Bola in 1865 and 1869, respectively. St. Pauls School, Yemetu, 1894 and more schools were established in the later years. Schools were also established in the rural areas and evangelism works also spread to the rural areas. Schools such as St. Micheal Primary School, Odo-Ona-Nla, St Mathias Primary School, Busogboro, St. Mathew Primary School, Abanla and many others were established. After finishing the primary education in the villages, some children were sent to the city to go and continue their education. This significantly fostered the relationship between the city and the surrounding villages. Like their Muslim counterparts, Christians in the rural areas also went to the city during the Christmas period to celebrate with their people. It was also revealed that Christians on weekly basis attended church programmes and services in the city and in the villages. Some of the mountains were located in the villages. Christians came from all over the city to attend prayer sessions on some of these mountains. (Oke) Revivals were also held in the city and the villages also attended. The to and fro of people as a result of religion belief had not only promoted symbiotic relationship but also had influence on economy and politics.⁸

The city's importance as a focus of social services was far greater than that of its cultural activities. Ibadan as a great educational and political centre in Nigeria had an usual range of social services. There were many schools, colleges and public libraries. In the field of health services, it had many governments' hospitals and numerous private hospitals and clinics. In the field of entertainments, it had many cinemas, many dance halls, numerous social clubs, concerts and literary activities. There were also several footballs, voluntary and religious associations such as the Young Men Christian Association, Young Women Christian Association, Red Cross, and Boys Scout. It had several radio, television and telephone services. It was natural that the city of Ibadan should have an attractive influence on the people in the rural areas and other towns that came for it not only for education, but also for leisure interests. Most of the pupils attended the secondary grammar school and modern schools and post-secondary institutions in Ibadan. All the village schools were

⁸ Ajayi, S.A.,(2015) "Christian Missionary Enterprise in Ibadan, 1851-2000" in Layiwola.D(ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P228 See also Adeboye. A. O.,(2003) "The city of Ibadan" in Oguntomisin.G.O (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1.Ibadan:Bookshelf Ltd. P18

maintained and supervised from Ibadan, and the Ibadan region coincided with the Ibadan local education authority's area of jurisdiction. Most of the teachers were trained in the city and from there posted to the village schools. Teachers came to the city for advanced training and for occasional refreshers courses. The first primary school in Ibadan was founded in 1853 by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) under the supervision of David Hiderer. The school was located at Kudeti. Other schools came in its wakes especially with the advent of other missionaries in the city. In 1905, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission founded a Teachers Training College in Ibadan. First secondary school in Ibadan was the Ibadan Grammar School, established in 1913. The Roman Catholic and the Methodist Mission also founded several schools. The colonial government entered the vrace by establishing Government College, Ibadan in 1929. Other schools included: Baale's School-1906, St Stephen Inanlende-1906, St Paul Yemetu-1907, St Johns School Okeseni-1931, St Theresas College-1933, Native Authirityy Practising School Leaf-Road-1934, Ibadan Boys High School-1938, Igbo-Elerin Grammar School-1957, and Grammar School-1958. These schools and many others helped to facilitate synergy the city andf the hinterland villages. Islamic missions also sprang up in the 1930s to establish primary and later secondary schools for Muslim children. Such missios included the Ansar-u-deen and Anwar-u-Islam. In 1948, the University of Ibadan was founded to provide post-secondary education not only for Ibadan but for ther whole Nigeria. All these facilitated the movement of people between the city and the surrounding villages.⁹ Years after years, many schools were established to cater for both the rural and urban dwellers not only in thecity but in the rural areas. These had produced prominent people in the community. One of such people was Late Kolapo Ishola, the former Governor of Oyo State who attended Igbo-Elerin Grammar School located at Igbo-Elerin village.

Sick people were brought not only from the city but also fro the villages around to the hospitals and nursing homes in Ibadan to receive medical attention. There were government hospitals like University College Hospital (UCH) Adeoyo Agbadagudu, Adeoyo Ring Road, Jercho nursing homes and many others that were established years after. Catholic hospitals at Oluyoro and Eleta were not excluded while some other private hospitals scattered all around. The various church denominations had their headquarters for the whole division in the city. Thus, the Ibadan farming region coincided with the Ibadan archdeaconry—an ecclesiastical unit of the Anglican Church and with the Ibadan circuit of the Methodist Mission. The

⁹ Adeboye. A. O.,(2003) "The city of Ibadan" in Oguntomisin.G.O (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1.Ibadan:Bookshelf Ltd. P18

various synod meetings and other important conferences were held there. It had a Roman Catholic Seminary, and the Anglican and Methodist pastors were also trained in the city. It was the seat of Bishops, Archdeacons, Canons and other important church dignitaries. In addition, all civil and criminal cases which occurred anywhere in the region were referred to the customary and magistrate courts in Ibadan. Thus, most of the youths in the surrounding villages came to Ibadan with its wider opportunities for learning, social amenities, employment and entertainment, and for the general glamour of modern city life.¹⁰

In Ibadan, administrative functions extended even beyond the cultural sphere of influence. The city as the regional capital and the capital of oyo state was the headquarters of government Ministries, Boards, Corporations and Departments. The Parliamentary Building, Governors House were there. Nigeria Railway, the head offices of commercial banks, insurance companies, and most of the large travel agents operating in western Nigeria and oyo state were located in Ibadan because the city was the major economic centre. The imposition of colonial rule brought some changes to the government and politics of Ibadan. Emphasis on military leadership was eroded. The councillorship system which had been established in 1897 grew under the tutelage of the British. The idea of nominating educated councilors into the council was advanced. The elite actively involved in politics and the administration of the city through their membership of the council. They advised the chiefs on how to develop the city, saw to the day to day administration of the city, among the first councilors were J.L.Ogunsola, D.T.Akinbiyi, Isac Akinyele, and J.O.Aboderin. By the 1930s, Ibadan had had four decades of attempts at establishing and operating modern machinery of government. By then, the government in Ibadan was still neither African nor Europeanized African. New opportunities had arrived and no one wanted to be left out. Political and pressure groups then began to emerge both in the villages and in the city. Each attempted to extract part of the available resources for itself. Those groups included: Ibadan Liberal Party, Ibadan Native Tailors Union, Band of Unity, Ibadan Orogreessive Union Auxilliary Society, Binukonu Society, Ibadan Dynamic Stars etc. The union activities certainly inspired other people in the society to perceive the value of binding together for the purpose of extracting some of the opportunities available and facilitated rural-urban migration in Ibadan as

¹⁰ Akinola, R. A., (1963) "The Ibadan Region" *Nigeria Geographical Journal*. Vol 6.No.2.P107

unemployed members were employed.¹¹ In 1943, councilors were selected from the territorial wards. The western Ibadan Government law of 1953 further democratized membership of the council which was now based on political parties.¹²

By 1961, Ibadan was constituted into seven local districts with Ibadan district Municipal created to oversee the affairs of the rural districts councils. These districts councils included: Ibadan Municipal Council, Ibadan North District at Moniya, Ibadan East District at Iyana- Ofa, Ibadan South East at Akanran, Ibadan South at Olode, Ibadan South West at Idi Ayunre, and Ibadan West at Ido. The administration of the city was severed from that of the districts, local politics became more intense and connected with council matters. Political campaigns before elections, lobbying, cross-carpeting and violence constituted the impediments of local politics. The principal parties with roots in Ibadan were the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG). Prominent among the politicians in Ibadan was the late Adegoke Adelabu, Mojeed Agbaje, and Adisa Akinloye.¹³

As an extension of Butchers recommendation that the Native Authority needed complete and urgent organization, a one man Reform Committee was set up. That only main man was Hayley. The Ibadan previous sixty-two quarters were now regrouped into forty-seven administrative areas: Forty urban and seven rural. These administrative areas also became electoral areas with a polling station in each one. The areas were also used for tax collection purposes. The ten primary urban areas which were then divided into forty were: Ekotedo, Oke-Offa, Idikan, Oke-Ojagbo, Oke-Are, Oke-Adebimpe, Agodi, Oke-Foko, Mapo and Oke-Bola. The seven rural areas were: Lalupon, Erunmu, Ijaye, Lagun, Offa-Igbo, Iroko and Ikereku.¹⁴ The local government reforms of 1976 completely took over whatever vestiges of power the chiefs had away. The Olubadan became politically powerless. He had no coercive power, no control over resources and policy making. By 1979 when the second republic took off in Nigeria, Ibadan already had more local councils on its periphery in addition to the Ibadan Municipal Council. These were the Akinyele, Lagelu and Oluyole.

¹¹ Labinjo,J.,(1991) *Modernity and Traddition in the Ibadan Politics 1900-1975*. Ibadan: Fountain Publicatios. P24-26

¹² Adeboye. A. O.,(2003) "The city of Ibadan" in Oguntomisin.G.O (ed) *Yoruba Towns and Cities*. Vol.1.Ibadan:Bookshelf Ltd. P19

¹³ Labinjo,J.,(1991) *Modernity and Traddition in the Ibadan Politics 1900-1975*. Ibadan: Fountain Publication. P83

¹⁴ Labinjo,J.,(1991) *Modernity and Traddition in the Ibadan Politics 1900-1975*. Ibadan: Fountain Publication. P42

With the advent of the military rule in 1980s, the administration of the council passed from the hands of the chairman to that of the sole administrators.¹⁵ Uptill 1999 when eleven local governments were constitutionally created in Ibadan, the city continued to play prominent roles in the administration of the rural council areas. During election, people would leave their various villages to vote in the city and vice-versa.

The choice of an Oba in Yorubaland is mostly based on age and prominence in the ancestral tree of the town i.e. family of the founder and each has a number of royal families among which the Oba was chosen. The number of families entitled to kingship was fixed by tradition. In Ibadan when Lagelu descendants were displaced, there were co-founders and there was no single family that could lay claim to be the founder of the present Ibadan. Hence, all established lineages were entitled to become the Olubadan of Ibadan. In the republican arrangement which was quite different from Yoruba kingship system, Ibadan established two lines: Olubadan line and Balogun line. The ascension to the throne was strictly from the lowest rung of the ladder which was Jagun chieftaincies. Unique and envied across Yorubaland due to its peculiarly peaceful system of evolution of monarch. The Ibadan Obaship system had with it what could make it implode. A system which placed about forty three most times senescent people on a queue to ascend the throne with a tendency of a natural and human anxiety by virtually every one of them to occupy same throne. Although, there were no pronounced issues on who ascended the throne as it had been properly arranged by promotions from the lower to the upper cadre. Ibadan had twenty one chiefs in the Olubadan line and twenty-two in the Balogun line. The death of any of the chiefs gave automatic promotion to those behind to climb the ladder. Among the forty three chiefs, only eleven formed Olubadan-in-council. The Seriki and the Iyalode lines were forbidden to ascend the throne of Olubadan. Although, those in the Seriki line had tried to be co-opted as part of those that could ascend the throne of Olubadan. This issue had been taken to court several times.¹⁶

From the earliest times, Ibadan had been the economic centre of its region. This is because it was favoured by its central position, and the continuous and phenomenal rapid growth of its population created demand for more foodstuffs. Most of the principal

¹⁵ Oral interview with Senator Dr Lekan Balogun. Otun Olubadan of Ibadan. Aged:78. 5/5/2019.

¹⁶ Ibadan Obaship was unique among the towns and cities in Yorubaland. The history of the city's foundation and establishment said more about this and dictated the kind of system being practiced. Oral interviews were conducted with some Ibadan chiefs such as Chief Lekan Balogun and Oloye Lekan Alabi.

agricultural products of the villages were sold in the city. They were usually brought to the city by the urban traders who regularly attended the rural markets to exchange agricultural products with manufactured goods and crops from other parts of Nigeria. For the villagers, who wanted to buy corrugated ironsheets, cement and other important building materials, Ibadan was the major market. There were numerous rural markets within the Ibadan farming region. The importance of the periodic rural markets was great because they served as a venue where the villagers bought and sold. Many of the urban traders were middlemen, who went to the markets to buy bulk quantities of produce from the small scale suppliers. Others bought goods which were cheaper in villages than Ibadan. There were people who visited these rural markets regularly in order to buy local foodstuffs and products of local crafts, which they sold at the Ibadan night markets. In considering the features of these markets, attention was drawn particularly to those that were accessible to the city by rail and road. The rural markets were markedly similar in their economic activities. Foremost among the functions was the collection and distribution of local produce especially foodstuffs.¹⁷ The exchange of foodstuffs was regarded as a primary function of the rural markets. Secondly, the rural markets afforded a venue for the sales of cash crops, such as cocoa and kola-nuts, chiefly to the merchants who came on market days. Thirdly, the money realized from the sale of crops was often spent in the rural markets for purchasing imported commodities, gun-powder stationery, matches and stock-fish. The urban traders also sold in return goods such as beans, elubo, rice and dried meat. The rural markets also served as a meeting place for urban-rural culture. By subtle and unconscious imitation, many up-to-date urban fashions were caught by the villagers from their frequent contacts with the townspeople. In a way, therefore, the rural markets played significant roles in bringing about changes in fashion and outlook of the people in remote areas. Latest news was also passed on to the villagers by the city traders. In a nutshell, Ibadan had both traditional and modern markets, but the modern markets had tended to outshine a few of the traditional markets. Among the traditional markets were Oja'ba, located at the centre of the city, Ayeye, Gege, Bode, Oje and Agbeni. The modern ones included Bodija which was the foodstuff depot, Gbagi relocated to Ife road where manufactured textiles were sold, Alesinloye where electronics, enamelware, plastic products, cloth were sold. The place of these markets in the

¹⁷ Market and marketing in Ibadan played notable roles in the economic history of the city. It provided the platform for the exchange of not only goods but people of the rural and the urban areas. It served as the melting pots where goods were exchanged, ideas transferred and culture altered and modified.

relationship between the city and the countryside could not be underestimated. People came from different and various villages to buy goods in these markets.¹⁸

4 2 Urbanization, Industrialization and Consumption Patterns in Ibadan

The living standard, capital formation, development and poverty are strongly related with consumption patterns in any society. Food therefore is a remarkable commodity for the sustainability of man.¹⁹ Arguably, disposable income, credit availability, propensity to save, household consumption, inflation rate, household composition, and a host of others are the factors affecting consumption patterns.²⁰

The phenomenal growth of Ibadan attracted many people. Among such were Syrian and Lebanese traders who came there with the arrival of railway from Lagos in 1901. Initially, there were only twelve of them and they all lived in Gbagi street because that was the business centre of Ibadan. By 1930, fifty-six Lebanese were resident in Ibadan and by that time they had become the major middlemen in Ibadan economy, second only to Salami Agbaje and Saka Adebisi Giwa-the two wealthiest African traders in Ibadan. By the time the post war boom reached Ibadan in the early 1950s, the Lebanese had increased substantially in number and had occupied almost all the buildings in Gbagi Street which had been renamed Gbagi Street. They had also occupied all the shops at the adjacent new Court Road. They dominated the imported cloth market. Shoes shops, grocery stores, a restaurant, appliances, transportation, auto sales, and several night clubs.²¹ Ibadan was regarded as a viable economic centre compared with other Yoruba cities and towns. This could be largely associated with its large population, coupled with fertile land as well as robust commercial activities. These factors highly encouraged migrants to move in en masse in order to benefit from production and commerce. In the same vein, administratively, Ibadan occupied a prominent place among its peers. Being a seat of power from the pre-colonial days up till the 20th century, a good number of people looked at Ibadan to be an environment they could be

¹⁸ Oral interview conducted with Oloye Lekan Alabi. Ekefa Olubadan of Ibadan. Aged:64. 4/6/2020

¹⁹ Kiresur,V.R. and S.N. Mageri.,(2009) "An Economic Analysis of food Consumption Pattern in Karnataka". *Karnataka Journal of Agricultural Science*.Vol.22. No 4. P840

²⁰ Kumar,B.,(2010) "Rural-Urban Consumption Pattern in Bangladesh". *International Review of Food Research Paper*.Vol.6.No.4.P1

²¹ Labinjo,J.,(1991) *Modernity and Tradition in the Politics of Ibadan 1900-1975*.Ibadan:Fountain Publications.P166

easily engaged with one economic activity or the other. The city was also seen by other group as an environment designed to secure their freedom from the thrall of the rural areas and escape from the restrictions of smaller settlements. The city became more heterogenous and looked more cosmopolitan with the arrival of the colonial masters. With these, state agencies, a university, extensive market networks, modern facilities and more other good things were made available for the satisfaction of the people. The combination of all these put together affected urban consumption in the city in many ways. The newly constructed business district at *Gbagi* became the haven of business concentration and consumption and there emerged some foreign companies that stocked greater varieties of imported goods.²² The inability of many to buy foreign goods pushed them to go for cheaper and low-quality ones.

In Ibadan, there were distinctions in rural and urban consumption and dietary patterns. In both sectors, their have-nots populations allocated a larger Percentage of their income to food as compared to an urban area and middle-income households.²³ Some other factoes that affected consumption pattern included differences in wealth, social inequality, and prestige. In Ibadan, there were clear distinctions among the people. For the poor, Ibadan had the (*Talaka, Olosi, Akuse*) and for the rich (*Olowo*) a propertied person (*Oloro* or *Olola*). They also went further to make a distinction between men of comparable wealth and honor by seeing some as *Gbajumo* or *Borokini*, men who combined wealth with generosity.²⁴

The division into these categories had implications for urban consumption as the standard of living differed with wealth. At Ibadan, it was true that no one was denied food, shelter, and clothing, yet there was inequality in the distribution of and access to the basic amenities. All these made living more descent and better for the rich. They had money to consume what they wanted at a particular time. They could afford to slaughter goats or chickens every day. They were accessible to more drinks, local or imported of various kinds,

²² Ayeni,B.,(1994)“The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan,Its Growth and Structure” in M.O.Filani, F.O.Akintola and C.O.Ikporukpo (eds)*Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P75

²³ Food consumption took a larger share of the income of an average Ibadan person. It was seen as an object of longetivity.

²⁴ Oral interview with Senator Lekan Balogun.Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland. Aged 78.5/5/2019. Pofessor Toyin Falola also clearly stated it in his book, *Ibadan Foundation,Growth and Development,1893-1960*.

and had the financial capability to wear European fashion.²⁵ The invasion of local culture by the western one had great impact on taste transfer. Foreign items began to experience more acceptability among the populace owing to their superiority and comfortability. People settled for items such as milk, tinned meat, fish, biscuit, flour, and rice. Among the foreign goods that became the order of the day was corrugated iron roof which completely subdued the use of thatched roof. Iron sheets were better than leaves since they could last longer and also reduce the risk of fire. Instead, iron sheets became a notable feature of the status symbol. Only people with some tangible means were able to afford iron sheets, and their houses acquired the new name of *ile panu* (a house with an iron roof). The use of mud was also replaced with the cement.²⁶

Another major factor that determined urban consumption and dietary pattern in Ibadan was the financial status of individuals. Other factors included the prices of the foods, the availability of the type of foods locally and the cultural factors. The large and increasing number of foreigners, both local and foreign, had changed the way and attitude to consumption patterns. The city's attraction to many populations meant a rapid expansion in the economy and consumption pattern. A major indication of this was the disappearance of the traditional farmers and their farm-lands as a result of land speculators by the city dwellers who penetrated the countryside far in advance of the expansion of the city. These new occupants though at times, continued to farm the land, but the level of production was not often as high, and they, at times, produced for their consumption.²⁷

The trade between Ibadan producers and the Europeans was one of unequal exchange. While the Ibadan gave rubber, palm-produce, and cocoa, they received, in turn, shoddy goods like beads, cloths, matches, soap, spirits, and other goods which could be characterized as luxury goods. There were, therefore, asymmetrical and unequal economic relations and consumption patterns.²⁸ There existed at Ibadan what could be regarded as dual economic ventures. The economy was therefore characterized by a high degree of specialization. An inevitable symbiotic relationship existed among the producers and the

²⁵ Johnson,S.,(1921)*The History of the Yorubas From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*.Lagos:C.M.S.P427

²⁶ Oral interview with Alhaji Yekini Adegbenjo.Mapo,Ibadan.Aged 74.4/6/2019

²⁷ Areola,O.,(1994)"The Spatial Growth of Ibadan City and its Impact on the Rural Hinterlands" In M.O.Filani,F.O.Akintola and C.O.Ikporukpo(eds)*Ibadan Region*. Ibadan:Rex Charles.P98

²⁸ Falola,T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft.P453

traders back to back. The economy was also developed beyond the subsistence levels. The people produced far more than their immediate needs and for urban consumption. The poor households in Ibadan normally or at times consumed food in their natural forms.²⁹

The western parts of Ibadan rural contributed the bulk of the marketable surplus for urban consumption. Though, yams were produced only in modest quantities due to exhaustion of soils in the immediate neighborhoods of Ibadan and to the importance of cocoa, which claimed most of the soils of the superior quality. A large percentage of the yam produced was grown for home consumption. The cassava products were dominant. The dividing line between the predominantly cassava producing areas and the yams area was reflected in the pattern of trade. The movements of cassava products from Ibadan town to the rural areas were mostly through the west to the South and to the East via the wholesale markets of *Mapo-Hill*.³⁰ This indicated that it was the traditional part of the city that consumed cassava and maize products, most as a result of their dietary habits. The Eastern and Northern parts of Ibadan Rural concentrated on fruits, vegetables, and palm-oil. The large share of fruits and vegetables in total sales was normal for an area surrounding the city. Finally, it is worthwhile mentioning that the villages next to Ibadan along and off Iwo Road, Ife Road, and *Ijebu Igbo* road specialized in prepared foodstuffs (maize and beans products) which were brought to Ibadan either in lorries or frequently head-loaded.³¹ In terms of weight, these movements were not very important, but they were more substantial in terms of value due to the high specific value of prepared food for urban consumption.

Taking into account the cost of foods between rural and urban and between different income households, there was a reduction on the money spent on food items in the hinterlands as well as in the city. There was an increment in the amount of money spent on non-food goods. Contrarily, those in the villages continued to spend more money on food items compared to their counterparts in the city. The role of urbanization and modernization in food consumption could not be underestimated as it affected the consumption of such crops like cereal. The advent of new crops, education, employment opportunities, among many others, contributed to the dwindling consumption of cereals, and this was most

²⁹ Oral interview with Pa Adebayo Akanji of Olugbaye's Compound, Idi-Arere, Ibadan. Aged: 75.

³⁰ Gustein, R., (1968) *Studies in the Staple Food Economy of Western Nigeria*. Ibadan: NISER. P106

³¹ Gustein, R., (1968) *Studies in the Staple Food Economy of Western Nigeria*. Ibadan: NISER. P107

common among the well to do in the society.³² It could be argued that, the diversification of diet over the years could be attributed to the taste of people. It was observed that the well to do in the society especially in the city spent more on imported goods than those in the village. The causes of the above could be traced to urbanization.³³

In Ibadan, the unregulated informal sector was so significant in the city food retail markets. It aided the consumption pattern of the lower cadre. Some households also revealed that they bought their food from street hawkers, while some got their foods from the open shops (*Buka*). The open market also remained the principal place of food purchase. In Ibadan, more money was spent on street foods by the poorest households. The reason for this included the fact that some of the so called poorest households spent more hours outside and away from their homes. They did not have much time to prepare food at home. A large percentage of their budget was given to their children to buy food outside. The children also decided what type of food to be bought. Findings revealed that those in the indigenous and traditional part of the city such as *Bere, Mapo, Ojaba, Gege, Foko, Idi-aro, Orita-Aperin, Oranyan, Kobomoje*, etc were mostly affected.³⁴

An important aspect of the capitalist formation in Ibadan was the growth of a trained professional class in the business sector. This new and modern generation was more easily integrated with and adopted the class outlook of the international capitalist. In every place where public institutions had sprung up, there had been a diffusion of subsidiary economic activities of a longer-term character. All these activities had their supply lines, which linked them to the wider economy. They also expanded the local market jointly for food and other rural produce (fire-wood, rural-crafts), increasing rural earnings and demand for urban produced commodities and services.³⁵ A small proportion of the residents bought from the supermarkets and other regulated and formal stores. City consumers preferred buying what to eat from the unregulated sector as a result of its closeness and price. It was revealed that residents around and within Bodija Estate, Felele, and *Oluwole* Estate, Jericho relied heavily

³² Gustein,R.,(1968) *Studies in the Staple Food Economy of Western Nigeria*.Ibadan:NISER.P107

³³ Oral interview with Barrister Sarafa Alli.4/6/2018

³⁴ Oral interview with Dr Babatunde Esan,Former Executive Director, Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria,(CRIN)Ibadan.

³⁵ Becham,B.,(1985)"Neo-Colonialism, Capitalism and the State in Nigeria" in B.Campell(ed)*Contradiction of Accumulation in Africa*. London: Sage Publishers.P80

on the regulated formal sector for their goods because of their financial acumen and closeness of chains of a supermarket within these localities.³⁶

It could be recalled that the fortunes of the country changed in the post-colonial period due to the discovery of oil. The impact of this was monumental on agriculture as agriculture suffered remarkable loss and neglect. The oil exploration brought about development in the country, Ibadan inclusive. This brought about developmental projects especially in manufacturing and services and they were concentrated majorly in the urban centre. The effect of this was the movement of the populace from the tributary settlements to the city to have their own share in the proceeds of development.³⁷ Oil therefore replaced peasant export crops. The outflow of rural younger people from the village to the city eventually gave rise to urban food consumption pattern.³⁸

The structural adjustment and food market reform was another policy that had a great effect on urban consumption patterns. Structural adjustments implied the removal of operational bottlenecks and institutional rigidities that militated against the efficient and competitive performance of an economy.³⁹ These included the use of indirect monetary and fiscal policies rather than direct administrative controls. In specific terms, the structural adjustment was seen as “involving moving real resources to agriculture to correct the prevailing urban bias of development policies. It entailed redressing price distortions by eliminating quotas and import licenses, reducing tariffs considerably, pursuing tight money, credit, and fiscal policies, dampening inflation, rationalizing parastatals, deregulating the marketing of agricultural commodities and liberalizing trade generally. These policies had drastic effects on both the urban and rural dwellers and their productive activities. Concerning their consumption patterns, the most immediate impact had been on food preferences. As a result of the policies, prices of food staples were hiked up to unrealistic

³⁶ Oral Interview with Honourable Dare Adeleke, Oluyole Estate, Ibadan. Aged: 49.

³⁷ Fadayomi, T.O., S.O. Titilola and Fapohunda, O.T., (1992) “Migrations and Development Policies in Nigeria” in Toure M. and T.O. Fadayomi (eds) *Migration, Development and Urbanization Policies in Sub-Saharan African*. CODESTRIA. P107

³⁸ Becham, B., (1985) “Neo-Colonialism, Capitalism and the State in Nigeria” in B. Campell (ed) *Contradiction of Accumulation in Africa*. London: Sage Publishers. P80

³⁹ Jayne, T.S. and Mukumbu, M., (1995) *Urban Maize Meal Consumption Pattern : Strategies for Improving Food Access for Vulnerable Urban Households in Kenya*. Technical Paper: Sustainable Development Bureau for Africa. P1

levels. Coupled with the downsizing exercise in most of the nation's parastatals and government agencies, consumption and livelihood pattern was seriously affected".⁴⁰

For an adequate description of food consumption in Ibadan, it is essential to distinguish between the city and the village patterns. Those in the city took three meals each day, at least by families with average income. These were breakfast, the afternoon meal, and an evening meal. However, a fourth meal which was generally referred to as refreshment was the mid-day meal, which came up between breakfast and the afternoon meal. This refreshment, however, was taken in a fairly regular way only by civil servants and other white-collar workers. In rural areas, however, variation in diet was very limited. One might eat (pounded yam) *iyán* or cold wrapped pap (*eko*) many times a day. Less attention was paid to fruits, and people hardly took them unless they grew on their farms. The only dietary advantage which rural dwellers enjoyed under their eating habits was the fresh vegetables which they got in larger quantities and better quality than the city dwellers. It was also observed that the food production of most farmers was insufficient to provide for their necessities.⁴¹

Findings revealed that in Ibadan, the time for taking breakfast started around 6.30 a.m for those who were government officials and workers and 8.30 a.m for the self employed ones, homemakers and others without any special or particular occupations. Ibadan people took something light in the morning. The most notable foodstuff taken by majority of them for breakfast was pap (*eko-mimu*) bowls (*abo*) of not less than 1 liter in volume. Adults usually took two or more of *Akara* or *MoinMoin* while children took less.⁴² Another notable food next in importance to *eko* was yam (*isu-jije*) taken hot with fried stew (pepper, onions, tomatoes in ground-nut or palm-oil) or lightly fried egg with or without stew in palm-oil or ground-nut oil). About 3 or 4 adults normally fed on an averaged sized yam tuber at breakfast.⁴³ Afternoon meal was normally taken from about 12.30 pm (by homemakers or traders who did not take the mid-day meal to about 3.30 pm by workers and others. This was

⁴⁰ Mabogunje,A.L.,(1988)"Coping with Structural Adjustment: The Nigerian Experience" in R.Cohen(ed)*Satisfying Africa's Food Needs:Food Production and Commercialization in African Agriculture*.London:Boulder.P202

⁴¹ Gusten,.R.,(1968)*Studies in the Staple Food Economy of Western Nigeria*.Ibadan:NISER.P49

⁴² Gusten,.R.,(1968) *Studies in the Staple Food Economy of Western Nigeria*.Ibadan:NISER.P49

⁴³ See Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft, See also Gusten,.R.,(1968)*Studies in the Staple Food Economy of Western Nigeria*. Ibadan: NISER.

believed to be the day's main food, and something to swallow was needed. Food in the swallow group included *garlic-paste (eba)*, yam and cassava paste (*oka* or *amala*), and pounded yam (*iyan*). These were taken rather heavily with viscose soup such as okro (*ila*) or *ewedu*. Other types of soup were prepared from green vegetables (*efo*). Meat has taken with the soup, if it could be afforded, was fried or cooked in a separate stew which was added to the soup.⁴⁴ The determinant of the evening meal was the outcome or result of the consideration of what was taken in the afternoon and to some extent in the morning. At times some *amala* might be taken. The above description covers about ninety percent (90%) of the meals consumed by an average family in Ibadan. It is important to note that though not much attention was paid to the nutritive value of different foodstuffs, the rule rather than the exception was for people to avoid taking the same type of food twice daily.⁴⁵

In the Ibadan rural areas, the consumption pattern was different to a large extent from what obtained in the city. Dietary habits were classified according to three groups. These groups included: the farmer who went to his farm very early in the dawn and came back at night, the farmer's wife, his children and relatives and other men doing jobs at home (tailors, petty-traders, repairers, etc.) and thirdly the educated group whose meals more or less followed the pattern of urban life. The farmer hardly took breakfast at home because he left home for his farm (normally 2-7miles off) at about 5.30 or 6.00 am. He arrived between 7.30-8.00am and started working without further delay. After working for almost two and a half hours, he prepared breakfast, which was in the form of roasted yam or cocoyam or maize (during the fresh maize season). The yam or maize was accompanied by nothing except water from the river or stream. Then he went back to work till around 1.30-2.00p.m when he felt the sun was getting too hot. He settled in his hut and prepared another meal, which was much heavier than the first one. This could be in the form of boiled yam if maize had been taken in the morning, or pounded yam irrespective of whether maize or roasted yam had been taken in the morning. When pounded yam was taken, the soup was made from ingredients collected in the bush-palm-nuts squeezed to yield oil, black-pepper (abundantly), and any available

⁴⁴ Gbadegesin.A.S.,(1994)"Agricultural Practices" in M. O. Filani, F. O. Akintola and C. O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P147

⁴⁵ See Gbadegesin,.A.S.,(1994)"Agricultural Practices" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: RexCharles, See also Falola, T, (1989) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan,1893-1945*.Ibadan:Modelor;and see also Falola,T.,(2012)*Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.

vegetable. The presence of meat in the soup depended on whether some bush rats were killed during work or trap set the previous day had caught anything. After this meal, the farmer took a rest and did some hoeing again when the sun was less scorching and prepared to go home. He arrived at the village around after 6.p.m and took a bath. The evening meal was prepared from what he brought from the farm: yams, cassava, cocoyam, potatoes. The general meal for the night was pounded yam (*iyan-ale*), which was finished at any time between 9.00 and 10.00 pm, usually; one pot of soup was prepared for the night with or without meat or fish.⁴⁶

4.3 The Organization and Structure of Rural Farming in Ibadan

At the inception, Ibadan had a robust farming population and majority of them were slaves. These groups of people could be found in almost all the Ibadan tributary areas.⁴⁷ The swelling of population in the city and the constraints of how the expanding city population would be fed necessitated the movement into the virgin land to look for land to farm. Without any doubt, farming was the major occupation of the residents and a notable feature of the city's economy. The city had to be assured of adequate food in the 19th century during warfare and this necessitated farming as farming was regarded as the principal peaceful occupation in which everyone engaged.⁴⁸

The goal to produce food was set aside for various compounds and settlers in Ibadan, as in most Yoruba towns. These compounds and settlers had to look and obtain for themselves not only a piece of land to erect on but also plots for farming within and outside the town walls. Those within the city walls were used for growing light crops and vegetables to feed the inhabitants in case of an emergency while the lands outside the city walls were entirely meant for large scale agriculture and the production of staple produce such as yams, maize, and cassava. In the first few years of Ibadan establishment, the farmlands outside the town walls were not greater than five kilometers from the city centre in Mapo. As population increased, people began to move downward and Ibadan farms scattered over a large area.

⁴⁶ The rural food consumption in Ibadan was quite different from that of their urban counterparts. These were due to the factors mentioned above.

⁴⁷ Udo, R.K., (1994) "Ibadan in its Regional Setting" in Filani. M.O, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo(eds) *Ibadan Region*.Ibadan:Rex Charles.P4

⁴⁸ Awe,B.,(1963)*The Rise of Ibadan*. A Ph.D.Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan,Ibadan.P86

Ibadan farms stretched as far as *Lalupon* and beyond in the northeast, and as far as the town of *Apomu* in the south-east. They were often as far as 30 miles away. This great distance from Ibadan led to the creation all-round the neighborhood of Ibadan of farm villages, which by 1900 numbered as many as a hundred and ninety-three. These farms, however, at a later stage became permanent homes and residences, and they were as a rule regarded primarily as offshoots of the town. Indeed, commuting between them and Ibadan was the common practice if these farms were near, but when they were far away, farmers made them their temporary homes.⁴⁹

The Ibadan Division, which comprised of Ibadan urban and rural areas, was approximately 2,221 square miles in size and lay wholly within the high forest zone. It was also a region of high rainfall and humidity. There were two distinct seasons in the year; the wet season (April-October) when rainfall averaged between 40 and 60 inches annually, and the dry season (November-March) during which rainfall did not usually exceed 20 inches per annum. There was a short dry spell in the rainy season, in August, with a mean of monthly rainfall figures below 4 inches. The warmest months in Ibadan were from February to April and the coolest from July to August. The harmattan-dry, cool, north-easterly wind occurred between November and February when the temperature dropped to 60°f at night. The favorable climatic conditions, coupled with other factors, aided Ibadan farming and food security.⁵⁰

Except for those crops which could grow almost everywhere, for example, maize, the Ibadan rural farmers grew the crops that were best suited for each soil. For decades, Ibadan farmers had been the pillar of the city's agriculture. They produced not only the commercial crops but also most of the staple foods consumed in the city. The soils and climate of the Ibadan region, unlike the savannah ecological zone of the state, were suitable for the production of both arable and cash crops. Some of the agricultural crops produced in rural Ibadan included maize, cassava, fruits, yam, and vegetables.⁵¹ The Farmers made distinctions

⁴⁹ Awe, B., (1963) *The Rise of Ibadan*. A Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. P86

⁵⁰ Oluwasanmi, H.A., (1967) "The Agricultural Environment in the City of Ibadan" in P.C. Lloyd, Awe, B and Mabogunje A.L (eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P27

⁵¹ Gbadegesin, A.S., (1994) "Agricultural Practices" in Filani, M.O, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication. P45

between Ile-Igbo (forest) *Ile-Odan* (the mixed forest) Ile-papa (grassland) and also classified the soils into *Iledu* (black soil) *Ile-Yanrin* (sandy-soil) *amon* (clay-soil) *ebole* (loamy-soil) and *ilero* (sandy-loamy).⁵² Apart from narrow valley bottoms, the land in Ibadan was undulating, and soil ranged from sands to sandy clay. The hummus and the clay fraction of the soil firmly retained important plant nutrient elements, and leaching was not normally intense. These conditions were favorable for the steady microbial decomposition of humus, which took place when the land was cleared from the forest, and there was then an abundance of nitrate.⁵³

In Ibadan, the bulk of food crop production took place under the traditional system without the use of mechanical power. Holdings were small, and the main tools consisted of hoes, cutlasses, and axes. The majority of the village farmers were peasant or small holders with very small piece of land cultivated. Although few among them cultivated big farms to satisfy their needs and produced what surplus they estimated they could sell, exchange or give to friends or dependants. These characteristics and other farm practices had been passed down from one generation to another.⁵⁴

The prevailing system of farming in Ibadan was shifting cultivation. It was also known as bush-fallowing or field-forest economy. It involved short periods of land occupancy and long periods of fallow. The main determinants of the system were the ratio between the length of the time the soil would sustain cultivation with satisfactory results and the period required for the restoration of fertility. In this system, the farmer cultivated a plot of land for about 3-4 years, after which the farmer allowed the land to revert to bush fallow while he cleared and cultivated another plot. The duration of the fallow period depended on the pressure of the population and soil conditions.⁵⁵ The shifting cultivation was based on rotational bush fallow whereby over-utilized farmlands were abandoned for few years to regenerate before being re-cultivated. The basic rotation of four years cultivation and eight years fallow was easily within reach of a population still below the carrying capacity of the

⁵² Falola.T.,(1982)*The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State-Ibadan,1830-1893*.Ibadan. P91

⁵³ Oluwasanmi.H.A.,(1967)"The Agricultural Environment" in P.C.Lloyd,A.L.Mabogunje and B.Awe(eds)*The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.p28

⁵⁴ Guyer,J.,(1997)*An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan,1968-1988*.England:Edinburgh University Press.P143

⁵⁵ Oluwasanmi,H.A.,(1967)"The Agricultural Environment" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe(eds) *The City of Ibadan*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.P29

land, so the extent of expansion was largely a function of labor organization and a demand for a cash income. The fertility of the land depended on how long the farmer could wait before putting it into further use. The farmer shifted on a gradual basis by abandoning the *Are* (dead or overused parts of his land) and cleared an adjacent plot. The size of a farmer's plot depended on much of his access to labor and entrepreneurial ability to organize men to work. A farmer took cognizance of his needs and cultivated sufficient land to meet those needs. When he abandoned a piece of land, he had to work hard to cultivate another piece of comparable size. Thus, there was no danger of a decline in food production whenever a plot was abandoned for another use. The system was able to meet the food requirements of the people and restore soil fertility. It also resisted leaching and minimized the work of weed control. A reasonable long fallow left the soil in the excellent physical condition and restored its nitrogen contents to near their original levels.⁵⁶ The second method was mixed cropping and did not involve the abandonment of land. It was well integrated into the shifting cultivation pattern to make maximum use of the land under cultivation. Different crops that would not be harvested at the same time were grown on the same plot. Thus, a single plot had yam and maize or yam and cassava and each crop being harvested at different times. Mixed cropping, as practiced in Ibadan, had some advantages. It provided more nutrients to the soil and protected the soil from water erosion as each harvested plant was replaced by a new one, which also increased yields through the interaction of supplementary crops. This was practiced in almost every Ibadan village.⁵⁷

In the rural Ibadan, agriculture became the most widely practiced of all occupations as it was regarded as the most primary of all productive activities. Without exception, every lineage had its farmlands. There were at least four main types of fields where Ibadan farmers worked. Each of the fields represented development in the agricultural history of Ibadan. The first was the *Ogba* (garden) located close to the compound and fenced round to prevent animals from making incursions into it. Women and children tended the garden as it was convenient to work close to their homes and planted those things needed to supplement the household needs. Secondly, was the *Akuro*, which were farms, located at the banks of streams or in swamps. The advantage of the *Akuro* laid in its fertile soil deposits. The size of the

⁵⁶ Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. England: Edinburgh University Press. P83.

⁵⁷ Falola, T., (1984) *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State-Ibadan, 1830-1900*. Ile-Ife: University of Ife. P93

Akuro depended on the extent of the bank and swamp where it was practiced. The third method was the *Oko-etile* (the neighborhood farms). These farms were located a few kilometers from the village, where there was abundant fertile soil, which was beyond the reach of domestic animals. As the population grew, so were more incursions made into the virgin land to expand the farming frontiers. This led to the fourth field, *Oko-Egan* (forest), in distant places.⁵⁸

Farming operations followed the same pattern in all the fields. Farm work consisted of clearing land, making heaps, sowing, weeding, and harvesting. The farmers' implements included among others, the long cutlass, knives, axes, hoes, baskets that were locally manufactured in Ibadan city and rural areas.⁵⁹ The compound or lineage farm became the major form of production organization in Ibadan agriculture. The eldest male of the compound or lineage was usually the proprietor who made available the capital, land, and the movement. Labour was also provided collectively. Farm size was not too big while traditional land tenure systems posed a constraint to access to land. Until lately and when the city began to expand, agriculture was considered a notable way of living. As a result, the productive men (those capable of agricultural labor) jointly cultivated the land while the women and the children jointly assisted in sowing and performed other minor works such as scaring birds from the standing crops.⁶⁰

Since factors of production especially land was accessible to all the members of a lineage, no one was regarded as being jobless or unemployed except the lazy ones who were not willing to work. The family lineage was the first form of group farming. All the male members of the farm going age and of the paternal descent worked together throughout the farming year as a team. They were organized, directed, and supervised by the eldest in the family. The proceeds went to the paternal group. The female members were included by birth, by marriage and under their position as domestic staff. This type of group farming was firmly based on blood relationships and descent.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P80

⁵⁹ Oral interview with Mudasiru Owolabi, Farmer. Keji village. 25/6/2017

⁶⁰ Oral interview with Pa Muniru Ajibade of Olugbaye Compound, Idi-Arere, Ibadan. 16-7-2014. Aged 77

⁶¹ Oral Interview with Pa Alimi Akanmu of Odoona-Nla village, Ibadan. 22-6-2013. Aged 83

There were cooperative work groups in Ibadan in the 1920s till around the 1980s. The two major forms of the cooperative workforce were the *Aaro* and the *Owe*. Both systems of labor recruitment were sources of free labor and were not paid for but reciprocated. They also enabled the people to meet heavy obligations by clearing big farms as more work was done through the systems within a short time.⁶² *Aro* as a form of group farming was, in general terms, the rotational of communal labor mainly by agnatic men that were male descendants of the same fore-father. The *Aaro* met the need for many hands to supply the required labour of the period within a short time. It became less prominent during the planting season, which was regarded as a less tedious exercise when women and children supplied part of the labor required.⁶³ *Owe* was another source of group farming, which probably had its origin in the pre-colonial period and persisted. It consisted of a large group of agnatic kin and affine, who worked for food and entertainment. A wealthy man held an *Owe* calling to work on his farm, not only his dependents but others obligated to him, such as his son-in-law. It was usually held at a vital time in the crop cycle, such as making heaps or planting. *Owe* was the largest labor organization in Ibadan and consisted of about 50 or more people, depending on the influence and connection of the man raising it. The pawn system was quite different from that of *Aaro* and *Owe* as it had to do with debts. Pawn or *iwofa*, unlike slaves, offered their services to creditors but were still regarded as freeborn and retained their rights and privileges as full-fledged members of the society. In the early 1940s, wealthy Ibadan indigenes like *Salam Agbaje*, *Akinpelu Obisesan*, and *Adebisi Giwa* used their capital to acquire debt pawns. The pawns worked for these people until the loan secured by their relatives were repaid. These methods of labor were used to augment the labor force and increased the surplus of the creditor. The services rendered were considered as interest on the pawn as the pawn could not be released until the capital had been repaid or acceptable substitute offered. Migrant laborers became available around 1960, and by 1968, the majority of the farmers had most of their farms or new plots cleared and heaped by hired labor, superseding the group exchange labor called *Aaro*, *Owe*, & *Iwofa*. Expanded clearing by hired labor raised the demand for weeding.⁶⁴

⁶² Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*. Ibadan:Bookcraft.P49

⁶³ Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*. Ibadan:Bookcraft.P49

⁶⁴ Guyer,J.,(1997)*An African Niche Economy:Farming to Feed Ibadan,1968-1988*. London:Edinburgh University Press.P78

Ibadan agriculture was complex. There were large number of crops grown, and the degree to which they were inter-planted varied widely. The crops which most farmers planted showed the type of food taken and the balanced diet attached. For example, the dominance of such food crops like cassava and maize was seen in the types of meals taken by the people. The staple foodstuff for breakfast was hot pap or yam, lunch included *garri* paste (*eba*), and yam and cassava paste (*amala* and *lafun*) or pounded yam (*iyam*). The evening meals were usually cold pap. A few palm trees were planted, but most grew wild naturally. Plantain grew with little cultivation and was a staple food in the villages surrounding *Omi-Adio* axis. In Ibadan, yam and maize were always the first crops planted on newly cleared land as they were regarded as exhausting crops needing the richest soil. The choice of crops also depended on the time when the farmer was able to prepare his heaps. Yams were planted in late November at the end of the rains and again in March or April when the rains began. Thus, in Ibadan, if early maize and yams were planted together, the maize was harvested before the yams matured. The Ibadan rural farmers were busy throughout most of the wet season weeding crops. The social organization of Ibadan yam production, particularly in the past, involved a complex inter-digitization of men and women, as well as group and individual assignments.⁶⁵ Cassava had a different technical characteristic and was associated with a different social organization of work. Labor peaks were easily mitigated because it grew without hounds, needed no stake, demanded no marked seasonal attention, and harvested at any time. Cassava yields were also considerably higher per unit labor input than yam yields. Unlike yam, cassava production had little social or cultural elaboration, unlike yam production in Ibadan. It was associated with a relative monopoly by a single person.⁶⁶ The same variation applied to the cereal crops. Maize was characterized by individual and female labor. The farmers grew about six different types of crops. These included root crops such as yam, cocoyam, and cassava. The grain crops included maize and legumes. The tree crops included palm oil, kola, and cocoa. The fruits crops included oranges, while vegetables involved the planting of okra. Of all these, maize, yam, and cassava were the most important

⁶⁵ Guyer.J.,(1961)“Naturalism in Modes of African Production”. *MAN*(19)P373

⁶⁶ Oral interview with Prof. Sulaimon Yusuf, Agricultural Economics Dept. University of Ibadan. Aged 53

because, their processed forms, for example, *eko*, *elubo*, *isu*, were the most cherished meals in Ibadan.⁶⁷

As far as production of root crops were concerned, *Akinyele* and the *Iddo* Local Government areas dominated the production. *Oluyole* and *Ona-Ara* local governments were known to be a major producer of maize. This specialization in food crop production was also reflected in the pattern of trade movements of these crops within the rural and urban areas. Thus, while cassava products were transferred from the surplus area around *Akinyele* and the *Ido* to the city, the movement of maize products, which included dried maize on the cob and the dried grain maize, was usually from the *Oluyole* local government to Ibadan city.⁶⁸

The continuous streams of urban influence are the press, cinema, radio, and television touching the urbanity and the villages with the same stimulations. The introduction of the Western Nigeria Television at Agodi, Ibadan in the year 1959 was not only to entertain the generality of the populace but was saddled with the responsibilities of educating and informing them.⁶⁹ It was a tool that passed official information from the elites to the non-literate. In a nutshell, the mass media were used to influence and transform human life. Generally, people speak of rural development as agricultural development. This is understandable in the sense that almost eighty percent (80%) of the rural population was engaged in agricultural and related activities. Official efforts to increase farm productivity of the peasant farmers involved the application of better technology, diffusion of modern ideas, and organization of work.⁷⁰ Ibadan rural farmers were then introduced to some programmes on television and radio that transmitted new ideas and technologies. The programmes were designed to educate and inform the farmers on new ideas innovations. Such programmes included (*Oba-lagbe*) (*Gbogun-tiyan*) and (*Ere Agbe*) all in NTA, Ibadan). Farmers were

⁶⁷ Oyewole.,B.O.,(2006)"Agro-Food Chains and Sustainable Livelihood: A Study of Cassava Marketing in Nigeria" in Reuben.R. and M.Slingerland (eds)*Agro-Food Chains and Networks for Development*. Netherland..P107

⁶⁸ Gbadegesin,A.S.,(1994)"Agricultural Practices in Ibadan" in Filani,M.O,F.O.Akintola and C.O.Ikporukpo(eds)*Ibadan Region*.Ibadan:Rex Charles.Pp147-148

⁶⁹ Oso,S.I.,(1993) " On Nigerian Television: A Critique of Current Practice". *African Media Review*.Vol.7.No2.P3

⁷⁰ Oso,S.I.,(1993) " On Nigerian Television: A Critique of Current Practice". *African Media Review*.Vol.7.No2.P33

taught how to improve their farms to enhance their income.⁷¹ Rural villages that were electrically connected on the national grid in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990 such as *Odo-Ona-Nla*, *Ajia*, *Keji*, *Orile-Odo*, and *Abanla*, all in the *Oluoyole* Local Council Area benefitted immensely from the mass media programmes.⁷²

4.4 Mechanisms and Stakeholders in Ibadan Food Production and Marketing

The establishment of the numerous farmsteads in Ibadan was one of the most significant developments in the agricultural history of the post-1850 era. It created a rural economy distinct from the urban. The major occupation in the farmsteads was farming, and the villagers were closely tied with the capital to form an economic zone from where the Ibadan metropolis drew foodstuffs to feed its urban population.⁷³ The argument for developing villages and towns was based on central place theory, which is implicitly concerned with the linkages between places. The theory is based on the relationship between the city and the hinterland and how development could radiate from the centre to the bottom in a hierarchical nature.⁷⁴

The urban development of Ibadan served as an impetus of trade. It made trade inevitable and encouraged division of labor and economic specialization. Markets came into existence in Ibadan as a function of the division of labor, so that those who concentrated on the production of one item might obtain the products of others.⁷⁵ Ibadan had an urban population that required greater demands for food crops. The traditional agricultural marketing was designed to accommodate participation from all the members of the society irrespective of specialization of duties performed.⁷⁶ The marketing system was required to

⁷¹ Oral Interview with Mrs Shade Hastrup, of the Nigerian Television Authority, Ibadan. 16-8-2015. Aged 64

⁷² Oral Interview with Chief Muibi Adepoju, Former Executive Chairman, Oluoyole Local Government, Idi-Ayunre, Ibadan.

⁷³ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P80

⁷⁴ Pedersen. P.O., (1980) "The Role of Small Rural Towns in Development" in Baker J. (ed) *Small Town Africa: Studies in Rural Urban Interaction*. Upsalla: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. P100

⁷⁵ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P96.

⁷⁶ Hays, M.A., (1976) "Rural Markets and Development: Agricultural Marketing in Northern Nigeria". *Savannah*. vol. 5. NO2. p139

assemble these small quantities and transport them to the nearest outlet for sale either to the local community or to the urban areas.⁷⁷

Market, therefore, was regarded as an indicator of centrality.⁷⁸ In Ibadan, production had not completed until the products got to the final consumers. The act of buying and selling of products normally happened in the market. At times in Ibadan, the use of money for exchange was replaced with the use of non-market institutions such as institutionalized arrangement for the allocation of goods and services from one person to another without the beneficiary paying or giving anything in return. These non-market institutions took many forms including making available the needs of a household by the family head in conformity with the mode of production. Others included gift-giving during social, religious, and political ceremonies. All of this involved allocation, distribution, and re-distribution of wealth and goods in the community.⁷⁹

In Ibadan, the marketing network started with the farmer who produced the crops. Many of them brought their crops to the market in individual head loading with the assistance of some members of their household who had to walk many kilometers at times before getting to the market.⁸⁰ The products were usually unbundled in the market by the market helpers and handed over to the wholesalers who took over and assisted the farmer sold his crops to the traders. The farmers also stored some of these farm products for seed and household consumption while some were set aside for gifts.⁸¹ The farmers sometimes disposed directly to other households. This marketing process was known as household trade and was carried out by the producers or their wives who played the role of sole proprietorship in the exchange and received all the profits in the transactions. This form of exchange,

⁷⁷ Hays, M.A., (1976) *Ibid*.... p.139.

⁷⁸ Bromley, R.J., (1984) "Market Center Analysis in the Urban Functions in Rural Development Approach" in Kammer, H.D. and S.J. Swan. (eds) *Equity with Growth? Planning Perspectives for Small Town in Developing countries*. Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology. P295

⁷⁹ Falola, T., (1982) *Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1893*. P104

⁸⁰ Oral Interview with Dr Babatunde Esan, Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) Ibadan on 22/01/2012.

⁸¹ Oral Interview with Dr Babatunde Esan, Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) Ibadan on 22/01/2012.

though, very essential in the day to day economic activities of Ibadan did not allow significant amount of farm produce reaching the outside community.⁸²

The major distribution channels in Ibadan had various intermediaries that shuttled between the city and the rural areas to perform certain functions including storage, assembly, transport, and sales. Basic foodstuff movement involved many intermediaries from the hinterlands to the city. Farmer took his farm produce directly to the village markets through indigenous means of transportation or local assembler who marketed after arriving at the rural market. Historically, the farmer as the first contact of operation got into the chain by attending local market place designed for the purpose of buying and selling. The wholesalers or middlemen went to the rural areas to purchase agricultural produce in bulk. The effect of this was that most of the local marketers in the village markets were ignored from buying from the farmers. This was very rampant in the *Ona-Ara* Local Government villages, especially in the bigger ones such as *Badeku*, *Jago*, and *Gbedun*. The farm produce was then placed in an empty basket or containers separated from other products, and the village retailers measured it and sold it. The producer or local assembler that brought the farm products received the money and paid commission in kind or cash to the village retailer for his service.⁸³

Also, at the village level, rural assemblers supplied empty sacks or containers and hired lorry transporters to convey the farm products from the main market to the urban market. The Rural Assembler also had to pay for loading at the rural market and unloading at the urban market. The transporter only provided transport and received a fee on a unit volume basis. When a lorry transporter arrived at a rural market, a market official took charge of organizing the loading of his lorry for him. This market official also received a fee from the lorry transporter. Rural Assemblers usually rode with their produce to urban markets where a wholesaler sold such produce.⁸⁴

⁸² Oral Interview with Dr Suleiman Yusuf of the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. On 15/02/2012.

⁸³ Oral Interview with Alhaji Gbadamosi Ogunniyi of Badeku Village, Ona-Ara Local Government, Akanran. Date: 23/02/2012.

⁸⁴ Oral interview with Alhaja Sidikatu Ajagbe of the Oja'ba market, Ibadan. Aged 67. 19/11/2017

The middlemen were important as a link in the food marketing chain, and farmers considered their services very essential to the marketing process.⁸⁵ It was revealed that hardly any foodstuff was sold in the wholesale or retail markets without the transactions being handled by the middlemen. Most of the middlemen in Ibadan were petty traders experienced in the art of haggling. The chief middleman was charged with the responsibility of settling disputes that arose between traders and intermediaries or among intermediaries and ensured the smooth running of the market mechanisms. He had the authority after consultation with the other middlemen to admit new intermediaries.⁸⁶ Ibadan farmers at times brought their farm produce to the place of the wholesalers of their choice as the crops were unbundled and displayed for sales by the wholesalers. The middlemen were better in bargaining and the farmers relied so much on them in selling their farm products. They were known to be better judges of the prices the traders offered to sell their crops.⁸⁷

Other groups in the marketing networks included the load carrier (*alabaru*) and some others whose responsibilities were also vital. They played major roles in the smooth operation of the system and exchange. These included the Assistants, who helped to unload the farmers' crops on arrival at the market, and some helped to pack the crops for intermediaries and the same group also sown up the bags in such a way that some ventilation was provided. On the other hand, the interlocking movements of rural periodic market systems embody the essence of central place theory. On this note, markets are not in any theoretical sense, places; but a group of people and goods meeting at a particular place and at a particular time for business activities.⁸⁸ Thus, the markets in which the Yoruba carried on their trade activities were located in or near every type of settlement. The basic type of settlement in Yoruba land was a large town surrounded by settlements of smaller size and subordinate political ties. In what are essentially the farmlands for towns are located villages and dispersed hamlets (*aba*).

⁸⁵ Jackson. J.C., (1979) "Daily Fresh Food Markets in Greater Kuala Lumpur". *Pacific Viewpoint*. Vol 20: No1. P7

⁸⁶ Antonio.Q.B.O.,(1978) "The Supply and Distribution of Yams in Ibadan". *Nigeria Journal of Economics and Social Studies*. 9. P36

⁸⁷ Oral Interview with Alhaja Mulikatu Amole,Trader,Oja'gbo,Ibadan.Aged:71.17/2/2016

⁸⁸ Smith. R.H.T., (1979) "Periodic Markets-Places and Periodic Marketing: Review and Prospect". *Human Geography*. Vol 3. No 4. P471

The former was a more autonomous and more permanent type of settlement. There are then two types of locations where markets are found, namely, in towns and farmland areas.⁸⁹

As the city began to expand, old markets were expanded and new ones were created to fill the gaps created by large demands from the populace.⁹⁰ Traditionally, most of the important markets in Ibadan were established close to the compounds of the chiefs. Some of them were located on the outskirts of the town and places leading to the farmsteads. Some of these markets included *Oja'gbo*, *Ibuko (Bode)*, and *Agodi*. In the city, internal markets thrived as a result of high demands and the wide network of exchange between the city and the rural hinterlands.⁹¹

The village market was perhaps the most important single type of local market in Yoruba-land, which, though highly urbanized by West African standards, was predominantly rural and had a density of rural population averaging some 180 persons to the square mile.⁹² The term rural here applied only to those markets situated in villages and to those who were open plots surrounded by cultivated and fallow farmlands, hamlets, and villages.⁹³ Some of these rural markets included *Badeku*, *Jago*, *Idi-Ayunre*, *Bare*, *Iroko*, *Onidundun*, *Omi-Adio*, *Ido*, *Iyana-Ofa*, *Lalupon*, *Erunmu*, and *Egbeda*. In the village settlements, the specific locations of markets relied on the type of products offered for sale.⁹⁴

The Ibadan rural markets were periodic and met every five days or every nine days. Throughout the farmland areas, they were within three to ten miles of each other and operated in what was termed market rings. Every type of produce grown in the areas surrounding the markets was found in a natural state or a processed form. For example, yams were sold as

⁸⁹ Alberta. M.G., (1964) *Women, Trade, and the Yoruba Family*. A Ph.D Thesis in Anthropology submitted to the Colombia University. P95

⁹⁰ Filani. M.O. and Iyun. B.F., (1994) "Market" in Filani M.O, F.O. Akintola, and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P171

⁹¹ Alberta. G.M.,(1964) *Women, Trade and the Yoruba Family*. A Ph.D. Thesis in Anthropology submitted to the Colombia University. P94

⁹² Hodder,B.W.,(1962)"The Yoruba Rural Market" in P.Bhannan and G.Danton (eds) *Makets in Africa*. London: Northwestern University.P105

⁹³ Hodder,B.W.,(1962)"The Yoruba Rural Market" in P.Bhannan and G.Danton (eds) *Makets in Africa*. London: Northwestern University.P105

⁹⁴ Oral Interview with Dr Sulaiman Yusuf, Agric Economics Department, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. Date: 07/02/2012.

they came from the ground, or in the form of yam flour (*elubo*) that is, in slices which had been pre-cooked and dried in the sun.⁹⁵

The rural markets in Ibadan were divided into two, namely, isolated and accessible rural markets. The reason for this was the level and extent of transportation network between the city and the village. The isolated rural markets were not easily accessible to motor traffic. However, such markets served local and distant rural residents. Foot was the major means of transportation. These markets though constrained by transportation problem were well attended. One unique attribute of these markets was the fact that they were majorly attended by women. Transactions were accomplished through the use of village retailers who received a small commission for bringing together the buyer and the seller.⁹⁶ Examples of these markets were found in the *Oluyole* Local Government area of Ibadan, such as *Akintola-Ogbun*, *Olowa*, *Fadiya*, *Obepi*, and *Alapata*, among many others.⁹⁷

The second category of the village market was the accessible rural markets. These markets served the rural areas and the local community. The accessible rural markets were located near a motorable road. These accessible rural markets became the place for taking farm produce to be taken to the urban centre. These markets facilitated the movement of farm goods to the city from the village.⁹⁸ Urbanization in Ibadan assisted these rural markets transportation network and this afforded the city wholesalers to be present in some of these markets at intervals. The middlemen from the town came to the hinterland and informed the farmers of the market situation. These markets usually met at intervals.⁹⁹

Seasonal differences in the hinterland markets were perhaps most noticeable in the kind and origin of farm produce sold rather than in the number of people attending the markets. Local foodstuffs for sale had seasonal characteristics following the time of the yam and maize harvests and the production of palm-oil. There was usually a shortage of food from January to May and at *Akinyele* market, the source of local foodstuffs at that time was frequently as distant as *Iseyin* (for *elubo* and *isu*.) Nevertheless, the size of markets was

⁹⁵ Hodder.B.W.,(1962)“The Yoruba Rural Market” in P.Bohannan and G.Dalton((eds)*Markets in Africa*. London: Northwestern University.P108.

⁹⁶ Oral Interview with Baale Adenihun Oladipo of Abanla Vilage,Oluyole Local Government,Idi Ayunre,Ibadan.Aged:81

⁹⁷ Oral Interview with Baale Adenihun Oladipo of Abanla Vilage,Oluyole Local Government,Idi Ayunre,Ibadan.Aged:81

⁹⁸ Oral Interview with Dr Sulaimon Yussuf of the department of Agricultural Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

affected by some factors such as the occurrence of festivals like *Ileya* and *Egungun* and by the success or failure of food crops.¹⁰⁰ The network of supply involved the movement of goods from the farms into the surrounding periodic markets from which the goods were collected and brought into Ibadan, either by head loading to the morning feeder markets or by lorry to the day markets. In some cases, the farmer by-passed the periodic market altogether, especially when he lived near to Ibadan.¹⁰¹ An example of a crop that moved in this way was *garri*. It was prepared in the farms by grating, pressing, drying and sieving of cassava and was probably the most commonly consumed foodstuff in the city. *Garri* from the farms near Ibadan was brought into the surrounding periodic markets and then into the morning feeder or day markets in Ibadan. When the distance was not great, head loading of small quantities was practiced, but, when the quantities were large, and involved great distance, lorry transport was always used, and the *garri* deposited at *Oritamerin*, *Mapo*, *Oja'ba*, and *Bodija* markets.¹⁰² Examples of these markets in rural Ibadan included *Abanla*, *Mamu*, *Alata*, *Oyedeji*, *Lagun*, *Omi-Adio*, *Tesan-Erunmu*, *Kasumu*, and *Owoobale* among many others.¹⁰³

Urban markets served as distributive centers for certain types of non-food items for tributary areas. Once farm produce got to the city market, they were handled by a large number of wholesalers and retailers. The middlemen also transported agricultural food crops from the town to the region. The wholesalers had the power to fix prices as a result of their financial capacity to buy in bulk and keep for selling in the future or at off-season.¹⁰⁴

Physical and permanent facilities were provided and available at the urban markets than the rural ones because of the larger quantity of goods and peoples attendance. Most

⁹⁹ Oral Interview with Dr Sulaimon Yussuf of the department of Agricultural Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

¹⁰⁰ Hodder, B.W., (1962). P114 "The Yoruba Rural Market" in P. Bhanan and G. Danton (eds) *Markets in Africa*. London: Northwestern University. P106

¹⁰¹ Filani, M.O. and P. Richards., (1976) "Periodic Market Systems and Rural Development: The Ibarapa Case Study, Nigeria". *Savanna*. Vol. 5. No. 2. P151

¹⁰² Hodder. B.W., (1967) "The Markets in Ibadan" in Lloyd. P.C., A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The city of Ibadan*. London: Cambridge University press. P184

¹⁰³ Alberta. G.M., (1964) *Women, Trade, and the Yoruba Family*. A Ph.D Thesis submitted in Anthropology, Columbia University. P99

¹⁰⁴ For more information on rural market activities see Hodder, B.W., (1962) *The Yoruba Rural Market*, see also, Hodder, B.W. (1967) *The markets in Ibadan in the city of Ibadan*, see also Falola, T. (Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945).

market stalls in Ibadan had locks that provided security for storage.¹⁰⁵ Within the city of Ibadan in some decades ago, there were only two-periodic markets, both of which were held at 8th day's intervals; *Ibuko(Bode)* market at the southern edge of the town on the main Lagos road, and *Oje*, lying just off the main road leading in from north-east. These two periodic markets took place on successive days in such a way that the *Ibuko* market immediately followed *Oje* market days. In composition and functions, they differed radically as *Ibuko* retained the characteristics of periodic markets in any rural part of Yoruba-land, being primarily a wholesale collecting point for foodstuff from a source area extending for about thirty miles to the south of Ibadan.¹⁰⁶

Most of the urban markets in Ibadan were daily markets and of four types: morning, day, night, and periodic markets. The morning markets included *Ago-Taylor*, *Eleyeile*, *Idi-Ape*, *Agugu*, *Elekuro*, *Ibuko*, *Apata*, *Orita-Challenge*, and the rest. These morning markets operated between 7 a.m and 11 a.m and were best looked upon as feeder markets. They served primarily as regular daily meeting places for the city and countryside traders. Farm produce including yams and cassava were brought in together with cooking materials such as palm-oil, firewood, and wrapping leaves.¹⁰⁷ The traditional associations of many of these morning feeder markets were indicated by their location on, or very near the old town wall. *Agugu*, for instance, lied only a few yards inside the old wall and, according to tradition, were begun some more than a hundred years ago during the inter-tribal war as a collecting point for goods from outside the town. These markets functioned as important meeting places between town and countryside. As far as firewood, perishable wrapping leaves, and green vegetables were concerned, these daily morning feeder markets were essential to the life of the city.¹⁰⁸ The prevalence of certain goods in the morning feeder markets reflected the districts from which the farm women came. *Elekuru* market, for instance, was noted for

¹⁰⁵ Oral Interview with Mrs Susan Onarinde, civil servant, Ibadan. Aged: 63. 18/4/2018

¹⁰⁶ These were two important ancient markets in Ibadan established for food distribution.

¹⁰⁷ Hodder, B.W., (1967) "The Markets of Ibadan" in Lloyd. P.C., A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds) *The Ibadan City*. London: Cambridge University Press. P.171-178

¹⁰⁸ Hodder, B.W., (1967) "The Yoruba Rural Market" in P.Bhannan and G.Danton (eds) *Markets in Africa*. London: Northwestern University. P178

palm-oil and laid at the junction of the *Akanran-Olojuoro* roads leading from the main palm-oil-producing areas to the south-west of the town.¹⁰⁹

The day markets in Ibadan were by far the most impressive in the town and were mainly located around *Dugbe* axis, closed to the railway station in the West of the town, to *Oja'ba* in the center of the old town. These markets included *Oranyan, Oja'ba, Agugu, Labo, Oja-igbo, Oje, Atanda-oranyan, Mokola, Agbowo, Sango, Odeo'lo, Elekuro, Ile-tuntun, Ibuko, Apata-ganga, Desalu, Araromi, Oke-Ado, Gege, Sabo, Ayeye, Idi-ishin, Eleyele, Olomi, Olorunsogo, Ojo, Sasa*. Traditional markets were scattered all over Ibadan city. *Oja'ba* and *Orita-Merin*, which were the two most oldest and indigenous cities in Ibadan were situated in the traditional core area of the city. These markets were recognized as the city's traditional Central Business District (CBD), and they were closer to the modern Central Business Districts (CBD) in the *Gbagi* area. The main function of these marketing complexes was quite different from that of *Dugbe*, in that, the bulk of these markets were devoted to the collection and wholesale buying and selling of foodstuffs from over a very wide area of Yoruba-land, such as Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa.¹¹⁰

The night markets in Ibadan were classified into two. They included the central night market of *Oja'ba* and other smaller local night markets that were situated in almost every quarter of the city at an interval of about half a mile. *Oja'ba* night market was simply one part of the main *Oja'ba* main market site and characterized by the same economic and social functions where food crops and processed foods were obtained at a lower quantity. A major function of these night markets was the distribution of ready-made dishes, cooked meals, and small items of food to people living in the neighborhoods of the market site. These markets were fed by the morning feeder markets and large day markets from where women purchased foodstuffs like maize, yams, cassava flour, cooking materials such as palm oil as well as firewood and leaves for wrapping the food. Many of these women spent most of the day processing the foodstuffs into ready-made dishes like bean bread, *eko, amala, eba, or dundun* for sale in these local night market. This kind of night markets explained Ibadan food habit in which the bulk of food taken was not prepared at home. The normal practice was for

¹⁰⁹ Hodder, B.W., (1967) "The Yoruba Rural Market" in P.Bhannan and G.Danton (eds) *Markets in Africa*. London: Northwestern University. P178

¹¹⁰ Filani, M.O. and Iyun, B.F., (1994) "Markets" in Filani, M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P172

members of a family to eat breakfast at a cooked food stall in the morning while the midday food was partly prepared at home and the evening meal in the local night markets.¹¹¹

The urban retailers operated in Ibadan metropolis and they hawked on major streets in the city. They also hawked in some residential areas and formed part of the retail market. The effect of this was that urban poor had access to most of these farm produce within their localities. This type of market was free from any regulatory impediments and were not required to join any market association or paid any dues except small money paid to the local government council area.¹¹²

The term gauge in Ibadan was used by the local yam traders to define a specific wholesale quantity. It was, in fact, a volume measure. The average weight of one gauge was estimated at 1.7 tons. By volume, a gauge took up one-third of the space in a 5ton lorry. An average gauge contained about 1,200yams (medium size). Different measures were used in selling yams in Ibadan, for example, they were counted in heaps such as *Ile* (3tubers), *Oji* (40tubers), *Orun* (100tubers) and *Ofa*(120tubers).¹¹³ The *garri* supply system for urban centers like Ibadan constituted a significant sector of the city food market.¹¹⁴ The *garri* traders in (*Bodija* and *Orita'merin*) were divided into three. These comprised traders who processed cassava into *garri* and brought the *garri* into urban markets to resell (*oloko*). The second sets of traders (*alarobo*) were those who purchased *garri* in the neighbouring cities and surrounding hinterlands and brought it to the city markets for both the retailers and consumers to purchase while the third set was those who purchased *garri* in the urban markets from other traders to retail (*oniremi*).¹¹⁵ The traders were usually in the market early at dawn until late at night, market, and they appeared strikingly similar despite differences in

¹¹¹ Alberta,G.M., (1964) "*Women, Trade, and the Yoruba Family*" A Ph.D Thesis submitted in Anthropology, Colombia University. P106

¹¹² Oral interview with Madam Alice Bamgbola, Vegetable seller, C.R.I.N, Ibadan. Aged:51.

¹¹³ Anthonio,Q.B.O.,(1968)"The Supply and Distribution of Yams in Ibadan". *Nigeria Journal of Economics and Social Studies*.9.P34

¹¹⁴ Wan,M.T.,(2001) "*Secrets of Success, Uncertainty, Profits and Prosperity in the Garri Economy of Ibadan,1992-1994*".*Africa*.71.P225

¹¹⁵ Wan,M.T.,(2001)"*Secrets of Success, Uncertainty, Profits and Prosperity in the Garri Economy of Ibadan,1992-1994*".*Africa*.P230.

the regional affiliations and trading levels.¹¹⁶ Leafy vegetables such as *ewedu* and *efo*, besides tomato, were crucial to Ibadan food economy. They were so important that they provided daily income for the growers and the marketers alike. These food crops were mainly grown largely as commercial crops by the small scale farmers in the surrounding villages of Ibadan around the streams such as *Odo-Ona-Nla*, *Odo-Ona-Kekere*, *Odo-Ona-Elewe*, *Kudeti*, *Dandaru*, and *Ogunpa*.¹¹⁷

The growth and expansion of Ibadan, like most large cities around the world, have both been influenced to a considerable extent by its transport networks. Adesanya. A describes “Transport as one of the infrastructures that promote the closest interaction of urban-rural areas and a pre-requisite for moving people, goods, and services quickly and economically”.¹¹⁸ The cities import many of their basic requirements such as foodstuffs, and in turn, export manufactured goods and other centralized services to other urban centers and countryside. Thus, the spatial linkage by any given city and its surrounding region depends mostly on the degree of its transportation connections with the region. The increasing pace of urbanization in Ibadan resulted in greater request for local food local agricultural produce. This urged and energized the rural economy of the hinterland and led in particular to a steady expansion of the agricultural sector, vis-a-vis the other aspects of the rural economy.¹¹⁹ In the Ibadan tributary areas, no remarkable development was made in marketing until transportation was improved. The lack of efficient transportation network placed heavy and severe constraints on the agents saddled with the responsibility of moving supplies from the interior to the consumption center as feeder roads were neglected in many areas.¹²⁰

Before the introduction of the modern means of transportation, commercial and business transactions between the town and the countryside were made through caravans

¹¹⁶ Wan, M.T., (2001) “Secrets of Success, Uncertainty, Profits and Prosperity in the Garri Economy of Ibadan, 1992-1994”. *Africa*. P230

¹¹⁷ Oral interview with Madam Sariyu Akano, Vegetable seller, Orita Challenge, Ibadan. 4-8-2014, Aged 62

¹¹⁸ Adesanya, A., (2015) Transport in Ibadan in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P117

¹¹⁹ Bromley, R.J., (1971) “Markets in the Developing Countries” *Geography*. Vol.52.No.251. P129

¹²⁰ Adesanya, A., (2015) “Transport in Ibadan” in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P118

(especially long-distance journeys) and human portage.¹²¹ This indigenous transport system that serviced trade for years was not enough for the anticipation expansion of cash crops. Thus, the caravan was replaced by the fleet of Lorries, and the train as head portage constituted an important means of farm to market movements. A notable portion of the various foodstuffs that entered the city's daily and periodic markets came by head loading, particularly those from the surrounding rural villages. The railways received more attention than roads as it facilitated the movement of products which were laying waste for want of transportation in the hinterland.¹²² The construction of railways in Ibadan was remarkable as part of the government policies to open both the rural and the urban areas. The Railway line that reached Ibadan in 1901 facilitated the expansion of transportation networks. It also helped in promoting urban-rural food supply and livelihood. The railway line that passed through some villages in Ibadan like *Omi-Adio*, *Apata*, *Olodo*, *Owobale*, and *Erunmuu* allowed some rural food producers to evacuate their food crops to the periodic markets for immediate sale. The principal and major commodities transported to Ibadan through this medium included livestock and other various foodstuffs.¹²³ In the Ibadan-Iwo axis, villages such as *Lagun*, *Oyedeki*, *Iyanna-Offa*, *Lalupon*, functioned as periodic markets to various villages within 10kms where urban traders shuttled to get foodstuffs for the urban populace.¹²⁴

The revolution in the transportation system in the 1930s was remarkable in the economic history of Ibadan. It brought some villages closer to the city. In the 1930s and 1940s, four groups dominated the transport business services in Ibadan. They were the Nigerian Railway Motor Transport Services (NRMTS), which was conceived to feed the railways with foodstuffs and people from the feeder roads. Others included Government Motor Transport (GMT), Nigerian Motor Company (NMC), a division of Messer Miller Brother, and the indigenous transporters. In 1921, a wealthy Ibadan entrepreneur, *Salami Agbaje*, started a motor service on major trade routes that linked Ibadan with *Ikire*, *Ife*, *Oyo*, *Osogbo*, and *Ilesha*. Most of the villages along these major routes enjoyed the services of

¹²¹ Bromley, R.J., (1971) "Markets in the Developing Countries" *Geography*. Vol.52.No.251. P34

¹²² Bromley, R.J., (1971) "Markets in the Developing Countries" *Geography*. Vol.52.No.251.P35

¹²³ Adebayo.M.K.O.,(2010)*Itan Ilu Omi-Adio ati Opa-Ogun Ibadan*.Ibadan:Goldfield.p62.

¹²⁴ Oral interview with Pa Kasali Alamu,Lagun village,Ibadan.5-7-2017.Aged 77

Salami Agbaje's transport company in moving their food crops to Ibadan.¹²⁵ Other Ibadan indigenes that joined Transport Company in the 1950s and 1960s were Akinpelu Obisesan, Adebisi Giwa, Messer Dawodu, and the Oke-Owo motors. Their participation in the transport company was highly recognized for moving farm produce from the countryside to the city. Akinpelu Obisesan, an indigene of *Aperin* village in the *Akanran* area of Ibadan also became a notable transporter and operated largely along *Olorunsogo-Olunloyo-Akanran* axis. Some villages such as *Gbedun* and *Jago* benefitted immensely from the project. Few other private entrepreneurs including Ajikobi, Oriolowo and Odukale provided public transport in the mid-60s. In 1964, the Ibadan City Council established a bus service to relieve some of the burdens associated with transportation. The bus service was the first of its kind in the then Western State and was managed by Mr. J.O Adepoju.¹²⁶

Most of the roads built in the 1960s were not adequate enough to cater for the transportation needs of the people. The diminishing returns and the dilapidated nature of most of these roads affected the linkages existing between the city and the village. A larger part of the feeder roads had been washed away by rain and were not instantly repaired as a result of less human resources caused by rural-urban movement. Finance was also a major obstacle for the non-performance of the transport network as it was revealed that Salami Agbaje and Adebisi Giwa reported to be so rich to buy anything money could buy complained that the constraint to their business expansion was finance.¹²⁷

Efforts to boost transportation system in the city brought about the introduction of the Oyo State Trans-City Transport Corporation (TCTC), which commenced operations in July 1988 with a small fleet of Mercedes Benz 0365. The introduction of TCTC was significant in the areas of food and personnel movement between the city and the surrounding villages. Most of the buses of the TCTC shuttled between the city and the hinterland along the major cities including *Abeokuta, Iwo, Oyo, Ife, and Ijebu-Ode*. The impact of this was monumental

¹²⁵ Adesanya,A.,(2015)"Transport in Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan:Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P118 See also Guyer,J.,(1997)*An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan,1968-1988*.London:Edinburgh University Press.P22

¹²⁶ Adesanya,A.,(2015)"Transport in Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan:Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P125

¹²⁷ Filani, M.O., (1994) "Transportation" in Filani, M.O., F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P.179

as rural farmers who were hitherto head loaded their food produce to the main road had no further difficulties in transporting their produce to the city of Ibadan. The rates charged by these buses were lesser than that of private and other commercial cabs. The residents of *Olowa, Onigambari, Onipe, Busogboro*, that specialized in perishable products like vegetables and tomatoes benefitted immensely from being closer to the main road that linked Ibadan and *Ijebu-Ode*. The TCTC also had a tremendous impact on the transportation sector in both the city and the surrounding rural areas.¹²⁸ Transport also generated employment for local people- drivers, apprentices, loaders, mechanics, and many more.¹²⁹

The result of full utilization of resources and efficiency in agricultural production and distribution could not be underestimated. In Ibadan, some of the agricultural projects that were difficult for individual to perform were collectively done by a group of family members. This lineage and communal mode of production of pulling together of the both human and material resources was a remarkable way of farming operation in Ibadan and it aided and enhanced crop production and supply significantly. The people of *Jago, Araoye, Gbedun, Akanran, Badeku* in the *Ona-Ara* and *Onipe, Alata, Obembe, Alapata* in the *Oluyole* Local Governments respectively formed producer and consumer cooperative societies to hire modern farming equipment from the Oyo State Ministry of Agriculture and their respective local council areas, purchase seedlings and fertilizers and hired tractors. They also used the cooperative to buy in bulk inputs like fertilizer, seedlings, and chemicals. These were done to enhance their income and relieve them of some constraints that were difficult for individuals to surmount.¹³⁰

In Ibadan, some men and women who had native intelligence to deal with issues were appointed or selected to manage the affairs of some markets. They were regarded as elders in the market and they formed the market committee. Most of the trade associations were market-based, women or men selling the same commodities. At *Dugbe* and *Mokola* markets where there were some non-Yoruba traders, associations based on ethnic group affiliations

¹²⁸ Wan, M., (2001) "Secrets of Success, Uncertainty, Profits and Prosperity in the Garri Economy of Ibadan, 1992-1994". *Africa*.71:2. P225

¹²⁹ Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. London: Edinburgh University Press. P84

¹³⁰ Oral interview with Dr Suleiman Yusuf of the Agric Economics Department, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. 13/7/2016

crossed-cut those based on commodity line or constituted sub-divisions of those based on commodity line.¹³¹ When a market was situated in the village, it was the *Baale* and his chiefs who, on market days, attended to the affairs of rural markets. The *Baale* (village head) and his subordinates had the right to collect produce from the farmers and farm women. This was remuneration in kind for the use of the market. The state and the elders had the prerogative to declare when holidays were to be observed in the market based on the circumstances of the period. The cancellation of the presidential elections that was held in the country which eventually culminated into crisis between the NRC-SDP in 1993, markets were closed, and this posed a threat to food supply transaction and livelihood strategies. The rural producers were also restricted from transferring their products to the urban markets, partly on fuel scarcity and the danger associated with movement.¹³²

4.5 Rural-Urban Migrations and Income Generation in Ibadan

Migration is defined as the mobility of man from one geographical place to the other for different purposes including economic, social, and political, environmental and many more.¹³³ The concept of migration was not new in Ibadan. Traditionally, Ibadan is full of accounts on human movement between the village and the city. This began from the founding of the city as a refugee center. The city was also seen as a convergence of migrants from various parts of Yoruba-land. Among the different Yoruba people that moved to Ibadan as refugees were the *Egba*, *Ijebu*, and the *Ife* and *Oyo*.¹³⁴ After inflicting a crushing defeat on the *Ife* forces about 1830.c the strongest among them, the *Oyo*-Yoruba forces asserted its supremacy in the settlement. They operated an open door policy towards settlers and this act encouraged the rapid peopling of the city. It was particularly attractive for refugees from the war-torn northern part of Yoruba country and for other people as well.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Oral interview with Madam Agnes Ukoh, Trader, Mokola, Ibadan. Aged 54

¹³² Oral interview with Dr Sulaimon Yusuf of the Department of Agric Economics, University of Ibadan.

¹³³ Mitra, A. and Murayama, M., (2008) *Rural to Urban Migration: A Level Analysis for India*. Jetro: Institute of Developing Economies. P1

¹³⁴ Afolayan. A. A., (1994) "Migration, Social links and Residential Mobility in the Ibadan region: A case study of Sasa and Ojoo Residents" in Filani, M.O, Akintola, F.O and Ikporukpo, C.(eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P136

¹³⁵ Olaniyi, R., (2015) "Economic History of Ibadan" in D.Layiwola(ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Text and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P42

It could be argued that previous migratory processes in Ibadan took various forms and directions and were facilitated by different reasons or factors. The oldest residential areas were established on the hills away from the flood plains, while the surrounding areas were used as farmlands. As at that period, the town walls marked the boundary of the settlement. The earliest immigrants were permitted by the chiefs to pick plots for erecting their buildings and were allowed to farm within the fenced city. With an increase in the population, settlers had to build their houses down the slopes, until they reached the flood plains. They also had to look for farmlands outside the enclosed settlement. The Ibadan system of farming in the pre-colonial period was a factor for mobility.¹³⁶

Ibadan with long traditions of population movement encouraged trade between the city and the countryside. The distance trade was, therefore, among the earliest evidence of migratory process between the city, the countryside, and the neighboring settlements. The pre-colonial migration movements in Ibadan were oriented towards trade, labor, and agriculture.¹³⁷ Mobility for agriculture and trade gained more recognition in the colonial era. This came to fore as a result of the relative peace enjoyed in Ibadan at the end of the internecine wars that ravaged major part of the region as well as the development of better lines of communication and transportation. The development in the city economies also increased movement within and into the city.¹³⁸

The monetization of Ibadan economy by the colonialists heralded a new era and played vital roles in the relationship between the city and the villages. The economies of the both spatial sectors were fused and linked and this made it possible for the economies to be integrated with the global economies.¹³⁹

The city of Ibadan was founded either for administrative and industrial reasons and to serve the colonial masters. The establishment of financial, commercial, and government official houses by British aided Ibadan's employment opportunities. The seat of power of the

¹³⁶ Akinola.R.A., (1963) "Ibadan Region". *Nigeria Geographical Journal*.Vol6 No2.P106

¹³⁷ Filani. M. O.,(1994)"Transport in Ibadan" in M.O. Filani, Akintola, F. O. and Ikporukpo, C. O.(eds)*Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P180

¹³⁸ Udo. R. K., (1994)"Ibadan in its Regional setting" in Ibadan Region (eds) Filani, M. O, Akintola, F. O. and Ikporukpo. C. O. (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P11

¹³⁹ Falola. T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P451

western region was Ibadan. The city, therefore, became a veritable location for people seeking for employment.¹⁴⁰

Ibadan continued to attract people from the tributary areas as a result of its relative affluence and influence after the nation's independence in 1960. The city emerged as a meeting place for people of different origins. In 1976, Ibadan also emerged as the capital city of Oyo State and became a dominant center known for migration from other places as a result of inequality in the economic development of the country. The urban bias of development was evident in Ibadan on social infrastructure and basic amenities including education, water, health, sanitation, and social services. Rural dwellers were constraint with high levels of risk, fluctuating and low incomes, and non-availability of social and financial services. The urban area, on the other provided an avenue for economic emancipation.¹⁴¹

The oil boom of the seventies though facilitated the growth of physical development and infrastructure, however, resulted in the movement of the young abled ones to the city.¹⁴² The immediate result of this was a drop in crop production and livelihood in the hinterlands.¹⁴³ However, in Ibadan, migrants in the city saw themselves as an integral member of their original family in the village. They visited the village at intervals and extended assistance to those left behind in the village as they always believed of returning to the villages later in life. The traditional land tenure system linked them with their rural inhabitants. The relationship was later fostered by the presence of modern communication in the form of transport and postal services at *Idi-ayunre, Akanran, Iyana-ofa, etc.* Therefore, village-town migrations in Ibadan though separated the two sectors spatially but were mutually supportive. It was also regarded by the rural dwellers as a way of feeling the sense of the city as well as serving as a means of enhancing livelihood.¹⁴⁴

The movement of women in Ibadan varied and could be attributed to several factors including income, social networks; education, and local gender dynamics. In Ibadan, women belonged to the poor class and were impeded by shortage of resources to move out of the

¹⁴⁰ Onyemelukwe, J. O. C. and Alokun, O. O., (1994) "Industrial Development in Ibadan" in Filani, M. O., Akintola, F.O and Ikporukpo, C. O.(eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P154

¹⁴¹ Urban area was regarded as an area where all economic activities took place. It provided avenue for the women to engage in one economic activity or the other.

¹⁴² Fabiyi, O.O. (2006) "Urban Land Use Change Analysis of a Traditional City from a Remote Sensing Data: The Case of Ibadan Metropolitan Area, Nigeria". *Humanity and Social Science Journal*. (1) P55

¹⁴³ Oral interview conducted with Professor Yusuf Sulaimon, Dept. of Agric Economics, University of Ibadan.

¹⁴⁴ Migration among Ibadan Youth was seen as an act of freedom which not only assisted at improving economic status, but a way of exposure to social life.

rural areas. Even in the few households where resources existed, existing tradition constrained their migration opportunities. For those living in the remote and isolated villages, obstacles to move included the lack of/or access to transport and information. However, they saw migration as a means to escape the traditional gender discrimination.¹⁴⁵

Land ownership was a factor that encouraged women migration in Ibadan. Traditionally, land inheritance in Ibadan belonged to the male. Leaving the women folk landless except in few cases. The zeal to own land by some women facilitated their change of place from the village to the city. Some also moved to the city in search of husbands.¹⁴⁶

On the other hand, the youths in Ibadan villages were faced with the problem of unemployment and under-employment. Migration among them was not only a coping mechanism to avoid destitution, but a way among the village youths to feel a sense of self-exaltation and self-respect. They viewed migration as an instrument of reforming their position, learn new attitudes, and transition into adulthood. As a result, migration continued to assist as a means to improve rural livelihoods.¹⁴⁷

4.6 Remittances, Informal Economy and Livelihood Strategies

Traditionally, migration for work elsewhere was a means of economic diversification to improve ones status. Those who migrate, as well as those that stay behind, both in places of origin and in destinations, are always involved in making decisions about migration and they are affected by certain decisions. One important aspect concerns the existence of linkages between urban migrants and persons remaining in the rural areas. This is concerned with the rural-urban ties and the role of remittances in the context of migration to the city.¹⁴⁸

Remittances constitute an integral as well as an important portion of the countryside-city interactions and include monetary movement into households to improve the proceeds of the people in the villages and indeed in many nations like South-Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, among many others, city to village transfers formed a major source of income as it has both direct and indirect income effects, which potentially have influences on production, income,

¹⁴⁵ Oral interview, Mrs. Felicia Esan,65+.Atipe Oke-Ofa,Ibadan.24/5/2012.

¹⁴⁶ The tradition of Ibadan which made women second fiddle in all activities enhanced their movement to areas where they could enhance their status.

¹⁴⁷ Migration among Ibadan Youth was seen as an act of freedom which not only assisted at improving economic status, but a way of exposure to social life.

¹⁴⁸ Kotter,H.,(1968)"Changes in Urban-Rural Relationships in Industrial Society".*International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. (iv)P122

inequality, and poverty, at least at the local level".¹⁴⁹ Global transfers within and among nations and up to the village level are made possible with the improvement in communications.¹⁵⁰ Remittances have been seen as a sign of economical relevance of migration and have been regarded as the second-largest capital inflow into the developing countries.¹⁵¹

In Ibadan, remittances constituted a significant and remarkable part of economic and social linkages.¹⁵² In Ibadan, the migrants who remitted the most were generally of working age, who had their parents or children in the rural areas and who had resided in the town for many years to earn sufficient income to both support themselves and able to remit something. It was noted that rural migrants in Ibadan that were unmarried tended to remit more than the ones that had their families with them. Migrants in Ibadan remitted to their villages in a multivarious ways including the formal and regulated channels such as banks. On the other hands, they used informal and unregulated methods attimes by giving money to returning migrants for delivery at home.¹⁵³ Remittances played remarkable role in the lives of the rural residents as the money realized from this channel were being used for various purposes including farming works.¹⁵⁴ Evidence showed that the impacts of remittances on agriculture in Ibadan were two sides of a coin. It fostered household farm investment and agricultural production, Remmitances were used to obtain seedlings, fertilizer, and augment the money for engaging labor during the year.¹⁵⁵ In Ibadan, remittances were a two-way thing as fresh farm produce moved to the city while processed foods flowing back to the village. This was an element of reciprocity. It was observed that students from the village schooling in the town also received remittances from their parents residing in the village. This could be monetary or

¹⁴⁹ Villareal, M., (2008) "International Migration, Remittances and Real Development". *IFAD*. P8

¹⁵⁰ Akanji, B., (2004) *Globalization, Poverty and food secenty: The Linkages of Gender Inequality and Agricultural Growth in Africa: Conceptual and Emperical Issues*. Ibadan: NISER. P1

¹⁵¹ Panopio,S.,(2008) *Gender, Migration and Remittances and the Financial Bank Crises: Migration and Development Briefs: World Bank Nox*. P1

¹⁵² Oral interview with Dr. Akin Alao, Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. June 26, 2012.

¹⁵³ Oral interview with Oloye Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadanland.5-8-2017

¹⁵⁴ Oral interview with Dr. Lekan Are. Ogun-Osun River Basin Development Authority.21/4/2016

food remittances. Despite the reduction in remittances, social bonds did not degenerate. Through social linkages, migrant kinsmen and friends also made available news about work opportunities and accommodation for new migrants.¹⁵⁶

The both city and village dwellers received notable part of their revenue from various economic activities including farming, trade, and service provision.¹⁵⁷ With a population of about 1.829,187 in 1991, Ibadan had what it takes to develop in terms resources. The village economy remained largely agricultural based.¹⁵⁸ In Ibadan, off and non-farm revenue were significant in the livelihood of the people. Agriculture stopped being the only source of income as a result of depletion of natural resources and population density.¹⁵⁹

Ibadan residents had always relied on a combination of agricultural and non-agricultural activities for sustainability. In the tributary settlements, farming became paramount as a means of livelihood, while those who were well to do participated strongly in the non-farming activities. Trade and services were the main sources of revenue in the town. The urban centre performed the function of service centers for the tributary areas.¹⁶⁰ However, it also included agricultural wage labor on other people's farms. The motivational and determinants of non-farm activities in Ibadan were many and could be subjected to intense debate. Among the determinants were falling incomes from the agricultural sector and new opportunities in the city of Ibadan. The urban residents also diversified their livelihoods into urban agriculture. In the early 70s and the 80s, urban farming formed an integral aspect of the Ibadan economy. This was because land was readily available and had not been built up by the people.¹⁶¹ Commerce, crafts, and services were some of the rural non-farm economic activities in Ibadan and they were directly linked with agriculture. These economic

¹⁵⁵ Oral interview with Pa Adebayo Osi Balogun of Omi-Adio, Ibadan.23/4/2013

¹⁵⁶ Oral interview with Oloye Lekan Alabi,Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadanland.25/4/2014

¹⁵⁷ Seraje,M.,(2007)*Livelihood Strategies and their implications for Rural-Urban Linkages:The case of Woloekomi Town and its Surrounding Rural Kebeles*.Working Paper on Population and Land–Use Change in Central Ethiopia.P4

¹⁵⁸ Afolayan, A. A., (1994) "Population" in M. O. Filani, F. O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P132

¹⁵⁹ Oral interview with Prof. Sulaimon Yusuf, Dept. of Agric.Economics, University of Ibadan.

¹⁶⁰ For more information on Ibadan farming and non-farming activities, seeFalola.T.,(2012)*Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*,see also, Akinola,R.A.,(1963)"Ibadan Region". *Nigeria Geographical Journal*.Vol.6.No.2

¹⁶¹ Urban farming was an integral part of the Ibadan economic system. It was a means to enhance the livelihood strategies of the people.

activities were rather informal and unregulated. Age, sex, and wealth status were some of the indices for income diversification. The poor families and women as a result of less remunerative and temporary employment were more engaged in non-farm economic activities. Land shortages and the absence of land were the main constraining factors that faced farmers. In turn, these factors resulted in reduced harvests, thereby limiting the opportunity for surplus production, and hence rural-urban linkages.¹⁶² However, they contributed positively to rural-urban flows. Inequality in land distribution was one of the factors that limited city-countryside linkages. Hence the opportunity for daughters to embark in non-farm activities, followed by permanent migration, while the poor sons involved in casual labor. Young men from rich families accessed land through renting or absolute purchase. In contrast, those who rented out were usually the poor. This forced the vulnerable groups to diversify their livelihoods or migrate, at this moment, encouraged rural-urban linkages.¹⁶³

As the city continued to expand, the modern sector employment began to give way. Urban standards of living fell, and Ibadan residents responded by diversifying their economy and income sources through trade and other informal sector activities. The secondary activities also included modern manufacturing like shoe-making, radio-repair, and auto-repair, hair-dyeing, and printing. The apprentice remained with the master until he/she was in a position through financial assistance from his/her relatives to become established on his/her own.¹⁶⁴

Ibadan belongs to the largest industrial centers of Nigeria and an important center for inter-regional trade. At the time of the oil boom in the 1970s, people started moving in to improve their livelihood. As a result of this, trading became a component feature of Ibadan economic activities.¹⁶⁵ These comprised the itinerant hawkers who operated within the urban area or between it and the rural areas around it. This was largely dominated by women who hawked from compound to compound selling cooked foodstuffs while their male counterparts

¹⁶² Oral interview with Dr.Felix Olorunfemi,NISER,Ibadan.

¹⁶³ Oral interview with Dr.Abiodun Bankole,Department of Economics,University of Ibadan.

¹⁶⁴ Oral interview with Oloye Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Ibadanland.

¹⁶⁵ Falola,T.,(1985)"From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers,1830-1904".*The Journal of African Study*.Vol.26.P62 See also Olaniyi,R.,(2015)"Economic History of Ibadan" in D.Laiwola(ed)*The City State of Ibadan:Texts and Contexts*.Ibadan:Institute of African Studies.p43

moved about the town, usually on bicycles selling manufactured goods.¹⁶⁶ The second sub-group of informal trade activities in Ibadan comprised the petty traders. This group of traders offered a wide assortment of manufactured products for the needs of rural dwellers. They operated at the streetsides of the major roads where they offered their articles of trade to passersby.¹⁶⁷ The third sub-group consisted of market traders who operated in the city market places. Each market served an average population ranging between 32,000 and 147,000 that passed through in a day as a wider range of goods were offered for sale in the market. These included staple foodstuffs, cooked foods, locally processed and raft goods, palm-oil, and soap, imported and locally manufactured consumer goods.¹⁶⁸ Another type of informal trading activities in Ibadan was the wholesale trade. This group of traders travelled from one rural market to another buying local foodstuff for sale to retailers in the urban market. Activities in the informal tertiary segment of the economies in Ibadan included enterprises such as transport operators, house owners, restaurant owners, hairdressing, and domestic services. The most important of these was the transportation business which accounted for a large proportion of informal employment. The involvement of the informal sector in transport activities started with the development of rail transport in Ibadan in 1901.¹⁶⁹

In Ibadan, it was estimated that there were many privately owned motor vehicles involved in the intra-urban transport system. In the modern part of Ibadan, (*Dugbe, Mokola, and Agbowo*), that arose during or after the colonial period represented modern business centers. The alien migrants came from the nook and cranny of Nigeria. In traditional parts of the city, the old city with the oldest markets, *Oja'ba, Oje, and Orita-Merin* were occupied mostly by old and long-settled Yoruba population. At the eastern edge of the city (*Aperin, Elekuro, Aremo, and Labo*), nearly all the enterprises in the informal sector were owned individually. The family business in which all members of the family worked and inherited by the following generation was seldom and strange to the majority of the people in

¹⁶⁶ Oral interview with Senator Dr. Lekan Balogun, Osi Olubadan of Ibadanland.

¹⁶⁷ Oral interview with Akogun Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba of Ibadan-land. 22/6/2017

¹⁶⁸ Filani, M.O and Iyun, B.F., (1994) "Markets" in M.O. Filani, Akintola, F. O. and Ikporukpo, C. O. (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. p173

¹⁶⁹ Adesanya, A., (2015) "Transport in Ibadan" in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P128-129.

Ibadan.¹⁷⁰ The partnership was also seldom, and the women established most of the enterprises.

In some enterprises, vertical and horizontal forms of integration developed. There were, for example, dressmakers who specialized in the sewing of buttons holes and who did this work for other dressmakers.¹⁷¹ Wholesalers also pulled their resources together when they had to procure goods from far distant areas to make huge purchases, which they divided among themselves and sold. In wholesale food trading, *onibara* relationships were of importance, and that established the fact that women traders established contact with women traders in other regions from which they received their goods. Such connections, which had existed in some cases over decades, secured regular provision of goods, access to market knowledge, and the provision of loan facilities.¹⁷²

The initial capital for business in the informal sector originally and traditionally came from private sources and often from other different sources such as *esusu* or *ajo*. These included personal savings, presents or credit from the husband, presents from parents and relatives, presents from friends while credits from savings unions, and banks were of minor significance.¹⁷³ Women in the informal labor market were put at a disadvantage through poor educational prerequisites, family pressures, discriminatory employment practices, and working conditions. The measures introduced by the structural adjustment program intensified the relative disadvantaging of the women in the informal sector.¹⁷⁴ In 1984, however, sanctions against women traders appeared, and mainly in the big cities, drastic clearing measures such as pulling down of houses and market stands were carried out, which affected the whole informal sector. Many who lived and worked in the areas set out for demolition lost the very basis of their life's sustenance as *Oje* was mostly affected in the city of Ibadan.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Denzer, L., (1992) *Women's Work in Nigeria. (Selected writings)*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan. P18

¹⁷¹ Denzer, L., (1992) *Women's Work in Nigeria. (Selected writings)*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan.P31

¹⁷² Oral interview with Alhja Kafila Olawale, Bodija market, Ibadan.12-5-2018. Aged 64

¹⁷³ Denzer, L., (1992) *Women's Work in Nigeria. (Selected writings)*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan. P36

¹⁷⁴ Wamunthenya, R.N., (2010) *Determinants of Employment in the Formal and Informal Sectors of the Urban Areas of Kenya*.African Economic Research Consortium Research Paper 194. Pp1-2

¹⁷⁵ Denzer,L, (1992) *Women's Work in Nigeria. (Selected writings)*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan. P 65

The whole informal sector was hit by a media-inspired clean-up campaign and the war against filth, which contributed to the advancement of the sanitary state in the cities. Besides the removal of waste, the war against filth also included the tearing down of illegal structures. At the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985 in the whole of southern Nigeria markets, stands extension to houses, small workshops, in some cases whole rows of street shops and markets fell as victims to the bulldozers of the Task Force for sanitation.¹⁷⁶ The goods and services produced by the irregular sector compared favorably with the goods produced by formal sector enterprises. Most enterprises in the informal sector sold all their products as soon as they were produced. But a few held some in stock and some sold on credit.

4.7 Women Economic Associations and Networks in Ibadan

An association is a group of organized people for the pursuit of common goal. Memberships of these associations normally transcend the units of kinship. These associations pursued and performed both traditional and modern economic, political, and religious functions as well as social and recreational ones. Associations serving economic interests can be sub-divided into those concerned with production and accumulation of capital.¹⁷⁷ They are regarded as Informal associations and characterized as defensive when they mobilize in response to adversity or crisis. Women's ties are bound by the imperatives of family, community, and work. Based on the shared economics of being female, these associations are frequently the very networks through which women learn about work, find jobs, and accomplish their various tasks. Through their informal associations, women establish webs of economic support for themselves and their families and ultimately forge alliances for both the economic and political power in the society.¹⁷⁸

In Ibadan, women chose multiple ways to further the efficiency and fortune of their members. Some rural Ibadan women used local based associations' to pursue their interest. Such associations intended to assist women, who were the chief agricultural producers to cope with crucial constraints in terms of household access to labor at crucial period and in terms of access to cash for economic inputs or for meeting basic needs.¹⁷⁹ The women associations or networks in Ibadan were undertaken by women's associations to get proceeds

¹⁷⁶ Denzer. L., (1994) *Women's Work in Nigeria. (Selected writings)*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan. P71

¹⁷⁷ Thomas, B.P., (1988) "Household Strategies for Adaptation and Change: Participation of Kenyan Rural Women's Associations". *Africa*. (58) No. 4. p401.

¹⁷⁸ March, K.S., (1996) "Women's Informal Association in Developing Countries: Catalysts for Change." *MAN* (2) P22

¹⁷⁹ Oral interview, Madam Suwebatu Adisa, 70+, Kusela, Ibadan. 29/10/2012.

for the group members, both separately and individually and collectively, and to make available needed labor inputs for their farms at prime times in the agricultural cycle. They worked collectively during peak period such as harvesting time. They were assured of regular opportunity for income through their collective ways of doing things.¹⁸⁰ They also engaged in some other economic activities during the agricultural off-peak season. During the agricultural peak period or crisis time, the women's association also rendered assistance to their colleagues. When a member had crisis and could not work, the members of the association assisted such member.¹⁸¹

Some of the women that belonged to one women's association or the other engaged in handicraft production such as soap making, pottery and basketry. They were interested in improving their revenue generating activities. They had a well organized marketing strategy.¹⁸² They also provided capital for their members to enlarge their business.¹⁸³ These associations also regulated trading practices and prevented under-cutting. In Ibadan major markets, such as *Oja'ba*, *Gege*, *Oje*, *Agodi*, *Inanlende*, *Kobomoje*, *Oranyan*, there were separate sections for each commodity and women sat according to the commodity in which they sold. Each of these sections had its association, or *egbe*, which discouraged competition between women trading in that particular article. Any woman under-cutting was punished by her fellows and reported to the leaders of the association (*egbe*). Sometimes, market associations attempted to buy in bulk for their members from the farmers at a cheaper rate to save the overheads of buyers. Other women organizations took steps to ensure adequate and constant supplies of the commodity in which its members traded.¹⁸⁴

The Yoruba have two basic institutions for saving and credit. The first was *esusu*, which was more developed and served the people in all the senses of the term "savings." The second was *ajo*, which was probably devised to satisfy the first sense in which savings have been used by economists, i.e., the process of accumulating money.¹⁸⁵ Major factors that aided association's emergence included lack of formal banks in the rural areas and the need for

¹⁸⁰ It was not only the men that participated in collective work or association such as Aroo and Owe, women also formed associations for the benefits of members. Unlike the Aro and Owe which were practiced in the rural communities. It was common in the city

¹⁸¹ Oral interview with Madam Kuburatu Ajagbe, 66+, Balogun Compound, Kobomoje, Ibadan. 15/4/2012.

¹⁸² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P91

¹⁸³ Filani, M.O., and Iyun, B.F., (1994) "Market in Ibadan" in M.O. Filani, C.O. Ikporukpo and F.O. Akintola. (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. p171

¹⁸⁴ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P99

¹⁸⁵ Adebayo, A.G., (1994) "Money, Credit, and Banking in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Yoruba Experience". *Anthropos*. P162

savings and engagement in some other activities.¹⁸⁶ This brought the establishment of *ajoo* and *esusu* clubs in some markets such as *Orita'merin*, *Sasa*, *Oje*, *Oja'ba*, *Oja'gbo*, *Orita-Aperin*, *Agugu* and a host of others. No date was, however, associated with the introduction of these saving clubs.

Through the extended family and other networks, all members of different occupational groups were in close touch with one another and, within the same compound, farmers, craftsmen, and traders often belonged to the same *esusu* society. Besides, there was little differentiation between the city and the village areas as residents of the latter regarded the former as "home" with which they maintained perfect and constant contact and to which they returned during every major festival. Thus, even though the major market centers were located in the cities and towns, the traders were both from outlying villages and distant towns. *Esusu*, therefore, did not bridge a gap (there was any to bridge), rather it reinforced the integrated rural-urban interactions and pooled resources across the board. Unlike *ajo*, where the chances of embezzlement were high, *esusu* was a great innovation in that it provided sufficient security for the fund. This security was reinforced by religious (including ritualistic) sanction. However, the points to note in this instance are the communal spirit involved in this particular institution (*esusu*), how business was expected to serve the people rather than vice versa. The essential practice was the pooling of resources together by a group of people periodically for each member's benefit.¹⁸⁷ Many market clubs had an all-female membership, where there were male members; they constituted less than 10 percent. It was common to find clubs that bore the name of the founder. In *Oja'ba* market, the clubs were known either by the names of their leaders, who were often women, or by the products they sold. Women were also widely represented in neighborhood *esusu* clubs in urban areas. Many of the *esusu* clubs were established by women that brought together friends and relatives rather than work-mates as was common in the market.¹⁸⁸ It was revealed by some founding members of rotating *esusu* clubs that they were motivated by a need to overcome frequent shortages of cash in their business activities and financial crisis. They teamed up with others whom they thought had similar problems. Its flexibility and cost-effective strategies enhanced the survival of the *esusu* clubs. When necessary, the associations suspended their operations

¹⁸⁶ Adebayo, A.G., (1994) "Money, Credit, and Banking in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Yoruba Experience" *Anthropos*. P168.

¹⁸⁷ Adebayo, A.G., (1994) "Money, Credit, and Banking in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Yoruba Experience" *Anthropos*. P170.

¹⁸⁸ Oral Interview with Madam Labake Ayinde, 72+, Alli-Iwo comound, Ibadan. 22/1/2012.

for long periods and later re-grouped after improvements in the economic conditions of members.¹⁸⁹

The founders of such associations became the leader of the clubs while recruitments were mostly from the kinsmen of the founders. Women traders in *Agugu* and *Orita-Aperin* markets explained that they preferred to invite people who were closer to them. Members had the opportunity of inviting others as long as they could stand or serve as surety for them. A certain degree of trust was essential for maintaining harmony among the members. There were usually no formal application procedures or standard criteria for the selection of members.¹⁹⁰ Associations also differed by the functions they performed. Two distinct types of functions were identified. These included the single-purpose savings clubs and mutual aid saving clubs with multiple functions. In the periodic market, all the women described their clubs as savings only clubs. They never held meetings. Although, members were in frequent contact with one another as they all traded in the same market. For many of them, the meeting would disrupt their retailing, which took place only once a week.¹⁹¹

Compared to the single purpose *esusu* savings association, the mutual aid savings association was a much more elaborate organization. The primary focus was on savings. Others included the provision of social security for its members. For example, an association in the Ibadan market known as *Kajo'gbaye*, meaning "our well being depended on others". The association provided mutual aid and assisted their members when their assistance was needed for activities like funerals, child-naming, marriage celebrations, and health care. The association made additional contributions towards the provisions of refreshments for their get-togethers during festive period.¹⁹²

Esusu in Ibadan provided a means whereby a fairly large sum could be accumulated to meet either type of expenses.¹⁹³ There were two main types of *esusu* in Ibadan. The *esusu* had a large scattered membership and the condition for its membership was salaried employment and wage-earning. The purpose was to ensure regularity in the payment of

¹⁸⁹ Oral Interview with Madam Mulikatu Ajiun,68+,Oja'ba,Ibadan.23/5/2013.

¹⁹⁰ Oral Interview with Madam Abiona Alarape,69+,Asuni Compound,Popoyemoja,Ibadan.23/5/2013.

¹⁹¹ Oral Interview with Madam Kikelomo Asabi,66+,Gege,Ibadan.23/5/2013.

¹⁹² Oral Interview with Madam Falilat Amao,56+,Akere Market,Ibadan.23/9/2012.

¹⁹³ Oral Interview with Madam Asabi Kuola, Oja'ba market Ibadan Aged 70

contributions. Reputation for efficiency and diligence was the hallmark for choosing a leader.¹⁹⁴

Ajo is probably a short word for *akojo* (pool together). Thus, under the *ajo* institution, an individual entered into an agreement with a savings collector, paid a predetermined sum of money at regular intervals (daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, or, simply, "every market day") to this collector, and drew all his contribution at the end of an agreed period or anytime it was needed. The main attraction of this system, therefore, was its promptness, i.e., the contributor could draw his/her money at short notice, unlike in the *esusu* where he/she had to wait for his/her turn. The contributor received less than the entire savings because the collector would take a day's savings as a reward for his services. The contribution could as well be daily and could be terminated after a short period already agreed upon. Contributors knew one another and decided as to when every person would receive his share. The rotation was occasionally to help a member in crisis by giving her contribution on demand.¹⁹⁵

4.8 Economic Transition and Social Network

The networks of production and distribution at Ibadan worked largely within the sex structure. Though, majority depended on farming, Ibadan economy was diversified. Some of the people specialized in many spheres of human endeavours including medicine, art, music, and government. However, large number engaged in some other economic activities including game searching and crafts. The economy was diversified beyond farming.¹⁹⁶

The city economy took a remarkable step in the 1830s when the settlement was transformed into a permanent town. In less than two decades after its establishment. Ibadan became a commercial centre twenty years after its establishment. The expansion of the city coupled with its population corresponded with and provided a stimulus for the expanding economy of the city. To feed the teeming city population, farmlands in the virging forest became enlarged. The craft industries were not left out as adequate attention was given to the production of implements that could cope with the existing population. Some of the traders became influential by doubling their efforts through exchange of local goods which were

¹⁹⁴ The introduction of wage labour enhanced the act of women association in Ibadan. Working class women were able to pull resources together for their betterment. This was corroborated by series of interview conducted.

¹⁹⁵ Adebayo, A.G.,(1994)"Money, Credit, and Banking in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Yoruba Experience".*Anthropos*.P392

¹⁹⁶ Falola,T.,(2012)*Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P77

seriously needed by the swelling population. The people's engagement in the both farming and craft industry provided jobs for many who could have been wandered about.¹⁹⁷

The organization of labour in Ibadan was characterized by specialization and division of labor in the allocation of duties, training, and choice of occupation. The people of Ibadan were given much opportunity to engage separately or jointly in any economic activity of their choice. Division of labor was created between male and female, and each played specific roles and duties at work. Ibadan men were predominantly farmers, and craftsmen, others engaged in hunting activity while some were warriors as the period demanded. The majority of Ibadan women were traders. They traded not only within but also travelled to some other neighbouring towns beyond the confines of the city while others engaged in the production of needed items such as black soap, dye thread, and oil for their living.¹⁹⁸ The polygamous system of marriage practised in Ibadan allowed and encouraged the male folks to marry many wives. This system of marriage practiced in Ibadan allowed the senior wives to engage in trade and the junior ones concentrated on domestic duties.¹⁹⁹ Other economic activities involved gathering and collecting as well as livestock keeping which were not heavily relied on but still constituted an integral part of the economy.²⁰⁰

Farming and food crop production were the major occupations of the chiefs and the influential few individuals who had the necessary facilities and wherewithal to engage a large number of slaves. The farmsteads on which the slaves were engaged had by 1898 spread as far as *Lalupon* and beyond in the northeast, and as far as *Apomu* in the southeast. Some chiefs had up to five or six neighborhood farms as well as the same number of farmsteads. Some farmsteads were named after agricultural produce. A few of such places were *Alalubosa*(place of an onion)and *Onireke*(place of sugarcane). This agricultural produce was taken from the farmsteads to the city for marketing activities. The goods that were not immediately transported to the town were to be stored. Here the slaves were also engaged. They constructed rafters and vaults on which the farm products were kept. The slaves

¹⁹⁷ Akinola,R.A.,(1963)"Ibadan Region". *Nigeria Geographical journal*. Vol.6.No.2.P

¹⁹⁸ This does not imply that women did not take part in men's jobs. They did participate in farm work but did less of the physically exacting jobs.

¹⁹⁹ Adeyokunnu,T.O.,(1970)"The Markets for Foodstuffs in Western Nigeria". *Odu* 3.P12

²⁰⁰ The encroachment of land as a result of urbanization has eroded some of the aspects of Ibadan rural economy such as gathering.

transported the goods whenever they were ready to be transported to the city.²⁰¹ *Iba Oluyole*, for example, was said to have had expensive plantations of okra, beans, vegetables, corn, and yams that were sufficient enough to supply all traders in the town. *Oluyole* owned nearly all the kola nut trees and kola nut grooves in and around the town, all of which were worked by his slaves. The great *Iba Oluyole* and his bossom friend *Olupoyi*, were not just traders but pathfinders in the selling of some farm produce including melons (*egusi*) which came from the old Oyo and had them displayed at their home entrances in Oja’ba for people to buy. The two Ibadan personalities progressed to the selling of other food items such as yam-flour (*elubo*) and pepper (*ata*). Other military personalities and including civil chiefs who engaged in farming as well as local trade included *Akere*, *Ibikunle*, *Opeagbe*, *Ogunmola*, *Oyesile*, *Olugbode*, *Ibikunle*, *Orowusi*, *Ajobo*, *Akere*, *Orowusi*, *Latosa*. Others were *Sunmola*, *Tubosun*, *Awanibaku*, and a host of others. Baale *Oyesile* was said to be a wealthy man who owned a large barn for storing food, which he sold for the Ibadan people. He wore the best clothes which only the rich and the noble could afford. *Ibikunle* had extensive farmlands at *Ogbere* and *Odo-Ona* and had the biggest compound in Ibadan. This covered *Ayeye* to a point near the neighborhood called *Iyeosa*. Among other leaders who acquired much wealth through the use of slave labor was *Are Latosa*. His private property included thousands of slaves, extensive estates, and he traded in ammunition and ventured into other trading activities with other Yoruba towns.²⁰²

Since the 19th century, women had been struggling to remedy the act of violence and unfairness against them. This was revealed in the pre-colonial and periods when women were actively involved in economic activities to better their status. Their intervention in political and social landscape improved their status at the grassroots. The women-folks were engaged in the making of different materials apart from participating in food –stuff trade. They got their raw materials from the natural resources within their domain. The availability of palm-oil trees and cotton accounted for large scale production of baskets and *adire* cloth. The urge to enhance their income and become a sex to reckon with facilitated their participation in long-distance trade. Most of the Ibadan women engaged in dual economic

²⁰¹ Olaniyi, R. (2015) “Economic History of Ibadan” in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P22. See also Fatokun, J. (2011) *Ibadan Facts and Figures*. Ibadan: Positive press. P285

²⁰² Salami, O. (2012) “Slaves in Agricultural Development of Ibadan”. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.2. No 11. P122

activities including production and trading. Like the other war and military chiefs, *Efunsetan Aniwura*- the Iyalode of Ibadan (Queen of women or women leader or vicar of woman affairs) who became a very influential and prosperous rich trader at *Oja'ba*, Ibadan was a woman of Egba ancestry or origin. She had her farms in places like *Ikija Karaole* and at *Odo-Ona* on *Ijebu-ode* and Abeokuta roads. She was able to employ and absorb a huge number of workers in her plantations, palm-oil and food producing and processing farms. She had more than a thousand slaves working for her in those farms. The spirit of entrepreneur and the influence which she had through being a successful woman in trade made her the voice of the women in the society. *Efunsetan Aniwura* also engaged herself in other economic activities by supplying the coasts with items from the hinterland as well as taking foreign items especially arms and grenades back to the hinterland.²⁰³ She was a business woman who trained and specialized in *adire* and foodstuffs. *Efunsetan* brought her trading skills and versatility to her matrimonial home, where she sold corn beer (*otika*), firearms, and foodstuffs. Her customers were mainly soldiers and chiefs. She also travelled around to buy products like bitter-kola, kola-nut, and cocoa and was a veteran trader and business ally of the Europeans. She extended credit facilities to various Ibadan warriors when they were going for military expeditions and helped to obtain better the economy of Ibadan through business transactions. She fielded a hundred slaves' soldiers under her head slave (*Ogidan*), to join the Ibadan forces on their voyage to the *Ekiti* realm. She was made the *Iyalode* of Ibadan in acknowledgment of her contributions. As the head and organizer of the women in Ibadan and a successful trader in arms, she was in a state of affairs to throw into the discussion on the issue of war and peace. Because of her courage of entrepreneurship and the assistance rendered in oiling the military apparatus of Ibadan, *Efunsetan Aniwura* was famous for many exploits and demonstrated the place of women in politics and economy during the pre-colonial period. She was an authoritative, rich, and significant-high chief of old Ibadan province. Her name was a force to reckon with, dominant, fearsome, terrific, rich, impudent and daring.²⁰⁴ She was an example of African women who stood against gender inequality because of their wealth and spiritual depth in power and authority. *Efunsetan's* major

²⁰³ Olaniyi,R.,(2015) "Economic History of Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan:Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P24. See also Osewa, O. (2005) *Greaat leaders in Nigeria History before total colonization: Efunsetan Aniwura (1800 – 1874)* retrieved from www.Nairaland.com

²⁰⁴ Okunola, R.O. and Ojo, D.O. (2002) "Socio-Historical Crime Review on *Efunsetan Aniwura*, Basorun Gaa and Aare Ago Ogunjide Aje" *The journal of international research*. Vol. 5. No 12. P406

complaint was the political woes which emanated from Latosa and the then Ibadan chiefs' tardy refusal to pay-off their debts. Despite her long residency in the town and valuable contributions, the allegation of insubordination and cruelty against her were merely a victim of the politics of gender and exclusion played in Ibadan in the 19th century.²⁰⁵

Before the coming of foreign entrepreneurs that came with the British administration, the Ibadan economy was largely local and self-sustaining, though related to the external market. The imposition of British administration brought people into the world capitalist system. The movement from the pre-colonial or traditional to modern practices had major economic and social implications, particularly for the development of indigenous entrepreneurship in Yoruba-land. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the British shifted their trade from the coast, where it had been for centuries, to the interior. This shift later brought about changes in the organization of trade, which was later amplified by the development of a money economy and the introduction of facilities including the construction of roads and railways. This transformed and re-orientated the economic sector to reflect new patterns and styles as far as commercial elitism was concerned. The result of this was the development of a corpus of well-endowed Western-style business that broke the past setting.²⁰⁶

These groups of elite merchants came on board mainly in the urban centres, (produce traders and merchandise traders). However, some people combined both. *Gbagi* market in Ibadan emerged through trading activities between the immigrants and the original Ibadan traders. The edifice of railways that connected Ibadan to Lagos became a factor. The European traders began to set up their businesses and launch their trade along the railway line along *Dugbe* and *Ogunpa*. The establishment of *Gbagi* market was a response to global changes and the beginning of merchandise market in Ibadan. The force of foreign traders cannot be underestimated in the development of merchandise in the market. Some of the Lebanese traders at old *Gbagi* included *P.Saliba, A.Sabbett, P.Dibbou, Abudu Zakis,*

²⁰⁵ Denzer, L.R., (1998) *The Iyalode in Ibadan Politics and Society, c1850-1997*. African Humanities Monographs (7) Ibadan: Humanities Research Centre. P1-11

²⁰⁶ Adesina, O.C. (2006) "Adebisi Sanusi Giwa (? – 1938) The Life and Career of an Ibadan Entrepreneur and Community Leader". *African journal online*. Vol. 12. P1-2

Germana Reis, Mustapha Barber. The Lebanese traders did not only serve as middlemen in some trade ventures but also competed with the local and the indigenous entrepreneurs in some investments.²⁰⁷ Some of the most prominent Cocoa brokers in Yoruba land were Ibadan indigenes, and they became a strong link in the chain that bound indigenous people and foreign entrepreneurs. The Ibadan economic elite adapted to the changing economic transition ushered in by colonialism. Some were involved in the distribution of European general merchandise. Unlike in the past, merchants, not military men, became the new revered citizens. In Ibadan, the likes of *Chief Salami Agbaje* and *Chief Adebisi Giwa* were some of the prominent early traders. Besides, both of them were general merchants in the colonial economy. They served as middlemen between the Europeans and the Ibadan people. Others included *Seliya Jawando, Humani Alaga, Sule Edidi, John Adelagun, Yusuf Agiri, Akinpelu Obisesan*, among many others.²⁰⁸ *Salami Agbaje* of the *Ayeye* compound in Ibadan was one of the leading entrepreneurs/businessmen in Ibadan in the period prior to Nigerian independence. He became a successful indigenous entrepreneur and was regarded as the richest Ibadan man during his period. He was a timber contractor, and he exhausted his timber business to the fullest and thus opened his eyes to more opportunities. He came to limelight during the period of railway construction from Lagos to Ibadan, 1898-1902. He got the the sole responsibility of supplying all the timbers used to set the track. His success from this business served as impetus for him to divert into some other business including dealing in foreign goods and transportation. His influence and wealth were exhibited not only by building a two-storey building with cement but he was the first Ibadan man to ride a car as early as 1915. Salami Agbaje was the first Ibadan native to operate a motor transport business, with the use of lorries to move imported goods between rural communities and Ibadan. Agbaje established a mechanic workshop which possibly competed with the one established by the Railway Corporation. Part of his investment included estates and a printing press. Salami Agbaje being a foresight personality made use of his affluence to write history in Ibadan and Yorubaland at large by training some of his children uptill university level. He had *Dr. Saka Anthony Agbaje*, the first Ibadan medical doctor, *Mojeed Agbaje*, first Ibadan lawyer, *Ganiyu Agbaje*, a retired justice of the supreme court of Nigeria, and *Yekini Agbaje* a

²⁰⁷ Ojo-Kareem, T.O. (2008) "International Trade and Women Merchants at Gbagi Textile Market Ibadan". *Journal of Global Initiative, Policy Pedagogy, Perspective*". Vol. 3. No. 1 P181

²⁰⁸ Olaniyi, R., (2015) "Economic History of Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P44

Senior Advocate of Nigeria. He could be described as the founder of modern Ibadan by changing and advancing the course of Ibadan development. His dealings with some European companies facilitated the importation of cotton, gin, and rum, building materials, hats, umbrellas, and sewing machines until his death in 1953.²⁰⁹

Adebisi Sanusi Giwa of Idikan, Ibadan, was another outstanding entrepreneur thrown up by modern commercial practices in the early days of colonial rule in Western Nigeria. *Adebisi Giwa*, the highly prosperous Ibadan businessman, provided an example of the hard-driven entrepreneur that emerged in modern Ibadan. He was an epitome of an entrepreneur who promoted the welfare of citizens while securing his rights and privileges as an individual. *Adebisi Giwa* was born in Ibadan and, as a youth, became involved in his parent's business enterprise, which was the marketing of bales of traditional textiles - *Adire* and *Asooke*, which he hawked to places as far as Benin and Ile-Ife. This provided an outlet for his spirit of enterprise. *Adebisi Giwa* employed his earlier knowledge of business practices and extensive trading networks to launch his commercial career. *Adebisi Giwa's* journey to prosperity commenced with his initial association with the firm of Miller Brothers. He was the main agent for Miller Brothers' textile stores. Due to his prowess and astuteness, *Adebisi Sanusi Giwa* by the mid-1920s operated as a produce buyer, although on a scale a shade lower than his contemporary, *Salami Agbaje*, and had emerged as an entrepreneur of note and one of the central figures in Ibadan's commercial enterprise. This Ibadan entrepreneur developed an influence on Yoruba thought and economy far disproportionate to that of his peers of the same epoch. He was wealthy and fraternized with social and cultural organizations such as the *Egbe Agba O 'tan* and *Egbe Kila* in Ibadan.

In fact, the life and legend of *Adebisi* have played significant roles in helping generations of Yoruba men and women to help re-define themselves and their aspirations in life. He was the quintessence of an indigenous pioneer entrepreneur. The interactions between *Adebisi Giwa*, his associates, and government planning were the strongest force in determining the quality of the region's cocoa. *Adebisi Giwa* started his cocoa career as a salesman with Miller Brothers. In November 1924, he resigned from Miller Brothers and

²⁰⁹ Oral interview with senator Lekan Balogun Otun Olubadan of Ibadan land. Aged 74 See also Olaniyi,R.,(2015) "Economic History of Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan:Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P44.

agreed with the Trading Association of Nigeria (TAN) as to a produce buyer for Ibadan and the out-stations.²¹⁰ He had a very big farm at *Mamu* along *Ijebu-ode* road, where he planted cocoa and palm-oil trees. The Ibadan people widely acknowledged him due to his noticeable favour to the Ibadan community.

Others were *Babarinde Akinloye*, father of the late Ibadan politician, and the leader of the defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN) *Adisa Akinloye*, who was a great trader at the *Idi-Ayunre* area of *Oje* where he specialized in the selling of European goods and foodstuffs. A Nigerian Diarist, *Akinpelu Obisesan* of the Obisesan family, *Orita-Aperin* was a farmer and a trader who inherited and acquired vast forest for farming at the *Aperin village, Akanran*, Ibadan. He worked briefly at the Nigerian Railway before he returned to trade and commerce. He was engaged with PZ around 1913 and this exposed him to other activities as he later became a produce buyer. For thirty years, he was the president of the Ibadan Cooperative Marketing Societies (ICPMS) and led the way chairman of cooperative bank to serve the needs of the cooperative societies. *Adegoke Adelabu of the Oke-Oluokun compound, Kudeti* Ibadan, was another pathfinder not only in politics but in commerce. He was a versatile personality and a bundle of talent. *Adegoke Adelabu*, who later became the Chairman of the Ibadan Municipal Council, left Yaba Higher College in 1936 to start a job with the United African Company (UAC). The job exposed him to the production and marketing of cocoa. After he left UAC in 1937, he became a produce dealer, buying cocoa with credit from the hinterlands and selling it to the company. He also established some farms and a coca buying center at the village of *Awo-Oju*.²¹¹

Majority of Ibadan women engaged in different types of work for which made available cash remuneration and which allowed them to move away from home for longer period in the day. They were classified according to their mode of operation and their financial capability to operate. Some of them operated within the city daily markets while others were involved in travelling to periodic markets within or outside their domain. The trading orbit of these women relied heavily on the type of goods they handled and the amount of capital at their disposal. For example, the pattern of movement for a woman dealing in imported cloth differed in detail from that of a woman dealing in locally grown foodstuffs. Some other women also engaged in craft production. A large class was engaged in preparing

²¹⁰ Olaniyi, R.,(2015) Olaniyi,R.,(2015) "Economic History of Ibadan" in D.Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan:Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. P44.

²¹¹ Falola, T. (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P898

articles of food. They were purveyors of cooked food, keepers of refreshment stalls, and other branches of dietary for the market. On the whole, women seemed to be more industrious than men as they had little period for leisure and off days from work against that of men. The availability of resources encouraged some of them to venture into handicrafts. They formed trade guilds to protect their activities and these trade guilds were named based on the specialization of products such as *Egbe Alaso* (guild of textile dealers). The establishment of modern markets including Gbagi ignited the spirit of commerce among many of them.²¹²

The history of Gbagi market in Ibadan could be attributed not only to the construction of railway lines but to the interactions between the local people and the Europeans. European firms as well as the indigenous business people made use of the opportunity of the railways to establish their shops and trading stations.²¹³ The Lebanese took the lead among the earlier settlers at Gbagi market and followed by other groups from different areas.²¹⁴ Some of them preferred settling down in Ibadan because of the relative peace enjoyed in the city coupled crisis rocking the political and socio-economic situations in their home country.²¹⁵ The Lebanese consolidated their relationship with the local people years after the Second World War.

Among the native Ibadan women merchants who was recognized and reckoned with during the period was *Iyalode Humani Alaga*. The history of textile at Gbagi market could not be told without making reference to her. She learnt the skill of textile selling from her parents who were known to be dealing with textile in the pre-colonial period. She travelled with her parents to different places beyond the confines of Ibadan in the course of selling cloth. By 1925, she started hawking textiles at the *Gbagi* market at the age of 20. Humani acquired her first shop at Gbagi market at No 30 Lebanon street old Gbagi,

²¹² Ojo-Kareem, T.O. (2008) "International Trade and Women Merchants at Gbagi Textile Market, Ibadan. *Journal of Global Initiative, Policy Pedagogy, Perspective*. Vol. 6. No. 1 P181

²¹³ Ojo-Kareem, T.M. (2008) Ibid... P184

²¹⁴ Adesanya,A.,(2015) "Transport in Ibadan" in D.Layiwola(ed)*The City State of Ibadan:Texts and Contexts*.Ibadan:Institute of African Studies.P129. Ojo-Kareem, T.M. (2008) Ibid... P185

²¹⁵ Ojo-Kareem, T.M. (2008) "International Trade and Women Merchants at Gbagi Textile Market, Ibadan. *Journal of Global Initiative, Policy Pedsgogy, Perspective*". Vol. 6. No. 1. P181

Ibadan.²¹⁶ Other early indigenous Ibadan women traders at the Gbagi market included *Lanlatu Asabi Giwa, Rukayat Ajisomo, Sarah Abeo, Laperi, Selia Atanda, Lakanle, Ola-Idiarere, Oyetoro Iya Aseku, Moradehun Iya-egbe, Adeyinka Abadatu, Salmatu IyalodeWuraola Abolade* and a host of others. *Lanlatu Asabi Giwa*, apart from the textile trade, also traded in Palm-oil and Liquor. *Iyalode Rukayat Ajisomo* was another successful trader from *Orita-merin* who traded in cassava flour (*elubo*) and *adire* at *Oja'ba*. *Rukayat* learnt the art of trading from her mother.²¹⁷

Ibadan became renowned through trade and commerce and became an abode for different set of people who wanted to create a niche for themselves. Apart from foreigners who came from places outside the shores of Nigeria, some of the prominent Yoruba indigenous entrepreneurs that converged at the city included the Ikire born business titan, *Alhaji Ibrahim Inaolaji* who established Inaolaji Trading and Transport Services (IT&TS), *Alebiosu* brothers who went into buying and selling of produce, *Ipoola Morakinyo* of *Ipetumodu* and *Gbadegesin Ajeigbe*. The duo of *Adeola Odutola* and his brother *jimoh Odutola* of the Ijebu extraction of the same parents founded the first tyre factory and the first foam factory in Oke-Ado, Ibadan. The Okemesi born industrialist, Chief *Theophilous Adediran Oni* of the Oni Memorial Hospital started the first construction company while the late premier's wife Chief Hannah Awolowo was also well-known in the textile business, and her textile store situated in *Gbagi* was known as Awolowo's corner.²¹⁸

Some other notable Ibadan industrialists came into limelight in the post independence period. They included Chief *Bode Akindele*, who was the founder of many factories in Ibadan. The *Parakoyi of Ibadanland* had a catalogue of his business empire in the rural villages consolidating the development of these areas through networks, thus transforming them into peri-urban, where he has a substantial investment and sizeable investment. His Madandola Group of Companies cut across agriculture, beverages, food-processing, and manufacturing. Some of these factories included-Standard Breweries, Standard Packaging, Standard Plastics, Doctor Pepper, and they were sited at Alomaja and Bare villages, respectively, in the Oluyole Local Government area of Ibadan. Chief *Bode Amoo*, the *Asiwaju*

²¹⁶ Ojo-Kareem, T.M.,(2008) "International Trade and Women Merchants at Gbagi Textile Market Ibadan. *Journal of Global Initiative, Policy Pedagogy, Perspective*". Vol. 6. No.1.P185

²¹⁷ Ojo-Kareem, T.O. (2008) "International Trade and Women Merchants at Gbagi Textile Market Ibadan. *Journal of Global Initiative, Policy Pedagogy, Perspective*". Vol. 6. No. 1. P181

²¹⁸ Oral interview with for Alhaji Fatai Amoo. Local Historian,Ogunmola Compound,Bere,Ibadan. Aged 68

of Ibadan, was also known for his business acumen. He established Bode Foams and Atlantic Carpets in the *Ajoda* and *Olodo* areas of the *Egbeda* and *Lagelu* areas of Ibadan. Chief *Nathaniel.O.Idowu*, the *Mayeloye*, and *Okanlomo* of Ibadan land also played pivotal roles in Ibadan trade and commerce. He was regarded as a philanthropist of the highest order who meant well for his people. He was described as the pillar behind some of the trading activities in villages like *Olorundaaba*, *Adeyipo*, *Eniosa*, *Igbo-Oloyin*, and *Igbo-Elerin* by making cash available for the farmers and the traders. He was the owner of the Motor Assembly Plant (Leyland) in *Olodo*, Ibadan.²¹⁹ *Alhaji Abdul-Azees Arisekola Alao* of the *Ajia* village in *Akanran*, who later became a business mogul in Ibadan, started as a trader of insecticides (Gamallin²⁰) in Agodi area, Ibadan in 1961. He later became a foremost Ibadan industrialist with different companies under the Lister Trading Companies scattered all over the city. These included Lister Motor, Lister Flour Mills, Lister Oil, Lister Printing Press, and Lister Insurance Company. Other notable ones included *Alhaji Mufutau Olanihun*, *Alhaji Dauda Omorilewa*, *Alhaji Dotun Oyelade*, *Alhaji Diekola*, *Alhaji Saka Esho*, *Alhaji Afodesho*, *Alhaji Nureni Oyekanmi* who specialized in the selling of used vehicles/engines and other home appliances of different kinds and types popularly called *Tokunbo*.²²⁰

Other basic economic activities of the Ibadan people beside trade and commerce were craft making. These tools were made by the blacksmiths, mostly men who were highly skilled in changing the form of iron to a particular product. Blacksmithing in Ibadan was a lineage activity and was concentrated at the heart of the city around Mapo and Bere. Entry into this profession was restricted, which made it lucrative. This also made it easier to discipline practitioners, regulate practices, and standardize products.²²¹ The use of clay for manufacturing was another important economic activity in Ibadan. Unlike the smithery, the use of clay to form a product was a monopoly of women. Women of different lineages met at a particular place to work and produced desired objects. These objects included small trays, pipes, cooking pots, plates, water jars, and so on.²²² Apart from the tools and objects made from iron and clay, there were other products made from wood that were produced by carvers in different compounds. Carving as a profession was practiced only by men. Wood was

²¹⁹ Oral interview with Alhaji Muniru Alli-Iwo. Local Historian,Alli-Iwo Compound,Agodi,Ibadan. Aged 75

²²⁰ Oral interview conducted for chief Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadanland. Aged 65

²²¹ Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P87

²²² Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft P..88

carved into different objects like human and animal figures, staff, effigies, mortals, stools, doors, and trays. The carvers became significant as result of modernization especially during urban development as chiefs and rich people began to patronize them for beautiful carvings. The production of dyeing cloth, weaving, tailoring was the responsibility of the both men and women. An integral part of the cloth industry was dying, which was practiced exclusively by women in some lineages, often called the *ile-alaro*.²²³

Some other people in Ibadan neither tilled the land nor manufactured goods. They were equally important for the useful and essential services they rendered. Among them were those who specialized in diagnosing diseases and prescribed medicine. The practitioners were distinguished from other workers in society because of their skill to cure diseases as well as their esoteric knowledge and special language.²²⁴ Dancing and singing remained part of the social life of Ibadan in the period. It was an occupation that did not offer goods but did provide services. Ibadan people sang and danced in nearly all their moments of joy, and they sang or recited poems to console the bereaved. Singing took various forms such as *ijala, esa, ewi, juju, fuji, awurebe*, and *Sakara*. These were found mostly among the men, and the women and prominent Ibadan people that engaged in these activities included *Saka Layigbade, Sikiru Ayinde, Dauda Akanmu, Rasheed Ayinde, Wasiu Ayinla* and a host of others.²²⁵ There was a host of traders, mostly women, who operated in the markets (the daily and the periodic, morning and night) and who sold foodstuffs and other items as explained in the preceding chapters.

The impacts of the colonial economic policy on Ibadan could not be underestimated. The western style or the capitalist mode of production disrupted and changed the family mode of production. It affected, destroyed and changed some economic features that were common with the Ibadan people. The British colonial economic enhanced the individualistic way of living to the detriment of the communal mode and ethos of living. The creation of commercialized wage labour promoted the development of an individualistic way of life.²²⁶ Trade was therefore linked with agriculture in two major ways. It depended on the supply of

²²³ This was confirmed by the women of Olugbaye's compound, Idi-Arere, Ibadan whose major occupation was dyeing.

²²⁴ Falola, T., (2012). *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P92

²²⁵ Oral interview, Alhaji Rasheed Ayinde, 50+, Fuji Musician, Idi-Arere, Ibadan. 20/10/2013.

²²⁶ Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P306

crops by farmers and the local trade in foreign goods and on the financial capability of the populace. The face of gender relations was changed as a result of colonial incursion. A strong patriarchal and capitalist ideology was entrenched. The British tried dissolving the rural economy by placing more emphasis on urban economy. The British also preferred doing business with the men. The womenfolk lost much of the rights enjoyed in the pre-colonial period as they were much removed from the decision making process. There was a sharp division in gender relation.²²⁷

It was difficult to ascertain the number of women in the industrial employment or labour force in Ibadan during the period of study. By and large, political independence, no doubt, swelled up the number of women wage workers or salary economy.²²⁸ The increase emerged in the city and so was confined to women with a high or little degree of education. The women's wage became increasingly necessary to the average urban family facing new and considerable expenses. The role of women in trade was also remarkable as market trade was preponderantly in their hands. They were of utmost importance. They conveyed the needed farm produce from the production centres to the consumer. They also bulked produce and processed items. They also served as credible sources for their clients, both to whom they sold and from whom they bought. The main value of such service was to link the subsistence sector and the commercial economy. Among the women, trade was but one of their major activities, together with craft production and agriculture. Though nearly all the Ibadan women market, they were also farmers. They farmed mostly on lands that belonged to their husbands. Women began to have a separate farm with the introduction of cassava. Cassava gained rapid acceptance and became a source of subsidiary income. In the traditional setting, both men and women formerly worked to acquire titles, and women began to show less interest in title acquisition. They used what capital they amassed to buy necessary equipment for non-farm occupation and enhance their livelihood, educate their children, and raise the level of their consumption. Majority of them with little education sought chances for normal job as dressmakers and non-formal jobs.²²⁹

²²⁷ Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P307

²²⁸ Colonization, urbanization as well as political independence contributed meaningfully to women emancipation in some aspects. The introduction of wage economy was a turning point in their life. This view was supported by various books on Ibadan such as Falola.T.,(2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960* as well as various interviews conducted.

²²⁹ In the 19th and early 20th centuries, women such as *Efunsetan Aniwura* used their wealth to titles. This later changed as a result of urbanization which gave way for more responsibilities.

Urban development in Ibadan improved the position of at least some women traders from being at the lower cadre for selling a small quantity of products at disorderly intervals in the market place to large scale full time urban and rural stallholders who handled a large amount of trading capital. In order to learn trade and become successful, the younger generations of women were taken along on trading trips by their mothers as well as female relatives. Many of them were off homes for four days out of seven and were engaged either in the sale of products or in its aggregation for resale to make ends meet.²³⁰

On the other hand, men were employed in some organized spheres of the economy such as transporting and loading of farm produce, in the government offices as messengers, clerks, administrative officers, and the rest. The introduction of western education, a feature of colonization and urbanization was significant in Ibadan as it affected the economic activities of the city.²³¹ Education became a major tool for upward movement within society. It made available not only the low-level human resources needed by the British administrators but also produced the professional male elite who later took over the administration of Ibadan from the British colonial masters and who continued to dominate the tiers of government and institutions in both the city and the tributary areas.²³² Such people included *Adegoke Adelabu*, *Adisa Akinloye*, *Richard Akinjide*, *Adisa Adeoye*, *Victor Omololu Olunloyo*, *Wuraola Esan*, *Mojeed Agbaje*, *Lekan Balogun* and several others.²³³

4.9 Urban Farming and Food Security

Urban agriculture is the planting of crops and raising of animals for food and other benefits within the city. It also involves some other related activities including the production and delivery of inputs and the processing and marketing of products.²³⁴ Urban agriculture

²³⁰ Oral interview, Dr Suleiman Yusuf, 48+, Department of Agric. Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

²³¹ Western education gave birth to social change in Ibadan. Peoples' attitudes to live was transformed and at times reshaped.

²³² Oral interview, Senator Lekan Balogun, Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland. 3-4-2015. Aged 75

²³³ Oral interview, Senator Lekan Balogun, Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland. 3-4-2015. Aged 75

²³⁴ Thinker, I., (1994) "Urban Agriculture is Already Feeding Cities" in Egziabher, A.G., Smith, D.L., and Mougeot, J.A., (eds) *Cities Feeding People*. Ottawa: International Development Research centre. P.xii.

makes income available for those involved in its chain of production. Many urban dwellers turn to urban farming to fill the food deficit.²³⁵

Traditionally, the practice of urban farming was not new in Ibadan as agriculture was the most practiced of all occupations and, most important of all productive activities. In Ibadan, four types of fields where farmers worked were identified and each of the fields stood for progress in the agricultural history of Ibadan. First among these was the *ogba* (garden) sited very close to the compound and fenced to prevent animals from making incursions into it. The gardens were very important not only because of security reasons but a means to enhance the livelihood means of the people.²³⁶ The colonial influences that created diversion in the economy also influenced the growth and development of urban farming in Ibadan.²³⁷ In Ibadan, the set of people that engaged in urban farming included the traditional farmers who were consumed by city development and migrants who came searching for works. Apart from those who started urban farming in the early 20th century as a way of enhancing their income and having food closer to their homes, others began in the 1970s and 1980s following government policies such as Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution, and the Structural Adjustment Programmes. Following an increase in urban development, ineffective agricultural programmes and policies, crippled food supply systems, inflation, and withdrawal of subsidies, unemployment and reduction in wages, urban farming expanded and later became a common phenomenon.²³⁸

The magnitude and the variation diversity of demand for food and agricultural goods also spurred the need for enhanced agricultural production within the city. The monumental increase in Ibadan population not only increased the demand for food but also affected the land as a result of built-up areas, degradation, and prioritizing of tree crop

²³⁵ Maxwell,D.G.,(1994)"The Household Logic of Urban Farming in Kampala" in Egziabher,A.G., Smith,D.L., and Mougeot ,J.A., (eds). *Cities Feeding People*. Ottawa: International Development Research centre.P54.

²³⁶ Falola,T.,(2012)*Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P78.

²³⁷ Gbadegesin,A.S.,(1994)"Agricultural Practices" in M.O.Filani,F.O.Akintola and C.O.Ikporukpo(eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.P147

²³⁸ RUAF Foundation (2005-2010) *Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture in Ibadan: Characteristics, Challenges and Prospects*. International Water Management Institute.P4 Urban farming in Ibadan became a common act among the city dwellers to complement their income as well as to enhance their livelihood means.

production at the expense of food crop production. The shortcomings on the part of the local farmers to meet up with the food requests of the city were also a factor.²³⁹

Urban farming became a common phenomenon in Ibadan and took different dimensions that reflected land accessibility, availability of water, and the potential for bringing other resources into the production process. In the city of Ibadan, three types of urban farming were noted. These included open-space farming, backyard gardening and livestock husbandry {piggery, snailery and goat rearing} and aquaculture.²⁴⁰

As the city continued to expand, food insecurity in Ibadan changed from the problem of just feeding the city to that of access at households and individual levels. There was an indication that the rural-urban migration increased the number of the poor in the city. This implied that livelihood became more difficult for many people. To curtail the menace, urban food production was resulted to by using the available land around.²⁴¹ The educational qualifications of those engaged in urban agriculture varied significantly with close to 18% having tertiary education. The major reasons for farmers' involvement in UPA in Ibadan were: to ensure reliable food supply to the family, to augment the family income, and as a business to generate profit and to cope with the high cost of living.²⁴² Urban farming was a part time economic activity among the civil servants, traders, artisans, and craftsmen who engaged in various agricultural practices after their normal day's work and during the weekend to augment their fixed income. Other people that engaged in urban agriculture in Ibadan included the single mothers, married women who did not have a regular job and the widows.²⁴³

Among the salient challenges of urban farming in Ibadan included the question of legality and competition for land use, which cut across class and income lines. The households of all income levels engaged in staple food crop production while a notable percentage of middle-income households engaged in vegetable and a much greater

²³⁹ Oral interview, Dr Suleiman Yussuf, Department of Agric Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

²⁴⁰ Most of the land used for urban farming in Ibadan included open spaces that were not constructed on. It was revealed that any available land not used was turned to farm within the city.

²⁴¹ Oral interview, Dr Suleiman Yussuf, Department of Agric Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

²⁴² RUAF Foundation (2005-2010) *Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture in Ibadan: Characteristics, Challenges and Prospects*. International Water Management Institute.P8

²⁴³ Oral interview, Dr Suleiman Yussuf, Department of Agric Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

percentage were involved in livestock and poultry production. They cultivated the available pieces of land around their compounds as well as in poultry and other livestock keeping. According to Gbadegesin, “about 26% was involved in livestock production.”²⁴⁴

One of the areas where urban farming took place in Ibadan was the *akuro*, located at the banks of streams or in swamps in the city. The advantage of the *akuro* farms lied in its fertility and the suitability for use in the dry season. The extent of *akuro* farm relied heavily on the extent of the bank and the swamp where it was established. The banks of *Kudeti*, *Alafara*, *Gege*, and *Bode* were noted for the production of vegetables, while other crops such as yam and maize were also grown. Other places included the place of work and the roadside like that of *Dandaru*, *Ogunpa*, and *Kudeti* Rivers. The bulk of the land secured by the farms within the city showed that urban farming was a component of the geographic and economic life of Ibadan city.²⁴⁵

Some of the lands used for urban farming in Ibadan were inherited, leased, or bought. Its ownership fell into two categories. The Freehold land which was made up of over half the land in the city and the one owned by the Ibadan city council in the form of statutory long term leases. Some of the public lands were administered directly by the Ibadan Property Development Authority. Public land included not only the land owned by the city council but also some privately owned territory on which the owners did not actively discourage cultivation. Animals and birds that were domesticated included sheep, fowl, goats, pigs, and chickens. Some of these animals were kept to provide meat for a meal as well as for sacrifice. Animal farming became more pronounced when moved away from the highly-condensed areas near the outskirts of the city such as *Orita-Challenge*, *Odo-Ona-Elewe-Liberty*, and *Asipa* in the *Oluyole* Local Government of the city.²⁴⁶

The size of urban farm varied and relied solely on the availability of land. The tools of cultivation also varied but majority made use of simple farm implements such as cutlass and hoe. These tools were available to most farmers at little cost in some of the major city

²⁴⁴ Gbadegesin, A.S., (1994) “Agricultural Practices” in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. Pp151-152

²⁴⁵ Farming along the swamps or streams was not new in Ibadan. Its practice started in the early days of the city formation. It became noticeable as a result of urbanization and rural-urban movements.

²⁴⁶ Animal farming became a viable agricultural policy in the city to supplement food crop production. It also became necessary as a result of some governmental policies that forced some civil servants to set up poultry farms at their various backyards.

markets and family compounds around *Oja'ba, Mapo, Bode, Ogunpa, Gege, Agodi-Gate, Ode-Aje, Oja'gbo*, and many more.²⁴⁷ The inputs used and the kind of service providers technique also varied. The farmers used different techniques to minimize input used and maximize outputs. A large number of them secured their inputs from private shops while others got theirs from the government offices like the local government council secretariat.²⁴⁸

However, access to capital was a major constraint obstacle facing urban farmers in Ibadan as elsewhere. The demand for collateral from the financial houses posed a serious challenge to urban farming. Many engaged the support of the informal credit, savings and loans from friends, relatives and associates.²⁴⁹

4.10 Globalization, Food Production and Supply in Ibadan

Globalization is one of the biggest happenings that have shaped the world after the last world war. It has wrought profound changes on trade, investment, and other areas of human life. It has also affected people through awareness, cultural exchange, tourism, migration trends, communications, and technology.²⁵⁰ Globalization has greatly reduced the obstacles imposed by spatial reality on interactions between nations. Globalization has thus occasioned a far-reaching assault on state frontiers and a reduction of the communication barriers between states. With this rolling socio-economic reality, there has been the spread of influences, goods, and artifacts from one end of the world to another. But just like in most other improvement related phenomenon, globalization has produced some imbalanced partnerships between the developed and the developing world. In this sense, the emergent world can be seen as more or less the receivers or clients of globalizing trends powered or supplied from the developed world.²⁵¹ Thus, globalization new routes to Africa were through economic reform programmes and the second wave of democratization in the continent. In

²⁴⁷ Falola.T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change,1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft.P63.

²⁴⁸ The local government council areas complemented the efforts of the conventional markets in selling farm inputs such as cutlasses, fertilizers and seedlings at a cheaper and affordable rate.

²⁴⁹ It was revealed that capital as well as land availability were the major constraints facing the city farmers.

²⁵⁰ Kent.,(2000)"African Food Security Under Globalization".*African's Food and Nutritional Sciences*. Vol.2.No.1.P22

²⁵¹ Anugwom,E.E.,(2007)"Globalization and Labour Utilization in Nigeria: Evidence from the Construction Industry". *Africa Devt*.Vol.xxxii.No.2.P113

this sense, one agrees with the contention that structural modification and global integration are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.²⁵²

The rural policies by the government in the mid-1980s were much influential on food sector. These included the limitations on grain imports and the introduction of the Directorate for Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure {DFFRI}. This economic restructuring project was an integral part of globalization concept introduced into sub-Saharan Africa in the form of liberalization.²⁵³ Arguably, the impact of globalization through the initiatives such as privatization, liberalization, and commercialization had seriously shaped and affected Nigeria economy in all ramifications, especially on the movement of farm produce.²⁵⁴

The major area in which Ibadan could be said to have competed in the global market was in the production of farm produce. Surprisingly, agriculture suffered severe neglect during the period of the so-called oil-boom as peoples orientation was towards imported goods and commodities. Some of the food items identified to be locally produced such as maize, rice, and vegetable oil, faced neglect as they were brought from overseas. The import bill for food items rose from under 2million in 1962 to over 2billion by 1984, a more than 1,000 percent increase. The main component of industrial costs was that of raw materials that were imported. Capital investment in manufacturing grew astronomically from 64million in 1975 to nearly 900million in 1980. All these heavy investments were, of course, made possible by the phenomenal growth in petroleum export from 1973. Government revenue from oil jumped from 735million in 1972 to 1.4billion in 1973 and to 4.2billion in 1974. It rose to over 10billion in 1975 and over 13billion in 1980. By 1981, the drop to 9.6billion was the first sign of fragility and nose-diving decline of the economy. Total foreign exchange earnings of the country dropped from 14.2billion in 1980 to 10.9billion in 1981, to 8.2 billion in 1982, and 7.6billion in 1983. The balance of payments position swung from a surplus of about 2billion in 1980 to a deficit of nearly 3billion in 1984. The situation became critical

²⁵² Aina, T.A., (1997) *Globalization and Social Value in Africa: Issues and Research Direction*. Dakar: Cordestria. P5

²⁵³ Guyer, J., (1997) *An African Niche Economy: Farming to Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988*. England: Edinburgh University Press. P16

²⁵⁴ Oral Interview with Dr Sulaimon Yussuf of the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. 6/7/2015

that the country had real difficulties in raising the necessary credit to cover its foreign trade transactions.²⁵⁵

It is pertinent to note that the place of agriculture in Ibadan could not be underestimated. It served as a source of food and an option of livelihood in the tributary areas and the city. The rural impact of the policy presented us with diverse and interesting perspectives. As the standard of living in the city became more unbearable, many city people ventured into urban farming to augment their income. In Ibadan, more abandoned lands became farming fields and many zones of cultivation sprang up. Among the cultivators were the retrenched civil servants who were laid off as a result of downsizing of personnel of establishments, parastatals and the federal ministries and research institutes such as CRIN, FRIN, IAR&T, NIHORT located within the city of Ibadan. Government also provided incentives for some school leavers as well as few wealthy people to go into large scale agricultural production. The expanding urban market for poultry also attracted good prices.²⁵⁶

The final dissolution of the marketing boards brought farmers closer to the full global market price and promoted the coming on board of capitalist system of production needed in a modern economy of Ibadan to replace the old family mode of production. Findings revealed that, the initiative benefitted few of the villages that were not too distanced from the city while the farther ones were monumentally affected.²⁵⁷ The rural farmers in Ibadan were forced to be more effective and efficient to be able to face foreign competitors and meet up with demands.²⁵⁸ Local currency devaluation was one of the most significant parts of liberalization in Ibadan as it enhanced the income level in the local currency of farmers who exported their products. Devaluation also resulted in a reduction in the use of agricultural inputs. The agricultural programs were the major casualties of this policy. As profit-making became the motive of the broadcasting industry, most broadcasting stations dropped their agricultural programs when they could not get sponsors to foot the bills. The stuck interest was that, when profit-making became the deciding factor in the operation of every organization, public interest suffered. Some of the agricultural programs such as *Agbe Loba*,

²⁵⁵ Mabogunje, A.L., (1988) *Coping With Structural Adjustment: The Nigerian Experience in Satisfying Africa's Food Needs: Food Production and Commercialization in Africa's Agriculture*. London: Boulder. P195

²⁵⁶ Oral interview with Dr Suleiman Yusuf of the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

²⁵⁷ Oral Interview with Alhaji Muniru Oladipupo, Baale Abanla, Oluyole Local Government, Idi-Ayunre, Ibadan.

²⁵⁸ Oral Interview with Dr Edward Babatunde Esan. Executive Director, Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, (CRIN) Ibadan.

Ere-Agbe, Lese-Lugbe, that were transmitted by the WNTV/NTA and TSOS/ BCOS were stopped.²⁵⁹

The Indigenous and village dwellers lost control over their food supply as the traditional ingenuity was taken over by development. The family farms were in crisis as the land that was hitherto belonged to the lineage/ family were taken by the land speculators and grabbers who saw liberalization as a means of enhancing their wealth. This act moved many people out of the village to other areas in order to enhance their livelihood.²⁶⁰

4.11 Social Change and Urban-Rural Relations in Ibadan

Human existence cannot do without some forms of change. This could be natural or artificial. Change is of the essence of all things and the relations between things. Individual human beings and human groups appear on the historical stage as unconscious agents of the historical process. This implies that while social changes are produced by men, for these changes to be effective, they must conform to hidden laws that operate outside of the will.²⁶¹

There are two broad areas concerning the theoretical study of social change. The first is concerned with the factors or mechanisms which produce change while the second is concerned with the general characteristics of social change.²⁶² In the views of Cohen, P.S “the best-known explanations and theories of social change are the technological, economic, conflict, mal-integration, and adaptation theories. Others are the ideational theory and the cultural interaction theory”.²⁶³

It could be argued that changes in the size and structure of population were necessary instruments of social change. Many of the new urban centers including Ibadan and Abeokuta, were founded as an indirect repercussion of the cause. Ibadan came forth as a metropolitan and cosmopolitan city in Yorubaland after much struggle in Yorubaland that eventually disintegrated of the old Oyo Empire. Akinola opines that “Ibadan which contained a large population of farmers who commuted to their fields, developed as the product of the

²⁵⁹ Oral interview with Mrs Shade Hastrup of the Nigerian Television Authority, Ibadan Network Centre, Ibadan.

²⁶⁰ Globalization and Modernization changed many aspects of Ibadan affairs. The indigenous family/compound affiliation was substituted with the individual ownership of land as well as other means of production.

²⁶¹ Melch, J.C., (1985) *The Theory of Social Change*. London: Paul Kegan.P1.

²⁶² Cohen, P.S.,(1970)*Modern Social Theory*.London:Heinemann.P178.

²⁶³ Cohen, P.S.,(1970) *Modern Social Theory*.London:Heinemann.P180.

imperial expansion that gathered in the formerly dispersed populations to reduce problems of control".²⁶⁴ The contact with the British played significant role in Ibadan. Rural and urban sectors were linked as a result of movement of goods and peoples. This facilitated an organic inter-relationship between the city and the hinterlands. Ibadan thereafter changed into urban centre with all the urbanization attributes. The population and the city itself became socially diversified and heterogeneous in a way that kinship links that had existed for years were of no consequence.²⁶⁵

Historically, Ibadan was characterized by the communal and kinship mode of production as a result of its pre-colonial social formations. The basic unit of organization was the lineage or compound while the family formed the social production unit. The social organization of production involved private proprietorship, especially in peasant agriculture and petty-trading.²⁶⁶ The new political changes and structures were not the end, but the means to an end. Several measures were launched to create a new economic order. These were in the areas of production and exchange. The measures were primarily designed at destroying the institutions and mechanisms that sustained the pre-colonial economic system and by introducing modern ones that within the shortest period accelerated the process of capitalism and incorporation into the global economic system. These measures impacted on transportation, currency, labor, land, and tolls. Changes were designed to enhance the development of a permanent crop economy and to promote the domination of the exchange sector. The traditional and indigenous transport system which had serviced trade for centuries was inadequate for the anticipated expansion in cash crops. Steps were also taken to demonetize the cowry, the only indigenous currency. The cowry was considered a major obstacle to trade because it had the demerits of bulk and weight of transport. The administration also interfered with the exchange rate and intensified efforts to find a substitute for the cowry. The British West African Bank was opened in 1910 to facilitate business transactions between the city and the rural dwellers. This continued to increase over time as people began to move. a result of rural-urban migration. There was also the abolition of the toll system, which was regarded as an obstacle to the free flow of goods and people.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Akinola, R.A.,(1963)"The Ibadan Region".*Nigerian Geographical Journal*.Vol.1.No.6.P103

²⁶⁵ Ayeni,B.,(1994)"The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan: Its Growth and Structure" in M.O.Filani,F.O.Akintola and C.O.Ikporukpo (eds)*Ibadan Region*.Ibadan:Rex Charles.Pp72-73

²⁶⁶ Ayeni,B.,(1994)"The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan:Its Growth and Structure" in M.O.Filani,F.O.Akintola and C.O.Ikporukpo (eds)*Ibadan Region*.Ibadan:Rex Charles.P75

²⁶⁷ Falola, T.,(2012)*Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*.Ibadan:Bookcraft. P432

The Ibadan crafts that were developed early included iron-working, melting and blacksmithing, wood carving, bead manufacture, leather-working, and carpentry. These crafts/enterprises which were established within the city formed the basic units of the Ibadan city economy. These craft industries were located around *Oke-Oluokun, Foko, Oja'ba, Kure, Kobomoje, Oke-Odo, and Eleta*. Certain traditional crafts in the city had weathered changes well. Apprentices were mostly young relatives of the master craftsmen and were generally living in his house. However, the old blacksmith's yards had been transformed into a modern foundry producing such items as photographers' stands, Berber's chairs, iron bedsteads, iron chair frames, and a wide variety of farm tools.²⁶⁸ This was the beginning of the light engineering industry in Ibadan. Although, the traditional crafts still managed to hold or exist, the old craft association based on lineage or the compound had largely been eroded. It was the more modern crafts that had managed to organize themselves in a pattern suited to the new conditions.

The use of mud with thatched roofs was the order of the day during the pre-colonial period. These houses were clustered together in compounds and enclosed in walls of the same construction. Indigenous houses in Ibadan were more correctly known as compounds where extended family lodged. It was an elaborate building that had several rooms and sometimes occupying several acres. Each extended family had between 20 and 1,500 persons depending on the number of lineages that came together. Groups of compounds formed quarters while group of quarters formed the city in Ibadan.

Among the prominent residential areas identified in included the cores, older suburb, newer eastern suburb, newer western suburb, post-1952 suburb, *Bodija* estate, and reservations. The city witnessed monumental development in every aspect of its edifice and visible organization. Housing was one of these developments. The mud walls were replaced with the brick-walls.²⁶⁹ Brick-wall became a symbol of the good life and a cherished goal of life for every individual. It was a symbol of status, an extension of his personality, and part of his identity. The brick houses were also later replaced by those built of cement blocks. As with the building materials, the corrugated iron sheet became a very popular roofing material. This was a result of the emergence of an architectural design that was more aesthetic. The

²⁶⁸ Most of the traditional cottage industry workshops have disappeared in the city. They have been replaced with modern shops in various locations.

²⁶⁹ Agboola, S.B., (1994) "Formal and Informal Housing" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P107.

drawing artifice known as the Brazilian style was introduced into the city, and this involved the use of numerous decorations to fill doorways, windows, pillars, balconies, and verandas, as well as the application of bright colours to the house. Its layout consisted simply of a central corridor on which rooms opened on both sides. Its popularity was, however, derailed by the new developments in the city, particularly in the 1960s.²⁷⁰

Specialization in occupation coupled with urban development brought about changes in tastes, values, and aspirations. The need for foreign materials and goods such as provisions, clothes, and footwear among others brought about the sophistication of the market economy. Apparently, the appearance and functions of the markets changed significantly. The interference of government in marketing affairs gave the markets a facelift in terms of infrastructural facilities. These included covered and lockable stalls, open stalls, open trading units, and those in the form of counters. Parking spaces were also provided in some markets such as *Bodija*, *Alesinloye*, *Adelabu* and a host of others for the conveniences of the consumers.²⁷¹

The construction of the railway transformed the commercial networks of the women and opened new opportunities for them. There was also an increase in women's education, which produced young career women who took to modern occupations and interests.²⁷² *Iyalode Raulatu Ajisomo* and *Rukayat Ajisomo* were always remembered for their resistance to attempts to impose taxation on women by the colonial authorities. Chief *Wuraola Esan's* installation as the *Iyalode* of Ibadan manifested an important change in the type of career profile for women title holders. Thus, western-educated women balanced wealthy Muslim traders for the first time. Significant numbers of title-holders were Christians following modern careers, especially teaching. Chief *Esan* exemplified this shift in the make-up of the traditional Ibadan female elite. She was deeply concerned in the establishment of women voluntary organizations; the most important was the National Council of Women's Society (NCWS). Also, *Alhaja Humani Alade Alaga* and *Wuraola Akanke Akintola* demonstrated a level of business and intellectual prowess. They championed the rights of market women in the core markets of the city, such as *Orita-Merin*, *Akere*, *Dugbe*, and *Oja'ba*.²⁷³ The

²⁷⁰ Agboola, T., and C. Olatubara. (2015) "Housing Situation in Ibadan at the close of the 20th Century: Challenges for the 21st Century" in D. Layiwola (ed) *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*. Ibadan: IAS. P84-85

²⁷¹ Oral interview with Prof. Sulaimon Yusuf, Dept. of Agric. Economics, University of Ibadan. 26-6-2018.

²⁷² Denzer, L., (1988) *The Iyalode in Ibadan Politics and Society, 1850-1997*. Ibadan: African Humanities Monographs. 7. P13.

²⁷³ Oral interview with Oloye Lekan Alabi, Ikolaba Olubadan of Ibadanland. 17/4/2017

introduction of western practice and idea formed a potent factor that altered the subservient position of Ibadan women. The Christian missions emphasized on the equality between the sexes and women found new aspiration.²⁷⁴

The modern city created by the colonialists unavoidably weakened the kinship institution. The coming together of people and their movement from village to the city pursuits began the formation of a new social organization. The new social organization instead of prioritizing kinship, weakened it, and gave room for the foundation of linkages based on associations. These voluntary associations replaced and took upon itself the responsibilities performed by the lineage or the extended family and other kinship groups. These associations were based on closed friendship, educational and economic status. The city became a social organization that substituted secondary for primary group relationships. The nuclear family of father, mother, and the children and its individualistic tendencies replaced the extended family structure. Western influences and the post-colonial developments in the city resulted in the establishment of schools and other developmental programs that provided clerks for the civil services, teachers, and few men who became professionals in various fields. Wealth was sought as a mark of prestige and as a means of attaining political office. Wealthy men such as *Chief Salami Agbaje*, *Chief Adebisi Giwa*, *Late Chief Asunni*, *Late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu*, *Late Oba I.B. Akinyele*, *Late J. Aboderin*, *Late Chief T.L. Oyesina*, *Dr Saka Anthony Agbaje*, *Alhaja Humani Alaga*, *Late Chief Adisa Akinloye*, *Chief Richard Akinjide*, *Dr Omololu Olunloyo* among others became leaders, not only within their descent groups but in the community at large. These rich men built up a following of men unrelated to them.²⁷⁵

The family mode of production was taking away by the new agencies such as church, mosque, and school. Marriage began to be a contract between the opposite sex and sacred and was handled as a civil contract than a holy bond and became more unsteady. The churches became institutionalized and introduced a faith with a new cosmology. Memberships of the churches increased rapidly. In the past couple of decades, the growth of processed food

²⁷⁴ Although the Christian missionary had arrived Ibadan in the 1860s, its effect was not well pronounced until the early 20th century.

²⁷⁵ Western ideology was a concept of the colonialists not to disrupt the indigenous ideology but a means to enhance the colonialists administration and governance. However, the concept consciously or unconsciously affected the indigenous value systems by completely altered some and modified some to suit its purpose. See also Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830-1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P880

exports in Ibadan began to grow and played a more important role among the populace. The spread of these multinational retailers in Ibadan in the 1990s was quite slow, but since then, the rate of diffusion dramatic in areas such as *Bodija*, *Oluyole Estate*, *Challenge*, *Molete*, *Iwo-road* and several other places in the city. The dramatic growth of supermarkets in Ibadan was fueled by a massive infusion of foreign direct investment, which liberalized investment policies. The presence of higher educational institutions such as the University of Ibadan, The Polytechnic, and some other research institutes aided the growth of supermarkets in the city. The rapid spread of supermarkets affected and drove some traditional food retailers out of business in Ibadan.²⁷⁶

This chapter concludes that the cosmopolitan nature of Ibadan which came about through migration and innovations affected the urban-rural interface in Ibadan. As the livelihood strategies of the village and city dwellers in Ibadan became more multifaceted as a result of their co-existence, rural-urban linkages expanded. Ibadan rural and urban households got much of their income and livelihood from farming, trade, and service provision respectively. The results implied that the relationship between the tributary areas and the city were advanced by the progress in the sustainability options of the populace through sustaining the city-based non-farm activities and unregulated activities in the city. Off and non-farm incomes were notable elements in the sustainability of the weak both in the tributary sector and the city. In some of the villages and the city, the density of the population and deplorable condition of the natural resources were such that farming could not continue as the principal source of income. It was discovered that more than half of the Ibadan dwellers (about 57%) depended on a combination of agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Between the two areas, agricultural production was the principal occupation of the poor, while those who had the facilities to venture into other economic activities engaged more in non-farm activities. The young ones in the society pursued multitude activities than the aged. Commerce and service sector became the order of the day in the city. The city served as melting pots and service centers for the population of the rural hinterlands and inversely linked hinterland with the wider networks. There was a great correlation between the village agricultural activities and the non-farming sector. The factors which included

²⁷⁶ Globalization brought into Ibadan more innovations in the eatery habits. The emergence of multinational corporations in food sector drastically changed the consumption pattern of the people and gave way for more supermarkets in the city.

wealth status, age, and sex were major determinants of income diversification into non-farm activities in rural areas and agriculture in urban areas. For instance, poorer families and the womenfolks were particularly and majorly engaged in less rewarding and transient employment than those who had the financial capability and the men. Unevened distribution of land was one of the factors that confined rural-urban interactions in Ibadan.

The city played significant roles on its surrounding hinterlands. The movement of villagers to the city was considerable as the city spilled over into its suburbs. Movement for employment elsewhere was a distinctive method of diversification for greener pasture. One important aspect that integrated the both urban and rural people was remittances. Remittances in Ibadan involved two-way direction of persons, items, and money. How remittances were used and their impact on those in the tributary areas was considered at the domestic level and not only at the levels of individuals or of villages. Remittances, therefore, formed an integral part of rural-urban linkages and livelihood in Ibadan. Remittances/financial flows into households augmented and enhanced the income of the people in the rural areas and constituted a major source of income. The effect was a two sides of a coin- direct and indirect income effects and it had influence on production, income, inequality, and poverty, at least at the local level—the inflow of remittances as an indicator of the economical relevance of migration. Remittances were the second largest capital inflow into the rural areas aside from their normal daily income from farming and other activities. Certain features including age, gender, and occupation, length of stay, educational qualifications, and income level influenced migration and remittances behaviour in Ibadan. The features of the unregulated sector activities in Ibadan were ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprise, and small scale of operation, labour-intensive, and adapted technology. People of low-income in Ibadan relied heavily on the informal sector for survival because the sector provided ample opportunities to support their livelihood. The rise of urbanization in the city witnessed the establishment and development of the unregulated sector, while the income generation of the sector also attracted migrants. As the city continued to grow, the modern sector employment continued to shrink, and there was a cut in the expenditure of workers within the former sector. The alternative was for them to diversify their economy and income means and by embarking in trade and other unregulated sector activities. These activities included contemporary vocation including carpentry, tailoring, hairdressing and dyein and many more. The significance of traditional crafts in the Ibadan economy declined steadily as a result of globalization. Globalization also led to remarkable alterations in sex contact within society. Capitalism dissolved some of the indigenous Ibadan

ways of living and replaced them with western ones in the areas of individual possession of property, wage labor, class stratification, and the introduction of foreign culture and patriarchal system.

Ibadan men enjoyed great privilege of decision making over the women. Most womenfolk lost much of their strength, status, and power through the depression of the rural community. Men were acknowledged as workers, while similar contributions of women were not ignored. This male-dominated division of labour created sharp gender separation. The introduction of new technology expanded the gap between men and women both in economic and social conditions. The advent of modern and formal education also influenced the lives of Ibadan men and women. Education facilitated and promoted new culture and religion. It made available low level human resources for the colonial masters.

The women associations in Ibadan served as agencies that facilitated the sharing of the both capital and labour as factors of production. It afforded the women the opportunity to contend with the challenges in terms of family access to labour at crucial time and access to cash for economic inputs. These women community were conceived to accomplish two basic duties such as making money readily available for their members and provide tools and inputs when necessary. This promised each woman a certain opportunity for weekly earnings and to gain access to productive labour and income. The exchange took many forms, both market and non-market. The most expressive exchange opportunities presented by women's associations to their members were the mutual orders for support in times of peak agricultural work or family crisis. The second type of association arranged urban production into distinctive craft occupations. In Ibadan, ordinary savings mobilization and credit facilities continued to be prevalent in the financial market among the women in spite of the formal banking in the city. The irregular sector contained schemes such as rotating savings and credit clubs. It provided a crucial service for both men and women and empowered them to meet both consumption-and investment-allied expenses. There were strong sign that women were as diligently involved in irregular savings and credit mobilization as men.

In Ibadan, farming played significant roles in the life of both the city dwellers and the urban inhabitants. Agriculture as an occupation was seen as a rural activity. However, it became essential for city residents to venture into city agriculture as a means of filling the food demand and supply gaps and a notable way of making income for other household requirements. Urban agriculture became a major tool for the sustainability of the city. It

also became a viable adventure because of the rising levels of urban poverty. Two groups of residents embarked on urban farming in Ibadan. These were the indigenous farmers whose urban development engulfed their lands and migrants that migrated from the rural hinterlands to the city. Liberalization, a brain child of the World Bank introduced in 1986 also accelerated and increased the number of urban farmers. The Structural Adjustment Programme did not only expand the zones of production and dismantle the marketing boards but aroused the evolution of private sector trading networks needed in a modern economy. The exposure of agricultural production to foreign competition forced some producers to become more efficient, while rural dwellers lost control over their food supply as their traditional ingenuity was partially destroyed by development.

Apart from the effect of globalization on urban farming, it altered the modes of life in the city and significantly changed the social institutions. There were alterations and modifications in the institutions of family, religion, morality, marriage and property. Also, the notable values that traditionally belonged to the family were taken over by the institutions of religion, education and other agencies. Fast foods became an integral part of the system as supermarkets were established in different areas within the city. This was part of the social change which came with globalization and modernization. Social change in Ibadan took two dimensions-artificial and natural. Social change in Ibadan altered some of the established traditional institutions, values, norms and behavioural patterns. The institution of social change also made the city of Ibadan to witness the development of light industries as against being totally agrarian. The establishment of these factories had noticeable effect on human's life. The migration of people from the village to the city affected the kinship relationship and weakened the indigenous family solidarity. The result of this population mingling was the shift from village to city pursuits and the formation of a new social group. This was based on association, majorly by occupation and by the tribe. The associations replaced and took over most of the responsibilities traditionally performed by the extended family and other kinship groups. The process also indicated a change in all human endeavours.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study investigated rural-urban interface in Ibadan in the area of urban food supply and livelihood. The city of Ibadan took a prominent position in the hierarchy of towns and cities in Nigeria. Ibadan grew in commerce, size and functions because of its geographical location. The city is located between the coast and the interior and this made it to serve as the melting pots for traders from every part of Yorubaland. The city of Ibadan within the period of study was viewed as a great indigenous city in African sub-Sahara as well as the economic strength of the region.

The historical foundation of Ibadan reflected in its diversity. The ancestors of the city came from different constituents of Yorubaland following the internecine wars that engulfed the region around 1830. Again, the emergence of colonialism from the 1890s accelerated its development and played significant roles in its heterogeneous nature. It was discovered that the city became cosmopolitan following the movement of people into it. The virgin lands were also occupied to satisfy the needs of the new immigrants. The hunters and the tillers of the soil were the first set of people to occupy most of the surrounding villages in the late and early 19th and 20th centuries respectively. Some other people that played active role in the colonization of the Ibadan rural settlements included the vibrant domestic slaves of the war lords and chiefs. Apart from this, a new immigrant was readily absorbed and enjoyed the same privilege like the old occupants and settlers as a consequence of the traditional land tenure arrangement exercised there.

The dynamic development of urba-rural linkages in Ibadan was made possible by its formative history, customs and institutions and this provided a deep insight into its relationship. The tributary areas and the city served each other simultaneously. Hitherto the arrival of the British in 1893, the people of Ibadan relied heavily on agriculture, iron-working, war-faring and trade for their livelihood. The city also had a very wide and numerous trade connections in those days. The ready made market allowed and promoted rural-urban linkage while suitability of the soil, land act, increased security, and the growth of commercial crops encouraged agriculture. Urban-rural ties in Ibadan involved the two-way movement of persons and resources and vice-versa. These ties between the hinterland and the heartland locations, people, and activities remained major component livelihood options and local economies of the Ibadan people.

Walter Christaller's central place theory propounded in 1933 in Germany recognizes an important function of towns in the economic restructuring, change and development of the tributary areas. The theory makes available a designed apparatus to comprehend the function of the urban centre as a means to trickle down development. For the rural Ibadan, the first point of touch with the new world was often the city environment. The city not only acted as the central place that produced goods and services to rural region, but it provided the rural dwellers with the possibility of selling their farm produce and surpluses. These were made possible by attending the periodical and daily markets within the town and its region. The city of Ibadan also played a central position and acted as the terminal junction in the discharge of administration. The city also made available an essential important order of economic and social/personnel services as well as entertainment and accommodation. It was as well the communication center. The availability of all these institutions greatly influenced both the rural and the city dwellers. The central place role played by the city of Ibadan had not only improved the purchasing power of the rural inhabitants but had stimulated rural productivity, economic transformation and growth.

Findings revealed that distance was a major obstacle that affected central place position in Ibadan. Some rural settlements that were distanced from the city did not so much enjoy the positive impacts of the central place. Such places included AkintolaOgbun, Obembe, Igege among many others. The incapability of the rural soil tillers and farmers to sell their farm produce wiped out major inducement proposed by the government to advance production and stimulate distribution. The post independence period witnessed the development of some activities in the rural economy. Such activities included the city financed enterprises such as poultry, piggery, and fisheries into the rural economy. This created and generated job opportunities and enhanced modern production innovations. Ibadan had many satellite settlements that provided food and other farm produce to cater for its needs. Though, food items were sourced from different areas such as Oke-Ogun, Ibarapa, Abeokuta, Iwo and some other areas within the region and beyond i.e. the Northern part of the country to complement those produced in Ibadan. Ibadan city retained powerful relationship with its tributary areas in the two-way flow of resources and personnel as a result of the presence of wide and enormous markets. The city and the country could not be divorced. They were connected and fused. Arguably, both areas did not equally enjoy from the association, as either of could survive without the other. For instance, the urban

centre relied strongly on the farm produce and other relationship of the hinterlands or village settlements which including Araromi, *Sanusi*, *Aperin*, *Onipe*, *Busogboro* and host of others.

In chapter one, traditionally in Ibadan, it has been hard to separate the hinterlands from the city. The formation of the city, growth and development, expansion and integration provided a view into the expanding inter-reliance and incorporation between the city and the countryside. The chains of relationship had the households, kinsfolks, associate, customers, and rivals. The dwellers of both sectors were economically interdependent and fused based on specialization: agrarian and non-agrarian. Specialisation in agrarian and non-agrarian activities significantly enhanced the livelihood of both areas. The exchange economy that emerged with defined roles and responsibilities was an element of the nature of the settlement patterns in Ibadan rural and urban. In Ibadan, from time immemorial, the city had constantly and persistently being fused with its surrounding villages. The connection between them was both fundamental and active.

Chapter two concludes that the foundation of Ibadan had to do with its disposition to alien and migrants without considering where they were coming from. Ibadan was populated by people with diverse origins and the city had no ancestral founder as no one could lay claim to its ownership. These characteristics among others shaped and impacted the course of its history and also influenced both the economic and political organizations of the city. The city later became autonomous and developed a very strong and unique political organization efficient and effective enough to cater for the needs of the people. The political organization was peculiar and was capable of controlling its diverse and enormous inhabitants of both the region and the town. The political organization also made available uncompromising and adequate answers to the urgent challenge of insecurity to protect its economy. As no one could lay any hereditary claim or right to power in Ibadan, conferment of both traditional and honorary titles and recognition was based purely on wealth and merits. The political structure and apparatus of Ibadan was not only unique but was clearly different from the rest of Yoruba towns in the 19th and early 20th century as there were no hereditary ruling lines and no ancestral founders or a royal family.¹ It was a paradigm shift compared with other related Yoruba towns political structure devised and designed to cater for the cosmopolitan outlook and nature of the city. Those who were appointed chiefs were clearly and majorly Oyo-Yoruba extraction. In Ibadan, lineage (*Idile*) formation was an indispensable aspect of

their life. The city and the rural area formed a corporate body that was made up of people who could trace their common descent and relationship to one another by a sequence of genealogical steps through the male line to the founder of the compound who was also regarded as their progenitor (*orisun*). Some of these lineages had distinguishing characteristics for identification and they owed their cohesiveness both at the city and the surrounding villages to a joint and commonly accepted values and customs. Common attributes and symbols like common names, praise poems, facial marks and cults were features to identify a particular compound. They lived together and occupied one compound both at home in the city and on the farm. This facilitated, enhanced and strengthened a symbiotic socio-economic existence between the two sectors. The lineage was an economic unit as well as political unit that allowed every family member to make a living. Properties that could be traced or belonged to the founder of a lineage belonged to all the members of the lineage irrespective of their homestead. Also, properties such as land and titles of a lineage could not be sold off without the consent of others.

The economy of Ibadan was diversified and grouped into two- primary and secondary activities and characterized by a high degree of specialization—this helped unavoidable and mutual relationship among the rural and the urban dwellers.² Every lineage or compound in the city had its farmlands in the surrounding rural settlements. The need for more and extensive farmlands prompted and necessitated movement into the virgin areas (*egan*). The creation of these extensive farmsteads and villages was remarkable in Ibadan history as it created a rural economy not distinct from the city economy. An individual was both a part of both spaces. Some of the tillers of the land worked and lived on the farm for a period of up to 300 days out of 365 days in a year and only retreated to the city for social and religious activities or during off farming season. This on and off movement between the city and the villages created rural-urban linkage in Ibadan agriculture, marketing and livelihood. The both rural and urban markets in Ibadan formed an important link between the hinterland and the heartland. It concerned very extensive daily migration of persons and items and fulfilled important social and economic functions.

The market, whether day, daily or periodic, was an essential feature that aided central place function. Ibadan markets varied not only in size, but also in the range of goods offered

¹ Watson, R., (1999) "Ibadan-a Model of Historical Fact: Militarism and Civic Structure in a Yoruba City". *Urban History*. Vol. 26. No. 1. P13

² Falola, T., (2012) *Ibadan Foundation Growth and Change, 1830–1960*. Ibadan: Bookcraft. P 77

and were held either daily (*Oja-ojojumo*) or periodically every fourth or eight-day (*Oja-ororun* or *Ojokesan-kesan*). Non market institutions allowed goods to be supplied without making use of money in the city. It was an ancient and institutionalized arrangement for family members, friends and to exchange goods and services without paying or giving anything in return. This involved gift giving during social, religious and political ceremonies.

Chapter three concludes that Ibadan urbanization was both traditional and modern. The city was organized around networks of compounds and became one of the largest purely indigenous African cities. Ibadan grew in population and size because the indigenous population was accommodating and tolerant to strangers. These features simply defined native Ibadan man a very delightful someone to co-habitate. Also, the city did not encounter any collective and racial conflicts though it was cosmopolitan. This aided its growth, development, expansion, and urbanization. The city was transformed into modern one after 1893 when the British imposed their authority. These changes and modifications included the growth in the economic activities at the beginning of the 20th century. This vehemently altered the economic composition and social activities of the city. Some of the changes introduced included the introduction of currency that replaced the cowries, the construction of railroad undertaken in the early 20th century, which linked the northern and southern regions. There were great changes and development that enabled the farm produce and mineral resources of the hinterland to be evacuated to the city as well as the coast for export. Following colonialism, the export trade became a dominant a component of the Ibadan economy and a pillar of external trade. It also constituted a direct means of cash income for the local producers. The British administration also invented and brought new changes in the technique of production as wage labor became an integral aspect of the colonial economy. Social mobility and increasing amount of money in circulation were made possible by the introduction of wage labour. People began to migrate from the countryside to the city for reasons such as lack of infrastructural facilities and unconducive living environment in the rural area. Ibadan attained the status of an administrative unit in 1946, and became the centre of political and economic activities in western Nigeria. Ibadan also attracted vibrant scholars, prominent politicians and traders from all the part of the country and became stratified and cosmopolitan in nature. The developments witnessed during this period also triggered more developments in the rural areas. Some social values, norms, beliefs and cultural practices in countryside as well as in the heartland were challenged. The women and children took fresh roles to contend in the want of husbands and fathers. The mode of production and livelihood

options were significantly affected. There were important changes in personnel as the use of slaves, pawns, and other traditional methods of recruiting labor became a thing of the past. Some indigenous traders became prominent and competed favorably with the Europeans and *Lebano-Syrians*. Two geographical areas were created following urban development. The periphery-urban interface developed with some mixed characteristics.³ The effects of urban expansion in Ibadan had two major effects. These involved opportunities and challenges in both sectors. A remarkable characteristic of Ibadan society was a high rate of urbanization, which had great results on both the resources and the environment. Ibadan region provided good illustrations of the impression of urban development on the countryside landscape and management. A notable feature of the growth of Ibadan city from the 1960 was the disappearance of the non-urban land uses. Urban growth in Ibadan magnified the request for goods and services in peri-urban areas. The periphery-urban residents took the benefit of the expanding market and involved in more diverse economic activities. Economic activities recognized in this research included the both formal and informal economic activities. These activities became relevant and significant support choice for not only the indigenes but with other dwellers. Personal services such as hairdressing and dress making as well as Petty trading were specifically relevant sustainability options for the womenfolks. Huge hectares of land for farming were leased out to those that engaged in other economic activities such as land developers and speculators.⁴ In sum, the chapter reveals that despite all the innovations brought about by the city growth and urbanization, the indigenous system survived and thrived.

Chapter Four concludes that the livelihood options of the countryside and city people in Ibadan were multi-dimensional following their co-existence and integration. Those living in the both countryside and the city derived a fat proportion of their revenue and support means from farm and non- farm activities. The outcome indicated that venturing into other supporting economic activities played major functions in livelihood improvement of the residents of both spatial sectors. Non-farm incomes represented an important aspect of the rural and urban poor. Agriculture began to dwindle in participation as a means of living because of high population, lost of soil fertility and depletion of natural resources. It was revealed that more than half of the people depended strongly on combining farming and non-

³ Ayeni, B., (1994) "The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan: Its Growth and Structure" in Filani, M.O., F.O. AKintola and C.O. Iporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P77

⁴ Oral interview with Oloye Sarafadeen Ali. (Aged 52)

farming activities. In the two areas, agricultural production was the leading employment of the weak, while those who were more fortunate showed a great expressive attention in non-farm activities. The young among the people engaged more in plural activities than the aged ones. Commerce and industrialization were the main sources of revenue in the city. The city acted as the place where buying and selling in huge quantity took place and a place where development radiated to the tributary settlements as a result of inter-connectivity.⁵ The rural non-farm activity in Ibadan linked directly to agriculture and involved commerce, manufacturing, and services. They were largely informal rather than formal. The essence of income variation into different economic activities depended the status of each individual in the society. For instance, the not well to do and the women were more engaged and occupied with less rewarding and transient jobs than those who had the wherewithal and the men who were stronger.

The city had monumental influence on its surrounding village settlements. The movement of rural people to the urban centre was considerable. An important aspect of relationship among the dwellers of the both sector was remittances. Remittances in Ibadan included movement of people, items, and money and formed an integral part of village-city linkages and livelihood means, Remittances/financial flows into households augmented and enhanced the income of the populace in the village and constituted a major source of income and it had varied income results. It influenced all levels of economic activities at the local level. The inflow of remittances in Ibadan was an indicator of the economic significance of migration. Remittances became one of the largest capital inflows into the hinterlands. Age, gender, occupation, length of stay in the city, educational qualifications, and income level influenced migration and remittances behavior in Ibadan significantly. Remittances also formed and constituted one dimension of wider social and economic linkages in Ibadan. New ideas and innovations in certain areas were introduced into the rural areas. The labour market was divided into regulated and unregulated sector. The features of the unregulated informal sector activities in Ibadan involved simplicity of engagement and participation in the areas of resources, ownership, operation, labor, and technology. People with low-income depended heavily on the unregulated sector for sustainability. The sector provided ample opportunities to support their livelihood. As the city continued to expand, the modern and regulated sector employment continued to shrink. There was a reduction in the expenditure of workers within

⁵ Filani, M.O., and Iyun, B.F., (1994) "Markets" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo (eds) *Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles. P168

the former sector. The only alternative for them was to diversify their economy and income sources. They engaged in trade and other informal sector activities including carpentry, barbing, shoemaking, hairdressing and many more.

Urbanization and globalization had major effects on gender relations in Ibadan. One remarkable change was that Ibadan men had more power in decision makings than their women counterparts in the village as well as in the city. The women were relatively sidelined from crucial resolution processes and some of their strengths were eroded following the deterioration of the rural community. Women contributions were somehow overlooked. Men were prioritized and recognized as workers. This created a sharp division between the gender group. Western education and the importation of modern ideas and technical know-how not only widened the gap between the two sexes both in economic and social terms but greatly influenced the lives of Ibadan men and women. It made available not only the low-level human resources for the colonial masters but professionals and elites that eventually took over the administration of the city in an official capacity.

The colonial rule incorporated the people into the world capitalist system and this translated into monumental result in the areas of economic transformation and also reflected in new patterns and styles as far as commercial elitism was concerned. The development of a corpus of well-endowed Western-style business people signified a fundamental break with the past.⁶ However, some people combined both merchandise and trade. Indigenous entrepreneurs developed and created new business activities. Among these indigenous entrepreneurs were *Sanusi Adebisi Giwa, Salami Agbaje, Sule Edidi, Seliya Jawando, Humani Alaga, John Adelagun, Yusuf Agiri* among many others.⁷

The women's economic associations in Ibadan were formed as a way to enhancing the living standards of their members through income generation and to making available inputs and materials needed for their daily economic activities. This assured each woman a normal opportunity for weekly earnings and to have uninterrupted passage to productive labor and

⁶ Adesina, O.C. (2006) "Adebisi Sanusi Giwa (? – 1938) The Life and Career of an Ibadan Entrepreneur and Community Leader". *African Journal Online*. Vol.12. P1-2

⁷ Ojo-Kareem, T.O. (2008) "International Trade and Women Merchants at Gbagi Textile Market Ibadan. *Journal of Global Initiative, Policy Pedagogy, Perspective*". Vol.3. No. 1 P183

income. The most significant exchange opportunities presented by women's associations to their members were the mutual order for assistance in times of peak farm engagement or household family crisis. The second type of association organized urban production into specialized craft occupations. Despite the formal banking system in Ibadan, Informal savings mobilization and credit facilities such as *ajo* and *esusu* continued to dominate the financial market among the women. This informal sector provided a vital service for both men and women and enabled them to meet their expenses. The women were actively involved in irregular thrifty and credit mobilization than men.

Ibadan people, especially the low and middle income group expended more on food. The lineage and the compound were regarded as the primary social organization and it constituted a single sole production and consumption units. The family members worked together as a team under the supervision of the oldest. The proceeds were shared accordingly by the head who distributed not on individual's contributions but the needs of each member. The compound and lineage also made provision for every family member against unemployment and starvation. Success and failure in economic ventures were shared. A combination of social inequality in wealth, power, influence, and prestige among the people affected consumption pattern in Ibadan. In sum, major factors that determined urban consumption and dietary pattern were the financial capabilities of individuals.

Urban agriculture became an integral part of the city system. It became a viable alternative to reduce the rising urban poverty.⁸ Urban farming in Ibadan not only provided employment but served as an income generating outfit. It also provided food for the people. City farming in Ibadan was undertaken by the traditional farmers whose farms were engulfed by urban development and those that ventured into farming as a result of the advent of the liberalization policy. The structural adjustment programme initiated in 1986 was notable on urban farming in the city. It expanded the zones of production and dismantled the marketing boards. However, it stimulated and enhanced the capitalist economy of the modern economy. More local producers became efficient and effective because of the challenges they got from the foreign competitors.

⁸ RUAF Foundation (2005-2010) *Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture in Ibadan: Characteristics, Challenges and Prospects*. International Water Management Institute.P4

Globalization significantly altered social institutions and modes of life in the city.⁹ In Ibadan, some of the family values went into extinction and were taken over by new agencies including the church, mosque, and school. Fast and processed foods became the order of the day. More supermarkets sprang up around Bodija, Ring-Road, and Jericho among other areas. This was part of the social change which came with globalization and modernization. Ibadan city which was largely and hitherto agrarian began to witness some manufacturing industries. This had multivarious effects on the prices of commodities and output. As men and women moved into the modern city, their relationships with their descent groups inevitably weakened. The mingling of people led to the introduction of a new social organization that was premised on partnership mainly by employment and by the tribe. The associations replaced and took over most of the responsibilities traditionally performed by the extended family and other kinship groups. The process also indicated a diversion in people's food behavior, dress habits, speaking styles, tastes, choices, preferences, ideas, values, frivolous activities, and so on.

This thesis concludes that the periodic migration of the populace from urban to the rural at the foundation of the city was facilitated by the traditional land tenure system practiced in Ibadan. This historical system enabled free movement of persons, goods and services between the two spatial sectors. The rural inhabitants perceived their ancient compounds (*Agbo'le*), which consisted of many lineages (*Idile*) in the city as their homes. This fostered a mutual socio-economic existence and cooperation between the city and the countryside. The unregulated informal sector of the economy was a viable source of livelihood next to farming in terms of employment opportunities, income generation and poverty alleviation. Nonetheless, the alarming rate of rural-urban nexus in Ibadan has opened more opportunities and set free quite a large number of males and females from the bondage of customary livelihood strategies. The synergies between the city and the hinterland in Ibadan were not just physical but included economic links, social links, political links and cultural links. Some of these links could not be quantified as they were invisible, unregistered and unrecorded. It is difficult to ascertain the level of these movements because most of them were minute and unregistered. The city of Ibadan became a propeller that drove the development of the surrounding villages that were closer to the city. Some of these villages

⁹ Robin.,(2003)*The Impact of Globalization on the Agricultural Sectors of East and Central African Countries*.IITA Monograph.p1

included *Omi-Adio, Ido, Lalupon, Ejioku* and many others. The city also drew few of the distanced parts of the countryside into its sphere. The urban mode of living was tremendously extended to the villages as a result of technological development, transportation and communication. To a large extent, some of these villages were not deliberately designed to become urban, but to serve as a retreat for the city dwellers. Although, some of the villages in Ibadan were not designed to be urbanized, but to serve as a retreat for the urban dwellers.

Cultural affinity remained central to the understanding of Ibadan urban-rural interface, while social and economic factors continued to shape urban food supply and livelihood within the twentieth century.

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Name Of Informants	Status	Age	Occupation	Place Of Interview	Date Of Interview
Chief Adenihun Oladipo	M	81	Village Head	Abula Village	2/1/2015
Chief Lekan Alabi	M	65	Ibadan Chief	Ajurosun House	4/7/2015
Chief Lukmon Alade	M	56	Farming	Alaho Village	7/7/2015
Oyinlola Akani	M	62	Farming	Obembe Village	8/2/2015
Dr. Moruf Alabi	M	49	Lecturing	Univercity of Ibadan	4/4/2018
Oloye Sarafadeen Ali	M	52	Ibadan Chief	Ibadan House	21/4/2017
Professor Yusuf Sulaimon	M	48	Lecturing	University of Ibadan	3/3/2015
Senator Lekan Balogun	M	74	Ibadan Chief	Alarere Ibadan	14/4/2017
Dr. Suvajudeen Bankole	M	51	Lecturing	University of Ibadan	4/6/2012
Alhaji Muniru Ali Iwo	M	75	Retired Teacher	Ali Iwo Compound	13/2/2014
Alhaja Aminatu Abiodun	M	80	Trading/Iyalode of Ibadan	Akobo, Ibadan	4/2/2016
Alhaja Mulikatu Amole	M	71	Trading	Oja'gbo, Ibadan	15/5/2016
Alhaja Sidikatu Ajagbe	NM	67	Trading	Oja'ba Ibadan	22/1/2014
Alhaji Abdul Oduola	M	70	Retired Civil Servant	Bere, Ibadan	27/5/2011

Alhaji Gbadamosi Ogunniyi	M	75	Farming	Badaku Village	23/02/2012
Alhaji Kabiru Ibikunle	M	72	Local Institution	Bere, Ibadan	25/12/2012
Alhja Kafila Olawale	M	64	Trading	Bodija Malat	12/5/2018
Chief Muibi Adepoju	M	66	Former Chairman	Idi-Ayire	4/8/2008
Chief Omowale Kuye	M	80	Oloye L.C Ibadan High Chief	Ojaba Ibadan	4/8/2014
Dr. Tunde Esan	M	80	Former Director CRIN	Odo-onanla Village	16/4/2016
Dr. Victor Oluloyo	M	80	Former Governor, Oyo State	Molete, Ibadan	16/4/2016
Dr. Felix Olonufemi	M	50	Civil Servant	NISER, Ibadan	30/1/2016
Alhaji Fatai Amoo	M	68	Local Historian/Retired Civil Servant	Ogunola's Compound	24/11/2011
Hon.Dare Adeleke	M	52	Public Servant	Oluyole Estate	14/3/2016
Madam Abiona Alarape	N/M	62	Trader	Popoyemoja	16/8/2015
Madam Anges Ukoh	N/M	54	Trader	Mokola, Ibadan	14/2/2016
Madam Alice Bamgbose	N/M	51	Trader	Odo-onanla Village	13/2/2014
Madam Asabi Kuola	N/M	70	Trading	Oja'ba Ibadan	23/9/2013
Madam Falitat Amoo	M	56	Trading	Akeremalat	24/19/2014
Madam Kuburato	N/M	66	Trading	Kobomoje	15/4/2012

Ajagbe				Ibadan	
Madam Labuke Ayinde	N/M	72	Trading	Ali Iwo Compound, Ibadan	22/1/2013
Madam Mulikat Ajium	M	68	Trading	Oja'ba	22/1/2013
Madam Sariyu Akano	N/M	62	Trading	Orita Challenge Ibadan	4/8/2014
Pa Sanusi Ogunmola	M	78	Local historian	Bere, ibadan	5/5/2019
Mrs Shade Hastrup	M	54	Journalism	NTA, Ibadan	14/8/2012
Mrs Susan Onarinde	M	60	Retired Civil Servant	Odo-Onanla Village	12/1/2017
Pa Adebayo Akanji	M	75	Family Head	Olugbaye's Compound	5/6/2013
Pa Alimi Akanmu	M	77	Compound Head	Idi Arere	4/8/2014
Pa Kasali Alagunfin	M	80	Community Head	Lagun, Ibadan	5/7/2017
Pa Muniru Ajibade	M	77	County Head	Alata Village	16/7/2019
Pa Sangidele Ibuowo	M	71	Traditionalist	Popoyemoja	4/5/2013
Professor Charles Olatunbara	M	56	Lecturing	University Of Ibadan	4/4/2011
Alhji Rasheed Ayinde	M	50	Entertainment	Ihe'Lekan Ibadan	15/12/2013
Madam Suwebatio Ayinde	M	70	Trading	Kusola Ibadan	29/10/2012

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