

POPULATION CIRCULATION AND MULTILOCALITY

IN THE ILORIN AREA OF NIGERIA

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by

Susan Jane Watts

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ABSTRACT

Long-term population mobility in tropical Africa, unlike that in the West, frequently involves circulation, the ultimate return of the mover to his or her area of origin after a working life spent elsewhere. This circulation is associated with multilocality, the maintenance of a residential base in more than one place. Circulation and multilocality in the Ilorin region of south-west Nigeria are studied within the framework of the mobility system which includes long and short-term moves regardless of destination and duration. Thus it is possible to identify current long-term moves to see how they are related to past and current mobility in the area.

Unlike many mobility studies, this study of circulation emphasises continuity rather than discontinuity. Circulation is sustained by frequent interaction with the people from the home area, both at home and in the new work place. In both areas the great majority of the men and women operate within the informal sector and this gives them considerable freedom to adapt to new opportunities in trading and services and imposes fewer time and place restraints on mobility than work in the formal sector. Because all women work and their social and economic interactions are largely with each other rather than with men the circulatory patterns of women are examined separately.

Patterns of circulation are shown to vary within the city of Ilorin and from one rural settlement to another. These differences can be understood in the context of the mobility system focusing on each place and on the alternative opportunities available, on a local and national level, for the achievement of certain ends. The decision to move, or not to move, is viewed in the context of the whole resident and non-resident community and not seen solely in terms of economic motives. The major foci of circulation from both the city and the rural settlements are large cities, especially Lagos. The vast majority who move go directly to a known destination and do not engage in step-wise movement from one place to another. The special character of long-term movements to rural areas, and between city compounds and related rural settlements has also been examined.

The enthusiasm with which movers support community organisations and build houses in their place of origin suggests that they want to return regardless of their wealth and status. Circulation is sustained by many institutions in the Federation which make it easier for most people to exercise their rights as citizens in their home area than in the place in which they spend much of their working life. Thus there are many reasons for believing that circulation and multilocality are not a

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transitional stage to full urban residence, but can best be considered as a long-term equilibrium in which people move between a number of places and maintain life-long links with their place of origin to which they eventually return.

PREFACE

The special attributes of circulation and its corollary multilocality are often neglected in the study of long-term mobility in tropical Africa. Although researchers working in Nigeria recognise that most long-term moves are circulatory rather than permanent their studies are often based on methods and theories developed in the course of the study of the Western experience of urbanisation and industrialisation over the past two hundred years. Yet this form of long-distance mobility was and is principally migration, a uni-directional move in which links with the mover's place of origin are soon severed. To design a study of mobility which fully recognises circulation requires a broad view of the whole mobility system within the society studied and some insight into the methods and theories used in the study of circulation in other parts of the Third World.

This thesis is based on original research carried out in and around the city of Ilorin at various times between 1978 and 1981. Much of the fieldwork was financed by the Social Science Research Council, to whom I am very grateful. Members of the local and state government in Kwara State of Nigeria provided information about the study area and introductions to local residents which enabled me to begin my fieldwork. I was fortunate in the support I received

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As so little field research of any kind had been carried out in the Ilorin area I benefitted from the enthusiasm and encouragement of many members of the faculty at the University of Ilorin which had been founded the year before I arrived in the city, especially Robert Gavin, Ade Obayemi and Rasaan Abubakri. Ann O'Hear of the School of Basic Studies at Kwara College of Technology shared with me her extensive knowledge of the economic history of the Ilorin area. Ann O'Hear and Robert Gavin, also provided me with references to material in the Nigerian archives in Kaduna. Later, when I was teaching at the University of Ilorin, my colleagues in the Department of Geography provided valuable critiques of seminar papers and many informal discussions over coffee. My students also provided sounding boards for some of my ideas in the final stages of this work. Most of the maps were drawn by Mr. G. H. Dartey in the cartographic laboratory at the University of Ilorin, two were drawn by

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Throughout the project period, and especially while I was in residence in Liverpool, Professor R. Mansell Prothero and his colleagues at the university provided a stimulating atmosphere in which to plan the research and later to write it up. Throughout this period my husband, Sheldon, provided continuous encouragement and toleration of my preoccupation with the academic consideration of circulation and multilocality while we coped with some of the practical problems of a multi-local lifestyle.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- I. A. D. P. - Ilorin Agricultural Development
Project
- L. G. A. - Local Government Area
- N. A. K. - Nigerian Archives Kaduna
- N. P. N. - National Party of Nigeria
- U. P. N. - Unity Party of Nigeria

GLOSSARY

abà	-	farm hut or farm settlement
alfa	-	Muslim herbalist or local doctor
bale	-	village head
balógun	-	landholder, war leader and administrator
budo	-	farming hamlet or temporary camp
èkó	-	snack of cooked maize meal wrapped in leaves
Id el-Fitr	-	Muslim festival commemorating the end of the Ramadan fast
Id el-Kabir	-	Muslim festival commemorating the sacrifice of Ibrahim
ilé	-	'home', compound, lineage group or individual building
ilú	-	independent town
imam	-	leader of prayers at the mosque
isàkólè	-	tribute paid for right to cultivate
jum ^c at	-	Friday - as in Friday mosque or prayers
mogaji	-	village head (Fulani term)
sala	-	Muslim festivals
yídi	-	praying ground, Yoruba term from <u>id</u> Arabic for festival.

Yoruba orthography I have used both tone marks and accents as both are important clues to meaning in Yoruba. However, for place names I have followed the spelling most commonly used on maps and omitted such marks.

CHAPTER I

MOBILITY THEORY, CIRCULATION AND MULTILOCALITY

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Many of the studies of population mobility in tropical Africa have focused on rural-urban movements or movements from either rural or, more rarely, urban areas. The underlying assumption here seems to be that rural and urban areas, even where they are contiguous, ought to be studied separately. It is my intention in this thesis to focus on the patterns of mobility of the population of one Nigerian city and its rural hinterland. These movements integrate the city and the surrounding rural area, as well as the rural areas and towns further away which are the destination both for long-term moves and for shorter visits. They constitute a total mobility system which links rather than isolates the rural and the urban sectors and encompasses movement beyond the area as well as within it.

I began my research with a study of the mobility of the population of nine villages around the city of Ilorin, the capital of Kwara State, Nigeria. I then examined the mobility of some people in the old formerly walled pre-colonial city itself. I did not study the newer areas of the city inhabited largely by non-indigenous migrants as I wanted to

focus on the population for whom Ilorin and the surrounding rural area was the home base. In this way I hoped to be able to understand the context within which both short and long-term movements take place and the ways in which people who move for long periods maintain their links with the home settlement.

Most of the people studied, whether they live at home or are working away, are involved in the informal sector, as farmers, traders and providers of small-scale goods and services. This sector is often neglected by geographers because of the difficulties involved in collecting and analysing data. People may have more than one occupation at the same time and they frequently change occupations in response to seasonal demands or their own perception of economic opportunities. In the study area all women are expected to be economically active outside the home and the social lives of men and women are often quite separate. Hence women's movements, both long-term and short-term, should be identified independently of those of their husbands.

In the African context it is especially important to distinguish between two forms of population mobility, circulation and migration. Most researchers treat all long-term population movements as if they were definitive, involving permanent transfer from one place of residence to another. While migration is

generally regarded as a permanent, uni-directional move, circulation, a common feature of life in Africa, involves movement from a place of residence to one or more places followed by a return to the place of origin (Gould and Prothero 1975). As circulation is sustained by continual interaction with the home place, a study of mobility which incorporates long and short-term moves and those within and between rural and urban areas is especially appropriate.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CIRCULATION

Extensive discussions with Nigerians in many walks of life have revealed that they consider that any long-term move to work elsewhere is circulation and that a failure to return home ultimately is regarded as a tragedy. If this is indeed so then a concept is needed which clearly distinguishes this kind of movement from the permanent movement which has occurred and is still occurring in the wealthy, industrialised countries of the world. To refer to both kinds of movement as migration, as is so often done, is to conceal a very real difference in the character of the two types of mobility.

Zelinsky defined circulation as:

a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive or cyclical in character but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of permanent or long-standing change of residence (Zelinsky 1971: 266)

In the Western context circulation usually occurs over short distances and for short durations such as daily commuting, local visiting and vacationing. But in Africa circulation may involve individuals and their families working away from home for most of their adult life, returning periodically for special occasions and ultimately retiring to the home settlement. If a person expresses an intention to return to the original place of residence then the movement can be described as circulation (Gould and Prothero 1975). Hence circulation can be seen as a series of oscillations from the home base rather than a series of moves in which the original starting point is soon abandoned.

When individuals engage in circulation in Africa or comparable areas of the Third World they maintain residence and other rights such as those to cultivation in more than one place. Some students of Third World mobility have used the term bi-locality to describe this dispersion of various reciprocal rights and obligations (Ryan 1978). However in the Nigerian study area such a dispersion occurs in a number of different contexts and people may have more than two residential bases. Hence the term multilocality is preferable to bi-locality.

In the Western context multilocality has principally been studied in the limited framework of second home ownership, with the emphasis on

the impact of the seasonal occupation of vacation houses on the local population structure and the housing market (Ragatz 1970; Clout 1971). The phenomenon of 'return migration' from North America to Europe generally ignores multilocality as it focuses on completed movements and only mentions in passing the maintenance of social and economic ties which are usually the prerequisite for such a return (King 1978). However Ostow (1982) and Brunetta (1982) have recently examined the links between migrant women in northern Europe and their place of origin in Italy, and what happens when they return home.

Researchers may not recognise the distinction between migration and circulation because circulation is difficult to identify in official sources. Migration, as defined by the UN, is a movement of more than one year in duration and, as such, this movement can often be identified from official statistics such as censuses (Gould and Prothero 1975). Unfortunately many researchers in Africa with access to detailed field data which permit the identification of movements as circulation rather than migration often refer to almost any long-distance movements as migration when it might be more illuminating to distinguish between migration and circulation (Adepoju 1974; Udo 1978).

Contemporary students of mobility in tropical

Africa may fail to distinguish between migration and circulation simply because they assume that the latter will disappear when people become more economically secure in their new destinations. This assumption may be the result of their reliance on models of population mobility which do not recognise the importance of population circulation and multilocality. Historians who studied the process of Western industrialisation and urbanisation on which these models have been based neglected circulation and multilocality because they were studying a process with a known result, the establishment of a permanent urban-based population, and hence ignored examples of circulation they encountered.

This thesis seeks to examine the implications of the neglect of circulation and multilocality for the theory of population mobility in Africa and make some contributions to an indigenous theory of population mobility in Africa. There is a need to develop views of mobility which are appropriate to the societies under consideration and linked to the observed realities. Contrary to some recent assumptions (White 1980; Golledge 1980), it is important to recognise that there may be no single framework for the study of population mobility which can be used irrespective of time and place (see also Graham 1982).

It is hoped that the framework for this study

will be applicable in other areas of tropical Africa and perhaps elsewhere in the Third World. By giving population circulation and multilocality their due importance it ought to be possible to begin to answer some basic questions about the nature of long-term mobility in these societies. For example, to what extent is circulation a way of minimising the disruptive impact of long-term mobility or is it basically a way of exploiting rural areas for the benefit of the towns and the cities? Perhaps these alternatives are an oversimplification as circulation may incorporate many different elements in the varied circumstances in which it is found.

Circulation and multilocality should also be studied in their dynamic aspects. It is important to ask whether they are simply a transitional stage in the development of a permanent fully committed urban population or characteristic of a semi-permanent equilibrium between rural and urban residence. If it is the latter then what are the national and local institutions and sentiments which help to maintain circulation and multilocality and what do such conclusions reveal about the nature of the society as a whole?

CONTRASTING PATTERNS OF CIRCULATION

In non-African parts of the developing world, especially in the Pacific and south-east Asia, scholars have recently recognised the importance of population circulation (Hugo 1977; Chapman 1970 and 1978; Bedford 1973; Forbes 1981). The assumption that circulation and multilocality are not temporary and transitional underlies most of the papers presented at the International Seminar on the Cross-Cultural Study of Circulation held at the University of Hawaii in 1978. A forthcoming book (Chapman and Prothero forthcoming, see also Chapman and Prothero 1982) broadens the basis for such cross-cultural studies by including material from Africa.

The persistence of circulation in the Third World has added significance when recent changes in Japan are considered. Because of its transformation over the last hundred years from a rural agricultural society to an urban industrial one with one of the highest standards of living in the world, Japan has sometimes been considered as a model which poorer countries today might emulate (Okita 1980; Laslett and Wall 1972, chapters 17, 18 and 19). However, there is little evidence that long-term circulation has played a part in Japanese urbanisation and industrialisation. Rapid post-war development has resulted in the extensive depopulation of the remote hilly Japanese hinterland by the late 1970s. Whole

villages which had been established hundreds of years earlier were abandoned in one generation and the only motive people had for returning was to tend the ancestral graves (Irving 1980).

Turning to Africa, there are important contrasts in the past and present pattern of long-term mobility between central and southern Africa and tropical Africa. In south and central Africa labourers have been moving in large numbers from rural 'reserves' to towns and mining camps since the early years of this century. The policy of the white-dominated governments has been, as it still is in the Republic of South Africa, to keep the permanent rural home rigidly separate from the work place and to prevent the movement of workers' families to the towns (Read 1942; Mayer 1962; Wilson 1972; Mitchell 1959).

In contrast, in tropical Africa long-term mobility has been less rigidly controlled. Many people moved during the colonial period in search of farming opportunities and urban employment. The movement to towns accelerated rapidly with the coming of political independence and whole families, rather than individual workers, began to move to these urban centres (Green 1974; Riddell 1978). Many people who moved to the towns and to a lesser extent those who moved to rural areas preserved links with their home place and eventually returned.

Within tropical Africa there was some variety

in the role of the urban centre in long-term mobility. The long-established indigenous urban tradition in places such as northern and south-western Nigeria (including Ilorin) was associated with long-distance trading and a lively urban craft industry in colonial and pre-colonial times. Even with the acceleration of movement to these towns since Independence the distinction between the urban and rural spheres remains muted. Here the character of mobility is different from that in parts of Africa where the absence of an indigenous urban tradition and the more limited scale of past long-distance mobility has resulted in a more marked distinction between the local rural economy and the emerging urban sector (Mabogunje 1970c). These new cities bear a much more marked Western imprint, especially in countries such as Kenya where there had been colonial European settlement and in Francophone Africa where French influence is still much in evidence. However, in these cities, and in indigenous Nigerian cities, the colonial administration and, more recently, independent governments did not deliberately prevent Africans from settling permanently in towns and cities.

Because of the contrasts between the freer movement which occurred in tropical Africa and the more controlled circulation in South and central Africa, two separate bodies of research and theory on long-term mobility in Africa have developed.

Although the special qualities of circulation in southern Africa have been clearly articulated the concept has rarely been fully recognised in studies of areas to the north where scholars have assumed that urban movement is becoming more permanent.

THE PERSISTENCE OF CIRCULATION

If circulation is merely a transitional stage in the transfer of permanent residence to a new place then the links between home place and destination can be expected to become progressively less important over time. However, even in central Africa where patterns of racial segregation are being broken down and African workers are no longer forbidden to bring their families to the towns, the transfer of permanent residence to the towns may be occurring less rapidly than might earlier have been expected.¹

In other parts of Africa where there have been fewer restrictions on long-term population mobility there is abundant evidence that second and third generation descendants of people who moved have maintained links with their home place to which some people may still return (Hunter 1963; Eades 1975). Middleton (1979) has studied a 'home town' in southern Ghana and shown how it has continued for over fifty years to be a base for even the most prosperous of those who left to work elsewhere. In the early 1960s in Ghana Caldwell (1969: 187)

recorded that fewer than one in twelve migrants in Accra could not envisage returning eventually to their home settlement.

In many parts of tropical Africa people who work away send back money or goods to the home settlement. Migrants may be able to afford to build houses in their home areas as symbols of their new status and in anticipation of their eventual return. They also return for marriages and funerals and for local traditional and religious festivals. While away from home many migrants form improvement associations for mutual assistance in the work place and to foster the social and economic development of their home places (Hunter 1963; Caldwell 1969; Gugler 1971; Hart 1971; Gibbal 1973; Gugler and Flanagan 1978, chapter 4; Adepoju 1974; Lux 1972). Some associations transcend national boundaries, such as those of the Yoruba in Ghana and elsewhere in west Africa (Eades 1975; Mabogunje 1972: 136-7).

Remittances sent home to rural areas by urban workers have been a fruitful source of enquiry for scholars interested in the mechanisms of redistribution which are associated with population circulation and with the impact of this movement on rural development. Such studies generally focus on the amount of money sent home over a period of time (Adepoju 1974). However it is often difficult for respondents to recall this information accurately

and gifts in kind may also be important. Such studies appear to support the argument that long-term mobility has a generally favourable impact on the rural economy.

Some other recent studies of remittances sent to the rural areas have suggested that the money sent back might be spent in ways that are detrimental to the long-term well being of the receiving area (Adepoju 1978). Remittances may contribute to an increase in the rate of out-movement by creating wants which cannot be satisfied in the rural area. For example Odimuko and Riddell (1979) suggest that money sent back to certain rural settlements in south-eastern Nigeria was used principally to pay secondary school fees. Students who attended these schools would not be able to find employment in their home villages and would therefore move to larger settlements at the end of their courses. In areas where men and women do complementary farm tasks remittances may not be sufficient to off-set the impact of out-movement of men. In the Fante area of Ghana, for example, a high proportion of females can be called 'crippled cultivators' because they cannot farm effectively without male partners (Hill 1978).

It has often been assumed that circulation is a form of insurance against economic insecurity, sickness and old age, and will cease when workers become more economically established in the towns.

However there is some evidence that wealthier workers may be more likely to maintain home links and hence circulation than poor ones. Better-off urban workers in Nairobi have the resources to maintain rural links by sending money back to the village and buying land there (Ross 1975: 48; see also Gugler 1971). Elkan (1976) suggested that although the urban work force in Nairobi was staying longer in the city and the sex ratio was becoming somewhat more equal there was considerable evidence to show that the majority of the workers, including those who were the most prosperous, were maintaining their rural links and intended to retire to their rural home. As these people were not solely dependent on wage labour Elkan considered that they could not be termed a 'proletariat'.

Barnes (1976), studying migrants in Lagos, found that people of a higher socio-economic status were better able to combine the advantages of social involvement in city life with continued interaction with their rural place of origin than were people of a lower status whose position in the town was more marginal (see also Aronson 1978: 185). In the face of this evidence for the continuation of population circulation it is perhaps surprising that the phenomenon has been neglected in so many studies of population mobility, especially in those studies with a high theoretical content.

SOME NON-MARXIST APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Non-Marxist models of social and economic change generally suggest a path for the development of poorer countries which would follow that of already rich industrialised countries. The transformation is generally regarded as both possible and desirable. Neo-classical economists regard long-term population mobility as a process whereby regional inequalities in the supply of labour are evened out. Economic development in a free market economy is promoted as labour moves from labour surplus to labour deficit areas in response to wage differentials and from the rural agricultural sector to the urban industrialising one. Because such movements are seen as beneficial, impelled by Adam Smith's 'invisible hand', there is little need for any kind of official intervention or direction to guide the process (Ranis and Fei 1961; Lewis 1954; Swindell 1979; Todaro 1971; Gerold-Scheepers and van Binsbergen 1978).

Most of the non-Marxist students of population mobility in east and west Africa have been influenced by this generally sanguine interpretation of long-term mobility. They have also accepted the neo-classical assumption that the maintenance of rural contacts by urban workers is a temporary phase in the development of a fully committed urban workforce (Swindell 1979; Adepoju 1977).

Some social scientists in the neo-classical tradition have used the term 'modernisation' to identify a series of changes which extend beyond those narrowly identified as economic. They are concerned with changes in attitudes, values and behaviour which they associate with the transformation of a rural and agricultural society into one in which most people are urban-dwelling industrial and service workers. They identify a 'traditional' sector in which work patterns are based on the extended family, hours of work are irregular, the scale of production small and in which there is a marked preference for leisure over increased profits. This sector is distinguished from a 'modern' sector characterised by the existence of small, self-contained nuclear family units and by work outside the home in a large-scale factory or firm (de Souza and Porter 1974).

The influence of the modernisation concept is evident in the discussions of 'detrribalisation', the shedding of previous values and patterns of behaviour and the acquisition of new ones by the urban workers of southern Africa (Mayer 1962; Gluckman 1960; Mitchell 1961 and 1969). The term 'modernisation' has also sometimes been used in the analysis of rural-urban mobility without a full appreciation of the implications of the term (Zelinsky 1971; Mabogunje 1970a).

The modernisation model is based on a misunderstanding of the Western experience of industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Recent demographic studies have shown that in many parts of north-west Europe the nuclear family preceded the Industrial Revolution by two centuries or more. Although the family was the basis for the organisation of most pre-industrial agriculture the relationship between the cultivator and the land-lord or the independent farmer and the agricultural labourer was based on impersonal contract relationships rather than on kinship. The same can be said of the relationship between the domestic manufacturer and the factor who collected the goods made by the family in their own home (de Souza and Porter 1974; Laslett and Wall 1972: introduction; Anderson 1971: introduction). Hence the change in the nature of inter-personal relationships and the division between the informal agricultural sector and an industrial formal sector was not nearly as marked as the modernisation theorists would like to believe. In tropical Africa today the strength of kin links, the perpetuation of the extended family and the importance of the informal sector of the economy make a parallel with the European experience, as we now understand it, a perilous exercise.

It is of course generally accepted that on

one level the main motive for long-term mobility is economic (Gugler 1969). The conventional neo-classical analysis assumes that each mover acts as an individual who has a perfect knowledge of economic opportunities and can freely respond to them. Hence there is a positive relationship between mobility and spatial discrepancies in wage levels. Todaro incorporated into his model of rural-urban mobility in tropical Africa the present high levels of unemployment and postulated that the potential migrant also takes the possibility of unemployment into consideration when he decides to move to the town (Todaro 1971).

The Marxist Samir Amin has pointed out that the whole argument that long-term movement is motivated by individual desire to gain economic status, which is central to neo-classical analysis, is tautological and explains nothing (Amin 1974: 90-3). Except in cases such as forced migration in times of war and exploitation or the long overland pilgrimage to Mecca people rarely move over long distances if they do not have some expectation that their economic position will improve if they do so. If differences in wage levels are the main motive force for such movement one would expect the poorest to move; yet such movements rarely occur (Amin 1974: 90-3).

The neo-classical models, including Todaro's, have another serious draw-back in that they only

consider wage employment in the formal sector. Mabogunje has shown that in Nigeria people move within the informal rural sector to areas which are relatively poorer than their own because they see the potential for economic gain in such areas (Mabogunje 1970b; Amin 1974: 80 sqq). Such movements cannot be included in migration models which only consider employment opportunities in the formal, mainly urban, sector.

THE MARXIST ORIENTATION

The neo-classical models of population mobility appear increasingly complacent and irrelevant in the light of current world economic problems such as massive urban unemployment and the failure of so many Third World economies to 'take-off' or 'modernise' along paths established by wealthier countries. These models have been challenged over the past fifteen years or so by an increasingly coherent body of neo-Marxist theory on population mobility. This approach stresses mobility as a response by powerless people to both international and local exploitation, in the form of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The most cogent account of this approach is found in Amin's introduction to Modern Migrations in Western Africa (1974).

This interpretation is less easy to sustain today in the richer countries of west Africa

than it is in the areas which have been the main focus for Marxist analysis, the racially segregated societies of southern Africa and the poor countries of the west African Sahel. As a result of their studies of seasonal movements from the Sahel, Meillassoux (1981) and Gregory and Piché (1978) see under-development as a result of the interpenetration of capitalist modes of production into the traditional sector in such a way as to force individuals to move to find work. Rey focuses on the local level and interprets such exploitation as the result of an alliance between capitalist institutions and the local traditional power structure, as for example when local village elders connive at contract labour arrangements for people under their jurisdiction (Gerold-Scheepers and van Binsbergen 1978: 24-9). The rural area is seen as supporting the urban workers when they are too old or ill to work in towns or during the part of the year when their labour is not required by the capitalist sector. The links between migrants' homes and their work places are also interpreted as a survival strategy by the under-class in the face of exploitation by capitalists in richer countries and within the poor countries themselves (Amin 1974).

The study of labour mobility in colonial Nigeria by Osoba (1969) is a good example of the application of Marxist analysis to a fairly detailed array of

secondary sources. On this level his general discussion of the influence of colonial policy and the demand for export crops and poll taxes which forced people to move is quite convincing. However, because of the generally greater severity of the French colonial administration, the argument that institutional forces such as colonisation forced people to move is far more effective when applied to Francophone west African than to the formerly British territories (Asiwaju 1976 and 1977).

These neo-Marxist themes in the study of population mobility are clearly related to ideas articulated by Walter Rodney in How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972), and to theories of underdevelopment derived from the study of contemporary conditions such as that propounded by Andre Gunder Frank (1969). There are also echoes of this approach in the less doctrinaire discussions of rural exploitation in the work of Lipton (1977: esp. 236-7). The orientation of the journal Review of African Political Economy (volume 1, 1974), which admits to being 'in a sense Marxist', illustrates a generally radical viewpoint which opposes neo-classical complacency and suggests that the study of the changing patterns of production and state power can be a fruitful starting point for analysing a situation which needs to be changed.

A brief examination of the limitations of

orthodox Marxist class analysis is revealing for a study of long-term population circulation in Africa. Such detailed analyses focus on the still very small group of African factory workers. But even these people do not often appear to be aware of their common interests vis à vis the producers who employ them, which are held to be essential for the emergence of true class consciousness. One reason for this may be that for many such workers factory employment is only seen as a means of acquiring capital for ventures in the informal sector of the economy and not as a life-time employment (Peace 1975; Lloyd 1974: 226). So long as trade unions are vehicles for the resolution of local interests and disputes about patronage rather than an opportunity to express the common interests of all the workers class solidarity cannot develop (Remy 1975). Neither can such a solidarity develop if a large proportion of the workers maintain rural links and depend for some of their current food and future security on these links (Stichter 1975: 22; see also Elkan 1976). These last two points suggest that as long as urban workers in the formal and informal sectors of the economy continue to relate to their rural areas of origin, in other words continue to engage in population circulation, a true proletariat united by a common class interest cannot develop.

Marx's emphasis on the role of the town in the

emergence of capitalism and class consciousness also impedes a balanced consideration of long-term circulation which, as we have seen, links rather than separates the urban and rural sectors. In The German Ideology Marx and Engels postulated a sharp distinction between country and town, between landed property and capital which is based on labour and exchange, and between the personal ties which characterise feudal landed relationships and the purely market relationships of an urban-based economy (Marx and Engels 1845-6, 1970 ed.: 68-9; Giddens 1971: 26-39). For Marx and Engels:

The greatest division of material and mental labour is the separation of town and country. The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilisation, from tribe to State, from locality to nation, and runs through the history of civilisation to the present day. (68-9)

This implies that such a transition also involves the development of national at the expense of local interests and the complete incorporation of the proletariat, who moved from the rural areas, into the new industrial towns. It is thus not surprising that current neo-Marxist students of population mobility have sought to develop a radical critique by concentrating on broad power relationships within and beyond the societies they study rather than on class relationships per se. There is little room here for the recognition of circulation as anything but a temporary phenomenon.

SOME RECENT APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CIRCULATION

In a recent paper (1979) Zelinsky presents a revised general theory of mobility transition as a 'provisional heuristic devise, one intended to provoke thought and discussion about the nature and implications of the phenomena in question'. In this paper, in contrast to the earlier one published in 1971, he recognises the importance of long-term circulation in developing countries and draws on Bedford's study of the New Hebrides (1973). Zelinsky acknowledges that this kind of long-term circulation may have no precedent in the experience of urbanisation and industrialisation in the presently developed countries. For Zelinsky current long-term circulation in Third World countries is 'symptomatic of the problem of underdevelopment', a phenomenon which he characterises as 'an active process resulting from the pernicious impact of the advanced nations upon much of the rest of the world.' He fails to suggest what features of underdevelopment contribute to the perpetuation of circulation. To have done so might have been a sobering experience for so recent a convert from the 'modernisation' model of worldwide development.

Swindell (1979: 214), in a recent analysis of population mobility in west Africa, evinces a surprising lack of interest in circulation in its general setting in spite of his own research

interest in the Strange Farmers of the Gambia (Swindell 1981, 1982 and forthcoming). In another recent methodological study van Binsbergen and Meilink (1978: 10-11) assume that what they call 'circulatory migration' is merely a stage in the transfer to permanent urban residence in tropical Africa.

As it is difficult to identify circulation from official census data, this phenomenon is neglected in studies which depend on such information (Zachariah and Condé 1981). The kind of standardised measurements of internal mobility recommended by the Nigerian scholars Adepoju and Ekanem as the possible basis for interdisciplinary and international co-operation depend on a wide range of sources including censuses, vital registration and sample surveys. They recommend that people be recorded in their present residence regardless of their origin or place of birth. Thus:

In general, the sum total of lifetime in-migrants for all the areas in a given country equals the sum total of lifetime out-migrants and hence the sum of the net balances for all areas equals zero (1976, 281).

This may be true but it tells us little about long-term mobility in a country like Nigeria because it completely ignores population circulation.

Field researchers who have access to information which would enable them to delve more deeply into the nature of circulation often simply accept that it occurs and overlook the extent to which this

phenomenon distinguishes mobility in west Africa from that in Europe and North America both today and in the past (Adepoju 1974 and 1977; Udo 1978; Afolayan 1978). In a collection of papers on internal migration in Nigeria (Adepoju 1976), only two of the twenty papers, those by Prothero and Barnes, attempt to distinguish between migration and circulation.

Only a few commentators have hinted at the real importance of circulation and multilocality in contemporary Africa. The political scientist Onwubu (1975) suggested that they are vital for the understanding of the Igbo diaspora. In their study of urbanisation in west Africa Gugler and Flanagan (1978: 73) asked rhetorical questions about the possible effects of changing economic status and attachment to home on patterns of circulation. Elkan (1976) reviewed the evidence for changing patterns of rural-urban interaction among migrants in Nairobi. Such questions are essential preludes to the identification of some common features of circulation and multilocality in various parts of Africa.

TOWARDS A THEORY OF POPULATION CIRCULATION

I: TRANSCENDING THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY

We have already seen that both Marxist and non-Marxist approaches to the study of population mobility tend to perpetuate the dichotomy between town and country. This dichotomy was recognised by anthropologists in southern and central Africa who thought in terms of 'detrribalisation', or of models of 'alternation' associated with circulation between the two sectors (Ross and Weisner 1977). But it is essential that contemporary African circulation is seen as a continuum between source and destination areas. Hart, in his study of the Frafras of Ghana, viewed the migrants as embedded in a common set of structures linking urban and rural sectors in which 'how one lives' is more important than 'where one lives' (Hart 1971: 26; see also Hart 1974). Similarly Gugler (1971) described the Igbo migrants of rural origin in towns as being integrated into a 'dual system' embracing both rural source area and urban destination. While it is analytically necessary to identify movements as taking place between rural and urban places, it is important not to over-emphasise the distinction between the two sectors of the economy and the activities which characterise each of them.

In many areas of west Africa urban places

are indigenous and are not seen as alien by rural dwellers who perceive of an essential continuity between life in towns and life in the villages (Peil 1975). In the areas of tropical Africa where towns were colonial foundations many Africans move within the informal sector of the economy which has a common structure in both rural and urban areas. The informal urban sector has often been ignored by students of long-term mobility because theoretical orientations stress the transition between a rural informal sector and an urban formal sector. Even the anthropological studies of rural-urban links focusing on Nairobi have been of relatively wealthy individuals with regular work in the formal sector (Ross and Weisner 1977; Parkin 1975).

Minimising the rural-urban dichotomy is not inimical to the consideration of the possibility of urban bias in social and economic change, for this bias is predicated on a pattern of interaction which links urban and rural areas and operates in favour of people living in urban places (Lipton 1977). As circulation is interaction, the continuities rather than the discontinuities should be stressed in any study of circulation.

II: CIRCULATION AS A WAY OF LIFE

Many studies stress the idea of circulation as a way of life which, though modified in various ways in recent years, has long been a part of the people's experience. Chapman, in his study of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands (1970: 168) and Bedford (1973: 91), using evidence from the New Hebrides, both mention the survival of the Pidgin term go-walk-about into the modern period of labour circulation. Hugo, writing in 1977 about Indonesia, identifies a contemporary pattern of movement known locally as merantau, temporary circulation for work generally by single men, the origin of which goes back several hundred years. However, as Forbes (1981) states in his study of mobility in Indonesia, it is important not to forget that even if mobility has been continuous, the underlying causes, the structural changes in society which affect mobility behaviour, are not necessarily unchanging.

In Botswana the present pattern of rural-urban movement by individuals or parts of extended families has been related to earlier patterns of mobility in which the home base was generally occupied solely by old people and children; the men and boys were away with the cattle and the women were farming distant plots (Bryant et al. 1978). The Ijebu of south-western Nigeria have been gradually shifting their work focus from the farm to the city, hence

the title of Aronson's book, The City is Our Farm. The author interprets Ijebu mobility as 'part of the way of life, decidedly not as an indicator of the breakdown of a way of life' (Aronson 1978: 183).

Far too often writers, following one or another model of social or economic change, assume that long-term mobility must be either wholly beneficial or wholly detrimental for the people involved. This tendency can be avoided by viewing circulation in west Africa as a way of life with its roots in the local society. This does not mean that the external forces, such as colonialism, neocolonialism and capitalism which neo-Marxists consider of paramount importance, should be ignored. Rather they should be interpreted in a local context taking into account the total mobility of the people, family and occupational structures and settlement history. These external forces may also help to explain why patterns of mobility have been very different within a small area.

III: SPATIAL CONTRASTS IN CIRCULATION

Geographers must ask questions about regional differences in the patterns of population circulation. Unfortunately data on rural settlements are often aggregated because the researcher is aiming to produce a unified model of mobility rather than to explain local variations (Makinwa 1978). But

when there is some attempt to differentiate between settlements in a relatively small area it may be possible to identify the circumstances surrounding mobility in a new way.

Adepoju (1977) identifies the need to ask why people move from one settlement and not from another. The only attempt to answer this question in west Africa is the study by Olusanya (1969) of rural-urban movement from selected rural areas in southwestern Nigeria which takes into account differences in population density and agricultural potential in the various rural source areas. Some attempts have also been made to account for small-scale spatial variations in the incidence of mobility in other parts of the Third World; in India by Connel (1976) and by Maude (1979) in western Sumatra.

IV: CIRCULATION AS PROCESS

In spite of the general acceptance of the idea that circulation and multilocality might be a transitional stage in the development of a permanent urban-based population there is a singular lack of curiosity about how this process of transition is achieved. When changes in the ties which link home and work place are examined, as in Elkan's study of urban workers in Nairobi (1976), they often depend on the analysis of a time-series of statistics, a series of snap-shot stills.

This approach is inherently less satisfactory than longitudinal studies which trace the movements of individuals over time and hence look at circulation as an on-going process (Gould 1976).

The dynamics of circulation have been revealed in a number of rural-based studies in west Africa, for example among Strange Farmers in the Gambia (Swindell 1981, 1982 and forthcoming). In south-western Nigeria people move from other rural areas to replace those who have left for towns (Olusanya 1969). Adegbola (1972) suggested a similar step-wise model for the movement of migrants into and out of the former Oshun Division of Oyo State, Nigeria. However he made no attempt to trace the process by which each group of people transfer their social and economic allegiance to a new area. In a more recent paper (1976a) he suggested a model in which migrants are seen as introducing change into a static 'primitive society the members of which live in aggressive isolation'. The model is vitiated by the stereotyping of a 'superstitious', 'traditional' society in which the right conditions for 'development' do not exist. This language echoes some of the assumptions of modernisation theory and as such should have no role in a theory of population circulation as such a theory assumes a particular outcome and is modelled on a known process which may not be relevant to the consideration of

circulation.

A more useful approach to the study of process is presented by Skeldon (1977) in which he identifies certain stages in the development of an urban population which culminates in a permanent migration from rural areas via intermediate-sized centres to the large Peruvian city of Cuzco. This movement constitutes a 'system of migration' which combines spatial and temporal elements to form a clearly structured pattern. The sequences can be identified in terms of the duration and destination of the movement and although several forms may occur simultaneously some forms generally can be said to precede others.

V: CIRCULATION AND OPPORTUNITY

It has already been suggested that an approach to mobility which focuses on individual economic motivation is not very helpful. But neither is an approach which only considers the imperatives of Marxist power relationships. There have been a number of attempts to provide a theory of population mobility which avoids both these extremes. Mitchell (1959), recognising the imbalance of an exclusively economic explanation for labour movements in south and central Africa, suggested the need to distinguish between the rate of movement, the volume from a particular locality, and the

incidence of movement, unique factors resulting in individual decisions to move which might be attributed to non-economic elements. This distinction has been criticised for its neglect of the political and power relationships which are clearly so important for the understanding of labour movements in central and southern Africa (Gugler 1969; Gerold-Scheepers and van Binsbergen 1978: 23). In a recent paper Mitchell (1978) began to answer these criticisms by distinguishing between the setting (general/macro/aggregate) and the situation (specific/micro/individual) in which decisions to move are made.

Garbett, in his study of labour circulation in central Africa, developed Mitchell's earlier distinction and suggested that migrants' decisions could be examined on two levels. Large scale climatic and economic conditions and institutional structures over which the individual has little or no control, 'provide a set of constraints, some constant, others variable over periods of time, within which the migrant exercises choice' (Garbett 1975: 124 see also Garbett and Kapferer 1970). These constraints must be taken into account in the examination of individual circumstances.

Riddell, a renegade modernisation theorist (Riddell 1970), uses a very similar framework in his study of mobility in west Africa (1981). Like

Mitchell (1959, 1978), Garbett (1975) and Zelinsky (1979), Riddell stresses the need to relate mobility to macro-scale social, political and economic institutions and to see it in its historical context. Like them, he does not deny the role of individual choice. He suggests that:

it would be valid to characterise migration during the colonial period in West Africa as 'freedom within a wider set of constraints' or as 'individual elbow room within aggregate determination' (1981: 384).

But it is still necessary to overcome the gap between institutional controls and individual motivation which is inherent in any of these attempts to combine the language of Marxism, anthropological structural functionalism and neo-classical economics. Perhaps what is needed is to shift the focus of the whole analysis in order to avoid the limitations imposed by the language of these models. A contribution towards this end has been made by Mortimore (1982).

Mortimore suggests an 'alternative opportunity framework' for the study of all types of mobility which is related to various interlocking objectives (such as survival or the achievement of wealth or status) and to opportunities which vary spatially and temporally. There are therefore considerable elements of free choice for the potential mover in which he or she may decide to move or not to move and considerable choice as to where to move.

In this analysis the institutional controls which

might affect the mobility of an individual or a household can operate at both the micro and the macro-scale and there is no distinction between these levels in terms of the impact such controls have on individual choice. Here the individual and the social group to which he or she belongs is not seen as the victim of 'a wider set of constraints' over which he or she has limited control, but as an active part of the social system both changing and being changed by it.

VI: THE DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE

The concept of the developmental cycle is useful in studying the 'alternative opportunities' for mobility within the context of the family and the household. Here a person is viewed as a member of a domestic group which is differently constituted and in which he or she plays a different role at different points in time. The concept was first developed by Goody (1958, introduction; see also Goody and Goody 1967) while he was working in Ghana as a way of identifying changes which took place over time in the composition of the domestic residential unit.

This concept can help to explain why and how an individual moves in and out of a certain place at various times during his or her lifetime. Mitchell (1969a: 197) used a similar schema to

present the migrant career of a male labourer in southern Africa in terms of the different demands of his parents, his wife and children at various stages in his working career. As a young man he must work in order to get money to marry, later in life he must support his wife and children at home and begin to save up for his permanent return to the rural area at the age of 45 or 50. Bedford in the New Hebrides (1973: 91) and Chapman (1970: 184) in the Solomon Islands have briefly studied life cycle movements in relation to population circulation.

A greater use of the concept of the developmental cycle can help to correct the current neglect of the role of women in circulation. In many mobility studies their role is regarded as passive and dependent on the movement of their husbands. However, women move on marriage more frequently than do men and their economic activities are often closely related to child rearing tasks (Ware 1981: chapter 5). Women in west Africa are often economically independent of their husbands and their patterns of social interaction are distinctive (Brydon 1979; Sudarkasa 1973). Hence it is reasonable to expect that the mobility patterns of women might be different from those of men. The concept of the developmental cycle can help the researcher to focus on women as movers, as individuals whose movements are related, as are those of men, to their position in the developmental

cycle.

VII: SOCIAL NETWORKS

Insights into population circulation at the micro-level can also be obtained through network analysis which focuses on the social links between people. This approach can be extended to consider the links between people in different places although its original form did not have a specifically spatial dimension. It is important, in the light of earlier strictures about the implicit assumptions underlying various theories of social and economic change, that the study of networks makes no assumptions about human behaviour beyond the obvious one that people interact in a particular social setting (Smith 1980).

The analytically precise use of the term network by anthropologists and sociologists originated with Barnes' study of a small town in Norway (published in 1954) and was further developed in Bott's study of family life in London (published in 1957). In these studies networks are defined as 'social interaction systems centred on one person or coalition of persons, the central ego' (Boissevain 1968). Ego is the centre of a social network embracing many people, some of whom are unknown to each other; the social network of each individual is therefore unique. The study of networks provides an alternative

to the study of groups which form the basic units of study in functional anthropology and sociology (Boissevain 1968; Mitchell 1969b).

Models based on this concept have been usefully employed in the study of rural-urban mobility in southern Africa. Mayer (1962) was the first to use the network model when he explained why some people moving from the rural areas to the city remained rural in orientation whereas others became more involved in urban life and activities. Mitchell (1969b) edited a collection of studies which applied the concept of the social network to central African towns. It is an indication of the communications gap between scholars in central and southern Africa and those working elsewhere in Africa that the concept of social network has so rarely been applied to mobility studies outside south and central Africa. However Ross and Weisner (1977) used it to trace the circulatory links between urban workers in Nairobi and their rural place of origin.

Most extant studies of social networks focus on a small number of individuals in order to illustrate the general pattern of social networks for the society as a whole. However it is often necessary to focus on a group rather than on an individual. A group is identified in terms of a single link between people whereas a social network, as here defined,

comprises many links focusing on a single individual (Mitchell 1969b: 15). It is difficult to claim that a number of networks can be taken as representative of those of the group, or to compare networks observed in different areas. In spite of these problems the concept of social network is a useful tool in interpreting patterns of circulation. However it is best to use the term network primarily as a metaphor rather than as a precise analytical device. The same may be said for systems analysis, the main framework for this study.

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POPULATION CIRCULATION

A systems approach is appropriate for the study of population circulation and multilocality as it provides a vocabulary and a number of integrating concepts with which to study the flow of people to, from and through various locations. Population movements have often been loosely described in terms of a system or systems (Gugler 1971). Olofson (forthcoming) distinguishes between open and closed patterns of mobility in Hausaland; a system is closed if the movers frequently or ultimately return home, open if they wander around from place to place without the intention of returning home. As figure I 1 shows, it is possible to visualise circulation as a series of petal-

Figure I 1: The Mobility System

Circulation



Migration



shaped movements focusing on the centre of the blossom. Migration can be seen as a series of steps or sequences in no pre-ordained direction; following Klee 'taking a line for a walk'.

Mabogunje has suggested a systems model to help to understand rural-urban migration. He pointed out that systems theory allows for the consideration of mobility:

no longer as a linear, uni-directional, push-and-pull, cause and effect movement but as a circulatory, interdependent progressively complex and self-modifying system (Mabogunje 1970a: 16).

Such a systems model can be applied to the study of all forms of population mobility, not only urban-rural movements, and there is no need to assume, as Mabogunje appears to do, that such movement will be permanent. The main drawback of Mabogunje's model is that it is a Parsonian model in which the structures exist independently of the people who move within it.

As an alternative to this kind of systems model Giddens' concept of the social system and structuration is useful. In this model of the social system individuals are the system:

Social systems, by contrast to structure, exist in time-space and are constituted by social practice. The concept of a social system, understood in its broadest sense, refers to reproduced interdependence of action (Giddens 1979: 73).

In such a system an individual in the course of interacting with other individuals is changing the system of which he or she is part. Such dynamic interaction is of a higher order than the mechanistic and teleological process of feed-back in a biological functionalist system.

An interactive system can be seen as integrated horizontally when population movements themselves are the focus for study. Such a system is also integrated vertically when interaction takes place between people of different socio-economic levels. and such a viewpoint may be useful in the examination of a society such as that around Ilorin in which various kinds of patronage have been, and still are, important. Such vertical integration is also a mechanism for linking the local and national settings and thus overcoming a common dichotomy in mobility studies in which certain methods of analysis are seen as appropriate for small-scale empirical studies of individual and small-group decision-making while others are more useful for explaining the wider structural setting within which mobility takes place. For no system can be considered completely independent of the wider context or setting within which movements and interactions take place.

The 'mobility system' suggested for the framework of this research project can be thought of as a social system comprising interacting individuals moving through space. This system can be modelled as a flow diagram of movements of all kinds to, from and through many points. A single point can be extracted from the system and treated as part of a sub-system or network which comprises all the other points to which it is directly linked by the movement of people, goods and ideas. In the mobility system each point comprises a location with a permanent resident population linked to a non-resident population which regards that place as the base from which circulation begins. Within this framework it is possible to examine the differences in the type and volume of mobility from place to place. The mobility system differs from the social network of Mitchell and others in which points are interacting individuals rather than locations and the links between people are the relationships between people rather than physical movements.

Giddens' concept of the social system is not susceptible to one common criticism of the Parsonian functionalist system, namely that the system itself is essentially a mechanism for the maintenance of the status quo in which people are seen as will-less individuals doomed to act out the imperatives

imposed by the existing social system and powerless to change it (Gouldner 1970: 192). In a recursive and self-reproducing social system, such as that suggested by Giddens, individuals are seen as 'value creating' agents of change, not simply as 'value transmitting' and 'value receiving'. Such a social system is dynamic and can therefore be the starting point for the study of process. People participating in the various forms of mobility which comprise the mobility system are able, through their interactions, to affect change in the system. It is important to relate individual decisions to the wider social setting in this way as mobility is far more than the sum total of a series of individual decisions (Forbes 1981).

This model of the mobility system incorporates no value judgements about whether the process being studied is good or bad; it simply exists and can be examined through a study of interacting individuals, and by extension goods and ideas, moving through space. Because the interactions and movements have meaning and significance for the participants the spatial matrix of such a system is more than a neutral container for the social system. The space within which action takes place is endowed with ideological, social and political significance for the actors (Lefebvre 1977; Sack 1980). The symbolic significance of human interaction

and the space within which it takes place is more evident and immediate in tropical Africa because the information moving between places is more often transmitted directly, by face to face communication of movers, than indirectly through the impersonal mediation of telephones, postal services and the mass media.

THE MOBILITY SYSTEM, MULTILOCALITY AND CIRCULATION

A mobility system comprising interacting individuals engaged in personal interaction lends itself to questions about 'meanings' of a kind which cannot be derived from the study of abstract patterns such as are associated with conventional spatial analysis in geography. In studying multilocality one can ask whether loyalties and commitments are expressed in terms of a particular physical environment or location, or to people and relationships which exist in or focus on a particular place. The very recentness, in world terms, of the settlements in the Ilorin region and in much of tropical Africa, might be thought to limit any attachment to physical location. This brings to mind Bohannan's analogy of the Tiv map on a rubber sheet, a constantly moving topological surface on which the relationships of the people stay constant (Bohannan 1963: 105). A settlement may move its physical location but the social and topological

relationships between people who comprise the social system are maintained.

This relationship between the mobility system and location may help to explain the paradox, noted by Chapman (1970: 166) in his study of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, that a strong feeling of attachment to place can co-exist with a high degree of mobility. This questions the Western assumption that a highly mobile people are necessarily 'rootless' and 'placeless' (Relph 1976). The possibility that in developing countries mobility and attachment to place may express themselves in forms different from those found in Western societies must be seriously considered. This is especially important as the basis of our present consideration of identity with place is predicated on the Western experience.

Glaser and Strauss suggested that a researcher ought to go into the field:

with a focus, a general question, or a problem in mind....and...study an area without any preconceived theory that dictates, prior to the research 'relevancies' in concepts and hypotheses (1968: 33).

While a completely theoryless idealistic approach is impossible, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Watts and Watts 1978), problem-oriented research ought to begin with a set of broad concepts which incorporate the minimum number of ideological assumptions. Such assumptions can easily determine the outcome of the research. This is especially important in the

study of phenomena such as population circulation and multilocality which have not been given adequate consideration in the existing body of theory on population mobility.

This study will start from the view that population mobility and multilocality are the spatial dimensions of the social system comprising interacting individuals. This systems approach provides the research project with a vocabulary and a set of guiding concepts which will structure the information and help to generate useful questions without suggesting the direction of the final conclusions. A social systems approach overcomes the gap between the individual (as either a free agent or a victim of larger social forces) and the wider socio-economic and political institutions which is inherent in both the neo-classical and Marxist views of the world.

Footnotes

1. J. C. Mitchell, personal communication to Professor R. M. Prothero.

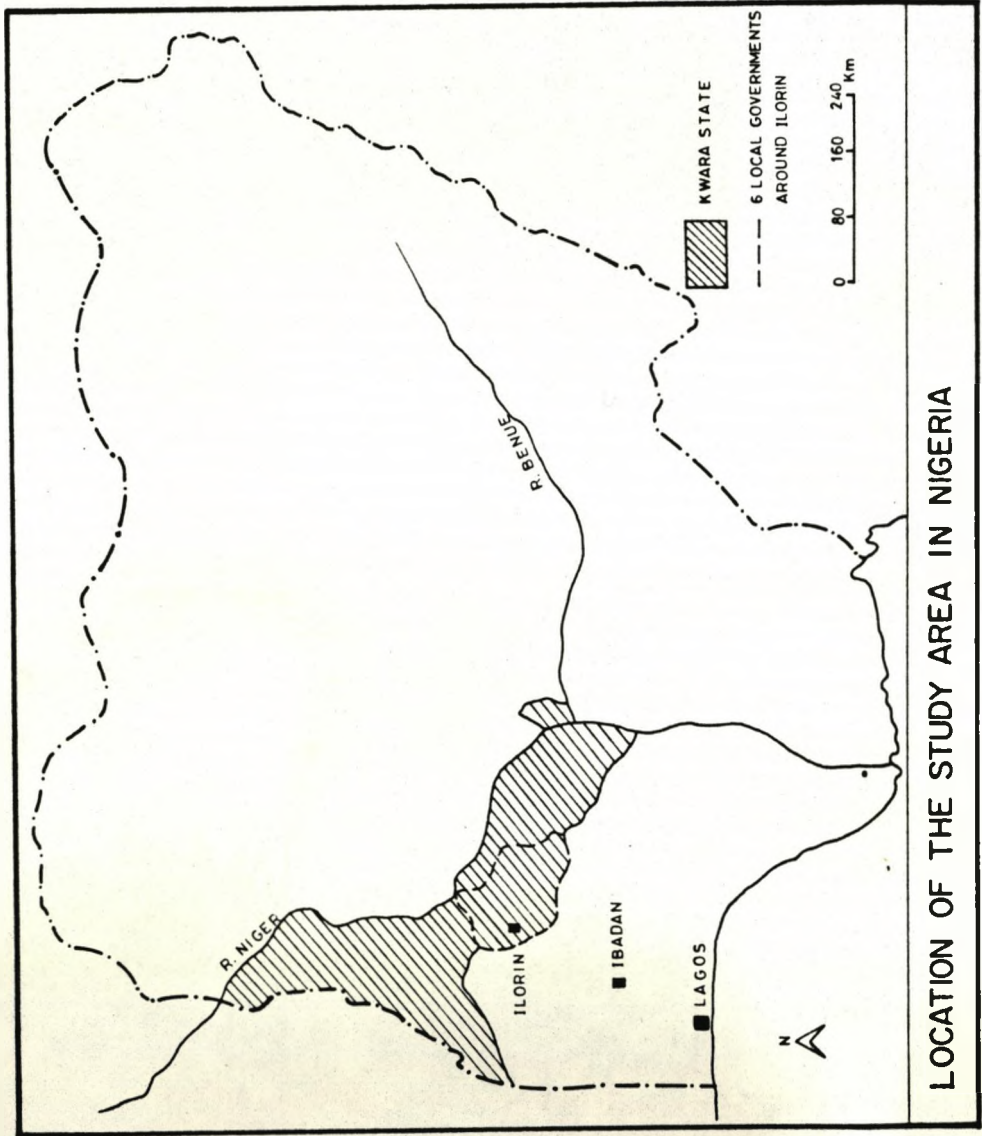
CHAPTER II

ILORIN: CITY AND HINTERLAND

FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL ANALYSIS

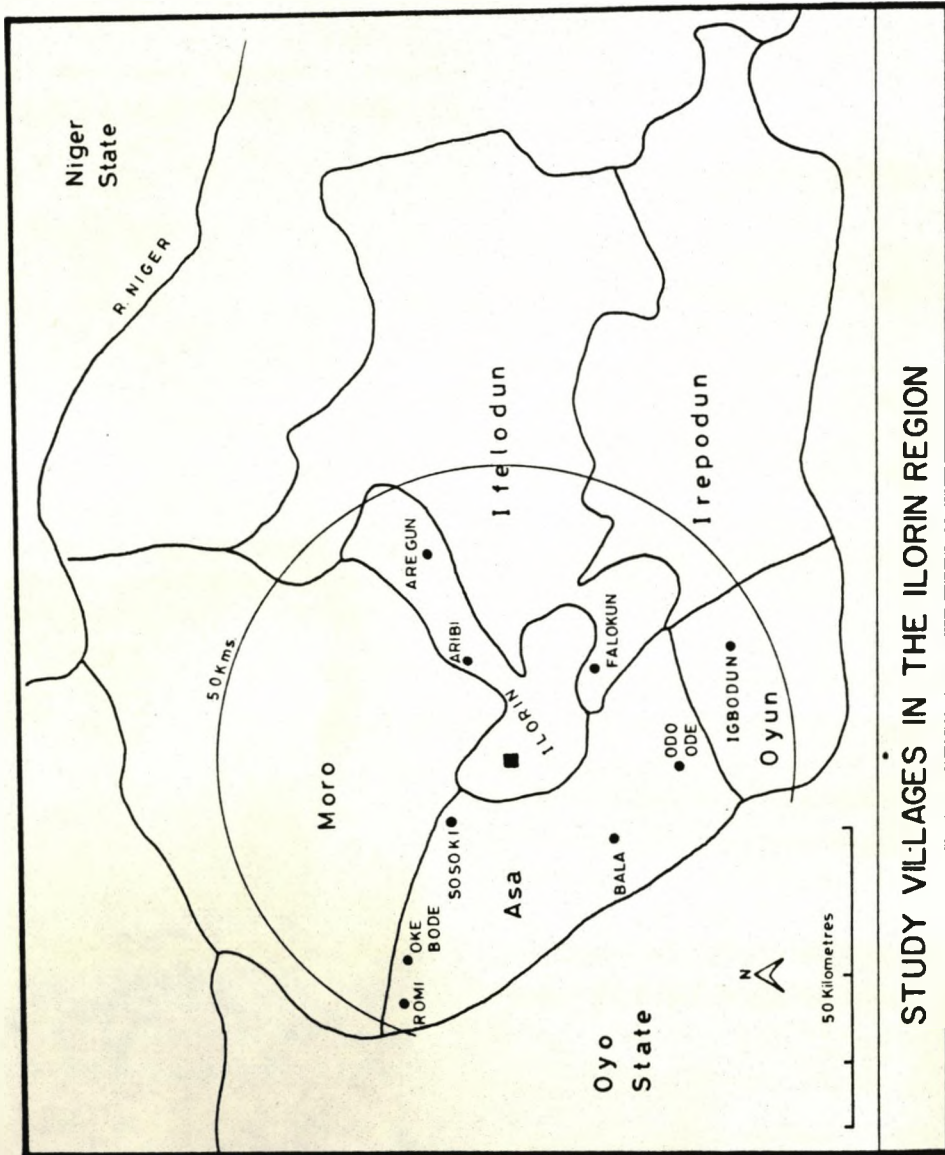
The Ilorin area can be interpreted as a functional region with the city of Ilorin as its integrating focus. Its position in Kwara State of south-central Nigeria is shown in map I 1. The city was founded about two hundred years ago and in the 1820s became the headquarters of a Fulani emirate although the majority of the people of the city and the surrounding rural area were and remain Yoruba speaking. The six Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Asa, Moro, Ilorin, Ifelodun, Irepodun and Oyun, which are approximately coterminous with the area under the control of the emirate in 1900 can be taken to constitute the Ilorin region, as shown in map I 2.

When the British administration was established in 1900 the population of the city of Ilorin may have been as high as 100,000 (Gavin 1977: 15). Since 1967, when the city became the capital of the new Kwara State, it has grown rapidly and now has a population of about 400,000. It is at least four times the size of the next largest city in the State, Offa, 50 kilometres to the south-east (Kwara State Government 1977/8). If the current Federal Government definition of urban as a settlement with a population of over 20,000 is accepted,



LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA IN NIGERIA

Map II 1



STUDY VILLAGES IN THE ILORIN REGION

Map II 2

the region is entirely rural except for the settlements of Ilorin and Offa; the latter town plays a comparatively small role in this study.

It is important to examine in some detail the historical development of political and social patterns. This will help to correct the a-temporal bias of the studies of population mobility which see movements solely as the result of individual 'rational' decisions to seek economic betterment regardless of the local context within which such movement occurs (Riddell 1981; Zelinsky 1979). People in this area do not see themselves as autonomous individuals achieving their own freely articulated ambitions but rather as part of a larger group based on an extended family and community which has a shared past. Most actions and attitudes derive their validity from the fact that they have been performed before rather than from an historicist view in which actions are future-oriented and time is seen as extended into the future rather than being cyclical and repetitive (Giddens 1979: 200-1).

Contemporary Nigerians are living in a time of great changes and many of them are doing things undreamed of in their parents' generation. However, for all but a small minority of the elite the basic frame of reference is still the home community and the extended family. This is the ultimate paradox of population circulation for while many people are working in big cities and living in houses provided with electric light and piped water, new

and relatively cheap methods of transportation enable them to keep in contact with kin in their home communities and other settlements scattered throughout the country in a way which would have been impossible fifty years ago.

Patterns of interaction in the Ilorin region can be viewed as a system linking a dominant urban core with a rural periphery. Following and expanding upon Marxist precedents, Andre Gunder Frank (1969: 57) has argued that past and present underdevelopment is a result of urban and metropolitan exploitation of the peripheral areas. In the Ilorin region in the pre-colonial and the colonial period the urban-based Fulani and their Yoruba allies exploited the rural Yoruba-speaking population. Some of these patterns can still be traced, especially in the complex relationships between some rural settlements and the town compounds from which they were founded.

The recent rapid growth of the city as the State capital has resulted in the introduction of some new elements in the urban power structure but these have enabled the city to continue to dictate the pace and nature of change in the surrounding rural area. Here, as in many other parts of the Third World, it is clear that there is an urban bias in 'development'. Lipton sees this as the result of 'convergent interests' which favour urban projects and people rather than as a deliberate attempt to deprive rural areas (Lipton 1977: 19). Hence it does not appear appropriate to

view cities such as Ilorin as 'growth poles', and as foci for 'modernisation', 'progress' and innovation which automatically bring great benefits to the rural people living close to the city. This latter view of the role of the urban centre in social and economic change has been accepted by many geographers and planners writing in Nigeria in the recent past (Ajaegbu 1972; Udo 1972; Barbour 1972, introduction), although not in the most recent study of the development process (Mabogunje 1980).

What is needed here is a framework which allows for the full complexity of the many different possible interactions between the city and the surrounding rural area. Hoselitz' typology is useful here (1955). He identified some cities as 'generative' of economic development and change in a whole region, others as 'parasitic' and still others as a combination of the two. In the case of Ilorin the city is 'generative' in so far as it provides employment opportunities for residents and migrants. But the city may also be 'parasitic' in that it draws away labour from agricultural pursuits in its hinterland. Some of the urban people may also neglect old-established craft industries and yet fail to find equally productive employment in other sectors of the economy. These conditions, which are common in many other cities in Nigeria and other parts of the Third World, combine in Ilorin with local conditions, especially the regional

contrasts in the effectiveness of emirate administration and its control over the rural area, to place the rural areas at a double disadvantage vis à vis the city.

Another important strand in this analysis of the Ilorin region is the continuing viability of the informal sector of the economy in both rural and urban areas. Most women are traders and many men are employed in farming, small scale manufacturing and repair work and in transport related jobs. The informal sector should not be viewed as completely distinct from the 'modern' formal sector for both exist side by side in the society and are integrated vertically. Santos (1975) interprets these two sectors as interrelated upper and lower circuits. The upper, formal circuit, centred on primate cities, demands goods and services which are often provided by the expanding urban informal sector. The informal sector will, according to Santos, always remain in an inferior position because it is forced to react to the demands of the formal sector and cannot create new needs which it can then exploit. This is an arrangement which perpetuates the dominance of the larger urban centres over the rural areas and smaller urban settlements.

This study is concerned with the mobility patterns of people in rural and urban areas whose lives are closely involved in the informal sector, whether they are working at home or away, and whose attitudes and values reflect this involvement. The informal sector

operates as a bridge between the urban and the rural experience of ordinary people and provides another link in the urban-rural system focusing on the city of Ilorin.

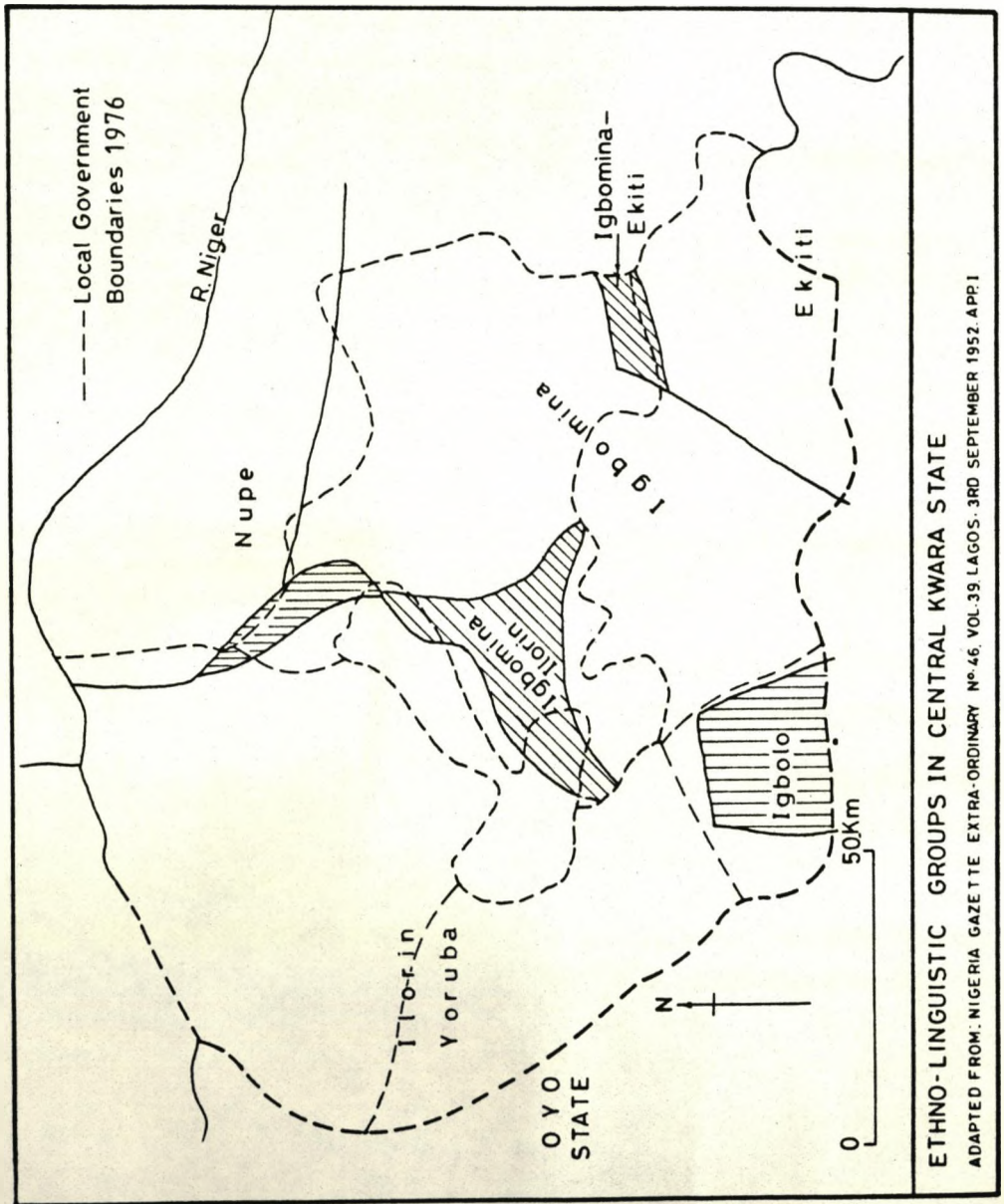
YORUBA ORIGINS

When the city of Ilorin was founded late in the eighteenth century the area immediately around the city and to the north and west acknowledged the suzerainty of the city of Old Oyo (locally known as Oyo Ilé, the home or place of origin of the Oyo Yoruba people), 80 kilometres to the north-west. The area to the east of the city, the future non-metropolitan districts of the emirate, consisted of many small independent Yoruba polities. The Ilorin region can still be divided into two parts which reflect this distinction and later differences in the nature of the control of the Fulani and colonial authorities over the rural hinterland (Whitaker 1970: chapter 3). In the non-metropolitan area to the east, comprising the present Local Government Areas of Irepodun, Ifelodun and Oyun, the Ilorin presence was and is less pervasive than in the so-called metropolitan districts comprising Asa, Moro and Ilorin LGAs. Today these differences are seen in the patterns of rural-urban interaction and in contrasts in education and in religious and political orientation which are relevant for the study of population mobility.

The vast majority of the people of the Ilorin

region claim to be of Yoruba origin. The 1963 census recorded that 93 per cent of the population was Yoruba and only 4 per cent Fulani (Kwara State 1973: 17). As with other ethnic groups in Africa (Southall 1975; Gugler 1975a), a sense of Yoruba identity is comparatively recent. Among the Yorubas to some extent it was deliberately manufactured by early historians such as Samuel Johnson (Apthorpe 1970; Obayemi 1980). Today Yoruba ethnic identity is recognised primarily as deriving from cultural and linguistic unity and recent research has tended to stress the diverse rather than the unitary origins of Yoruba speaking peoples (Eades 1980: 2; Obayemi 1980).

Linguistic divisions exist within the Yoruba speaking peoples of the Ilorin area which reflect the division between the metropolitan and the non-metropolitan areas. As shown in map I 3. the Ilorin Yorubas dominate the former area and they are sometimes grouped with the Oyo Yorubas to the south in Oyo State and referred to as 'Yoruba proper' (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 36). The inhabitants of the non-metropolitan area belong principally to three Yoruba-speaking groups known as the Igbomina (or Igbona), the Ekiti and the Igbolo. The first two groups predominate in the present LGAs of Irepodun and Ifelodun and the Igbolos live mainly in Oyun. Recent linguistic studies have shown that these three groups and the Ilorin Yorubas each speak distinct dialects.¹ There are also some areas where people



ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL KWARA STATE

ADAPTED FROM: NIGERIA GAZETTE EXTRA-ORDINARY No. 46, VOL. 39, LAGOS, 3RD SEPTEMBER 1952, APP. I

Map II 3

speaking one dialect have moved into the territory claimed by another group. Map 3 shows that this has occurred along the border between the lands occupied by the Ilorin Yorubas and the Igbominas (Nigeria Gazette 1952: Appendix I).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ILORIN EMIRATE

The emirate of Ilorin was the southernmost of the Fulani emirates which were established as a result of the Fulani Jihad in the early nineteenth century. Even before the Fulani gained control of Ilorin in the 1820s the city contained a number of Muslim Hausa traders from the north and Fulani pastoralists had settled in the surrounding rural areas. Afonja, the Yoruba leader in Ilorin, was the Are One Kakanfo of Oyo, the commander-in-chief of the empire's provincial army. He wanted the Fulani to help him to become independent of Oyo. However his plans miscarried and he was eventually defeated by his erstwhile ally, Alimi, a Fulani malam (teacher) and his sons. Alimi's eldest son, Abdul Salami, was installed as the first Emir of Ilorin and the emirate became part of the Sokoto caliphate.

In 1831-3 the city of Old Oyo itself fell to the Fulani and later settlements in what is now Oyo State, such as Shaki, Gbogun, Ikoyi and even for a time the cities of Oyo (the lineal descendant of Old Oyo) and Ogbomosho came under Fulani control. By the 1840s the boundaries

of the emirate extended north and west to border on Nupe lands and as far south as Oshogbo. Following the rise of the new city of Ibadan the Fulani lost much of this southern territory (Lloyd 1971: 40 sqq; Law 1977: 288 sqq).

Under the Fulani the city of Ilorin became an important trading centre, an entrepôt between the forest and the savanna and a link in long-distance trade which ultimately stretched from north Africa to the Atlantic coast (Gavin 1978). The walled city was administered by the heads of the four most important city families who were given the title balógun. Like officials of the same name in Yoruba kingdoms to the south they were also war leaders as well as controlling extensive rural estates (Balogun 1977).

The emir granted rights to rural land in the conquered areas to leading Fulani families and their Yoruba allies who encouraged their followers to settle there. Agents living in the rural areas collected tribute in money, kind and labour from the settlers who had been granted rights of cultivation and from indigenous cultivators who had been allowed to continue farming their land (Whitaker 1970: chapter 3; Hermon-Hodge 1929: 164-5; Lloyd 1971: 21, 50). However, there were important contrasts in the way in which the emirate power made itself felt in the metropolitan and the non-metropolitan areas.

Much of what became the metropolitan area of the

emirate was depopulated when people fled to the city for safety during the wars with the Yoruba Kingdom of Oyo in the early nineteenth century. The empty land was resettled by people from the city of Ilorin under the leadership of powerful city families who appointed their supporters as village and district heads (Gavin 1977). However, there were some settlements in these districts whose inhabitants claimed rights to land by virtue of continuous settlement since before the Fulani conquest. For example, local people claim that the village of Shao, 12 kilometres north of Ilorin, was founded by people from Old Oyo fifty years before the city of Ilorin was established.

In pre-Fulani times the Igbominas and the Ekitis in what became the non-metropolitan districts of the emirate, constituted a number of very small quasi-independent polities. Many Igbomina and Ekiti settlements submitted to Ilorin overrule without resistance and farmers were allowed to continue to cultivate their land even if they did not convert to Islam (Hailey 1938: 771; Nigeria 1958: 75). People from the city of Ilorin settled in western Igbomina under the protection of Ilorin overlords (Aiyedun 1976: 33; Clarke 1972: 186). The emir's agents, here known as ajias, took over many of the functions earlier performed by the indigenous chiefs who remained only as figure-heads and were powerless to protest over the exactions of alien rulers. These chiefs had to go to Ilorin to pay

homage to the emir when the Fulanis first took over their lands. They also had to visit the city for the two major Muslim festivals, Id el-Kabir and Id el-Fitr (Aiyedun 1976: 21-22, 49) as did the agents and chiefs in the metropolitan area.

The Igbolo have long regarded themselves as separate from the Igbomina and Ekiti and have their own chief, the Oloffo, who rules from the main town, Offa. Like the Igbomina and the Ekiti they suffered from the exactions of the ajias and were continually attempting to assert their independence of Ilorin. The Igbolo area became a battle ground between the forces of Ilorin and the Yoruba city of Ibadan in the 1880s and 1980s. In 1887 the Ilorins captured and burned Offa and killed the leading men of the town. Many other Igbolo settlements were also destroyed in the fighting which continued intermittently until an interim settlement was reached in 1893 between the Ilorins and the Ibadans (Akintoye 1971: 211 sqq).

COLONIAL CONTROL

Officials of the Niger Company and the Lagos Protectorate attempted to mediate between the Offa people and the two major rivals, the Ilorins and the Ibadans, in order to consolidate their own positions. In 1894 their representatives met with those of the Emir of Ilorin and the Ibadan forces and agreed on a boundary between the two realms which would also serve to define

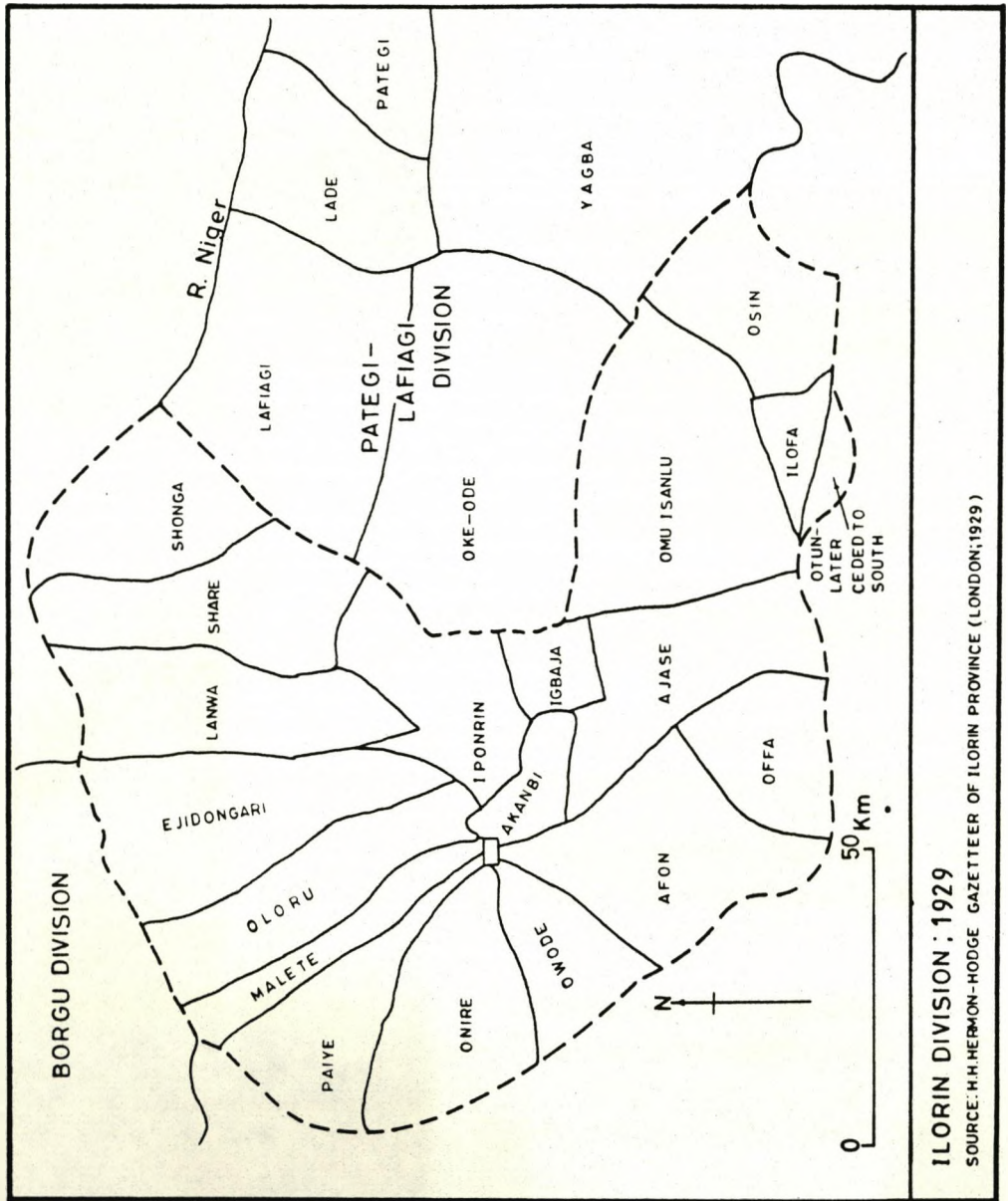
the spheres of influence of the two alien powers. This boundary, with some subsequent minor modifications, became the boundary between Northern and Southern Nigeria, and later between Kwara State to the north and Ondo and Oyo States to the south (Akintoye 1971: 211 sqq; Perham and Bull, vol. 4 1959: 239 sqq; Tamuno 1972: 227 sqq).

The Niger Company marched into Ilorin in 1897 and forced the emir to sign a treaty with them (Vandeleur 1898: 282 sqq). The emirate which came under direct British control in 1900 as part of Northern Nigeria was defined as those areas where surveyors in 1894 had identified an official or land holder who was collecting tribute on behalf of the emir (Perham and Bull, vol. 4 1959: 239 sqq). By accepting this basis for incorporation into the new province of Ilorin and reconstructing the political system of the emirate to accord with the principles of 'indirect rule', the British administration strengthened the position of the emir who had by that time become little more than a puppet in the hands of the leading balóguns. They banished the leading balógun, Alanamu, to Ogbomosho. The revival of the power of the emir and the survival of a modified Fulani system of administration into the colonial era has had a profound effect on the whole of the Ilorin area and on the sense of identity of the various groups who live there today (Whitaker 1970: chapter 3; Alade 1973).

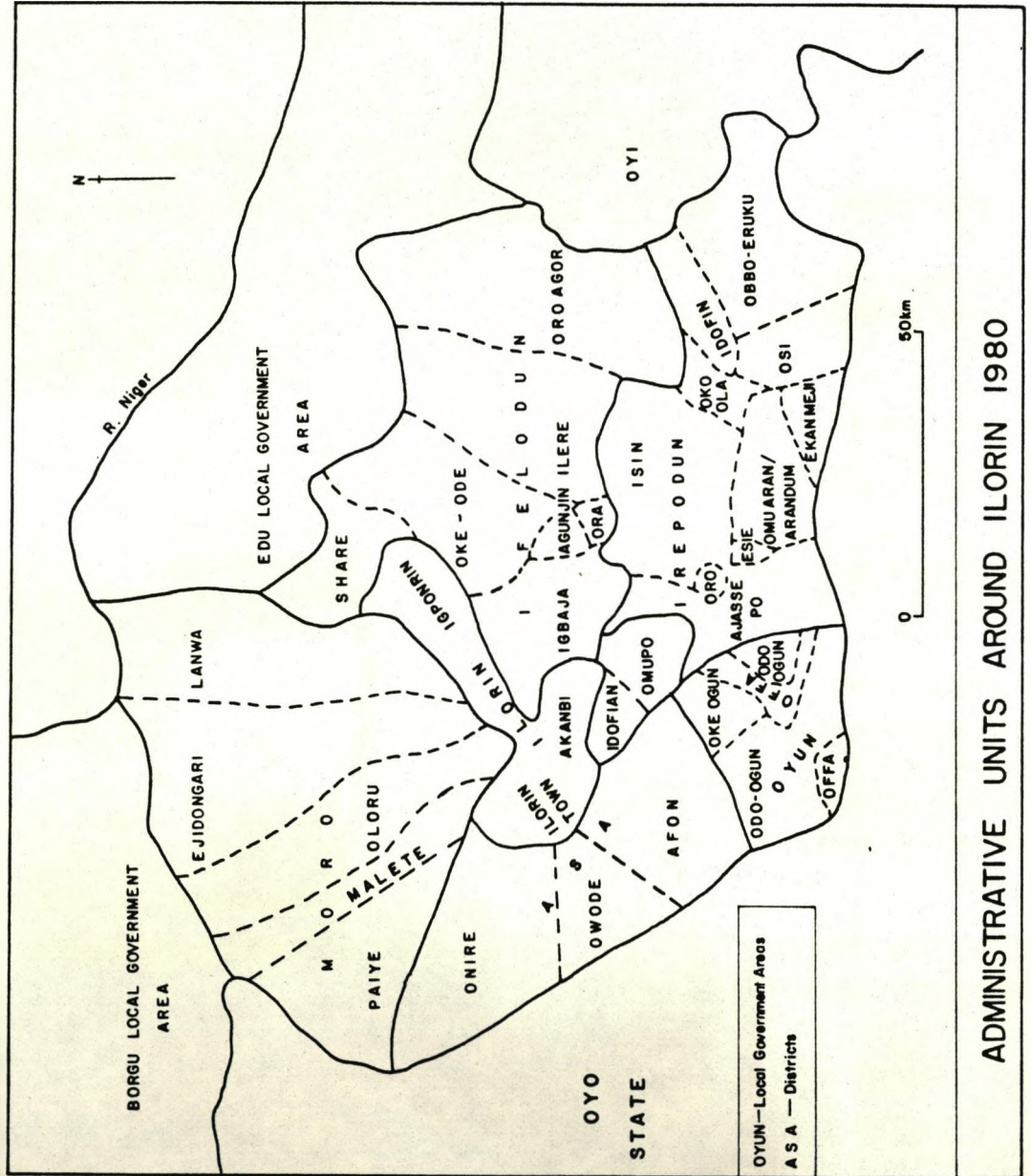
During the first years of British overrule a uniform system of administration was imposed on the emirate. The estates which had been granted by the emir to leading city families were confirmed. These estates were called 'fiefs' by the British administration, as they were elsewhere in Northern Nigeria (see Hill 1975a; Adeniyi 1972), and control over land rather than people was now stressed. The largest Fulani and Yoruba 'fief holders' were given the title of district heads and many lesser officials were made village heads. The districts identified in the first decade of the twentieth century still survive in a modified form in the alignment of the present Local Government Areas and Districts, as shown in maps I 4 and 5 (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 164-5; Lloyd 1971: 43; Northern Nigeria 1907a: 46 sqq).

These new officials were essentially revenue collectors and their new role was supposed to be entirely separate from their earlier one. They were expected to live in the area under their jurisdiction rather than in the city as they had done before. They were, however, expected to keep in regular contact with the emir acting in his new capacity as head of the revenue collecting organisation for the colonial government. During Muslim festivals the district and village heads were expected to pay their respects to the emir and the town chiefs (Northern Nigeria 1907a: 6-7, 46 sqq; Northern Nigeria 1907b: 50; Hermon-Hodge 1929: 164-5).

The metropolitan districts continued to be



Map II 4



ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AROUND ILORIN 1980

Map II 5

settled by people from the city and its immediate hinterland during the colonial period. Ilorin's position as a great trading centre had declined as a result of colonial control over long-distance trade and both landholders and the colonial authorities were anxious to settle underemployed city-dwellers on the new farms (Gavin 1977: 37 sqq). The advocates of indirect rule could argue that as most of the settlers came from the city of Ilorin their administration by Ilorin-based families could be justified and their farming activities would increase the area's tax base. Thus the dominance of the city was perpetuated under colonial rule.

During the colonial period the history of Offa, Ekiti and Igbomina can be interpreted as a series of protests against the British policy of incorporation into the emirate and the Province of Ilorin (Obayemi 1981). When the British first took over Ilorin the Ekitis and Igbominas refused to continue paying any form of tribute to Ilorin. The British were forced to bring the ajia system to an end in 1904 and allow a pre-jihad leader of the southern Igbomina, the Olupo of Ajasse-Po, to act as chief although he still had to pay fealty to the emir (Temple 1919: 390). By 1906/7 the area was organised into districts and revenue was collected through district heads appointed from Ilorin (Northern Nigeria 1907a: 46).

Local people in the non-metropolitan districts, aided by those of their number who had worked in Lagos,

wanted the British administration to allow them greater control over their own affairs. Their protests led to the removal of district heads by 1950 (Dosunmu 1980: 104; Tamuno 1972: 229; Nigeria Gazette 1952: 993). The local sense of identity of Igbominas and Ekitis in the Ilorin Emirate and Province was also kept alive by boundary disputes with the Lagos Protectorate which administered a small area of southern Igbomina and the southern half of Ekiti. Boundary readjustments in the colonial period aggravated rather than solved the problem posed by the administration of these two Yoruba groups by Ilorin Province (Nigeria Gazette 1952; Nigeria 1958: 76; Akintoye 1971: 221; Tamuno 1972: 228-34). Both residents and non-residents knew that in Lagos Protectorate ethnicity was the principle favoured for determining boundaries and administrative structures whereas in Northern Nigeria the policy of indirect rule often resulted in the perpetuation of the pre-colonial power structure regardless of the ethnic identity of the majority of the population (Dosunmu 1980: 104; Nigeria Gazette 1952: 995; Tamuno 1972: 229).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM

During the colonial period both the metropolitan and the non-metropolitan districts of the emirate were constituted as a single Ilorin Native Authority. This was administered by a salaried bureaucracy centred on the city of Ilorin and advised by nominated councillors

who acted under the direction of the emir. The changes in the administrative structure of the region in the past thirty years have involved first of all internal reforms in the structure of the Native Authority and later the splitting up of this monolithic unit. These reforms were attempts to make the administration responsive to the mass of the local people rather than to the wishes of the town-based leaders.

In the mid-1950s the Ilorin Native Authority was chosen by the Northern Nigerian administration as a pilot area for an experiment in local government reform (Whitaker 1970: chapter 3; Alade 1973). Elections were held for the new Native Authority councils and the nascent political parties in the area seized on this opportunity to elect their members. The Ilorin Talaka Parapo, a populist party founded in 1954, gained control of the rural metropolitan area by capitalising on the growing dislike of the control of the emir and the emirate administration in that area. In the non-metropolitan area its place was taken by the Egbe Igbomina Party, the Ekiti Federal Union and the Action Group. The Action Group, based on the Western Region and favouring the secession of Ilorin to the south, was popular among the Igbolo Yoruba of Offa. As the interests of all these groups were clearly counter to the Northern Peoples Congress, which represented the established power of the northern emirates and was dominant in the city of Ilorin, they formed an

alliance which was able to gain control of the local councils in the Native Authority in the 1956 and 1957 elections.

The colonial authorities feared that the vociferous opposition of the new central council to the established local power structure would threaten its policy of indirect rule. Therefore they soon replaced the elected council with a 'caretaker council' composed of nominated members. This new central council reversed the populist measures passed by its predecessors and thus in effect restored the status quo ante. The council continued in office until October 1961 when it was replaced by a council in which some members were indirectly elected (Whitaker 1970: chapter 3).

With the creation of the new Kwara State in 1967 the term Native Authority and the autocratic form of government which it still represented to most of the inhabitants of the Ilorin area was clearly no longer appropriate. In 1968 local government reform attempted to bring the government closer to the people by splitting up some of the larger divisions in Kwara State and elsewhere in Northern Nigeria (Wraith 1972: 208-9). Eleven divisions replaced the former seven in Kwara and three new divisions, Ilorin, Oyun and Igbomina-Ekiti were created from the former Ilorin Native Authority. The creation of the new divisions went some way towards meeting local demands for autonomy and quelling the most strident calls for secession to the Western State

(Wraith 1972: 205 sqq; Nigeria 1958: 74 sqq; Northern States of Nigeria 1972: 30-1).

The task of the 1976 local government reforms was to further encourage decentralisation, especially to check the decline of rural areas and the drift of rural people to the towns (Panter-Brick 1975: 253 sqq). They had a far reaching effect on the area around Ilorin as they resulted in the splitting of the Ilorin Division into three new units, Asa, Moro and Ilorin. The Igbomina-Ekiti Division was split into two units, Ifelodun in the north and Irepodun in the south, as shown in map 2 (Kwara State 1976a).

Traditional chiefs in Kwara State feared that their position might be threatened by these reforms. However in 1976 chiefs were still empowered to 'determine questions relating to chieftaincy matters and the control of traditional titles' and to 'determine customary law and practices in all matters governed by customary law including land tenure' (Kwara State 1977a: 7). These are matters of immediate concern to all the people over whom a chief has jurisdiction, whether they are living permanently in their home settlements or working away. The edict setting up new chieftaincy councils in 1976 stressed that the traditional chiefs were still regarded as 'spiritual models' and 'the fathers of their people' (Kwara State 1977a: 9). As such they are still, as they have been in the past, a focus for the loyalty of the people living under their jurisdiction.

The status of chiefs in the emirate and the present relationship between the rural areas and the city of Ilorin were confused rather than clarified in the course of hearings before the Chieftaincy Review and Grading Panel set up in May 1978 and by disputes about the appointment of district heads in Moro LGA the following year. Parties who wished for the appointment of district heads from outside Ilorin families or wanted pre-jihad chiefs to be upgraded revived memories of Ilorin 'oppression', 'feudalism' and 'exploitation' in order to achieve these ends.² In these and other ways the memories of past divisions have been kept alive in the Ilorin region.

CURRENT REGIONAL POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTRASTS

The Nigerian military government allowed political parties to be established in September 1979 in preparation for elections and the return to civilian rule in September 1980 (Kirk-Greene and Rimmer 1980: chapter 3). Political allegiances in the Ilorin area were clearly related to those which had emerged during the attempts at Native Authority reform in the mid-1950s and which had been kept alive by subsequent popular agitation for decentralisation. In the non-metropolitan areas the Unity Party of Nigeria, a direct descendant of the Action Group, emerged as the dominant party and this reflected the ethno-linguistic loyalties of the people and their experience working in southern Nigeria where this party

predominated. The rival National Party of Nigeria established itself primarily in the metropolitan districts and in the city of Ilorin. This party was regarded as the heir to the earlier Northern Peoples Congress.

Political identities are clearly related to differences in education and religious loyalties in the emirate. The colonial authorities had encouraged Christian mission activity in the non-metropolitan areas where there were few Muslims in the early years of this century, and discouraged it in the metropolitan area for fear of conflicts with the Muslim authorities (Ayandele 1966; Onokerhoraye 1977). An important part of mission enterprise was the founding of schools, and in 1930 there were 16 mission and church related primary schools in what is now Ifelodun and Irepodun, 6 in Oyun but only three in the entire metropolitan area (Onokerhoraye 1977).

In 1942 people from Oro, 50 kilometres west of Ilorin, who were working in Lagos had contributed money to establish a free six year primary education system for the children of all indigenes of the town. Subsequently these people also helped to provide secondary schools and primary schools with boarding facilities.³ In contrast, even as late as the 1950s aspiring pupils from the rural metropolitan area often had to go to the city of Ilorin or to rural schools in the non-metropolitan area to complete their primary education.

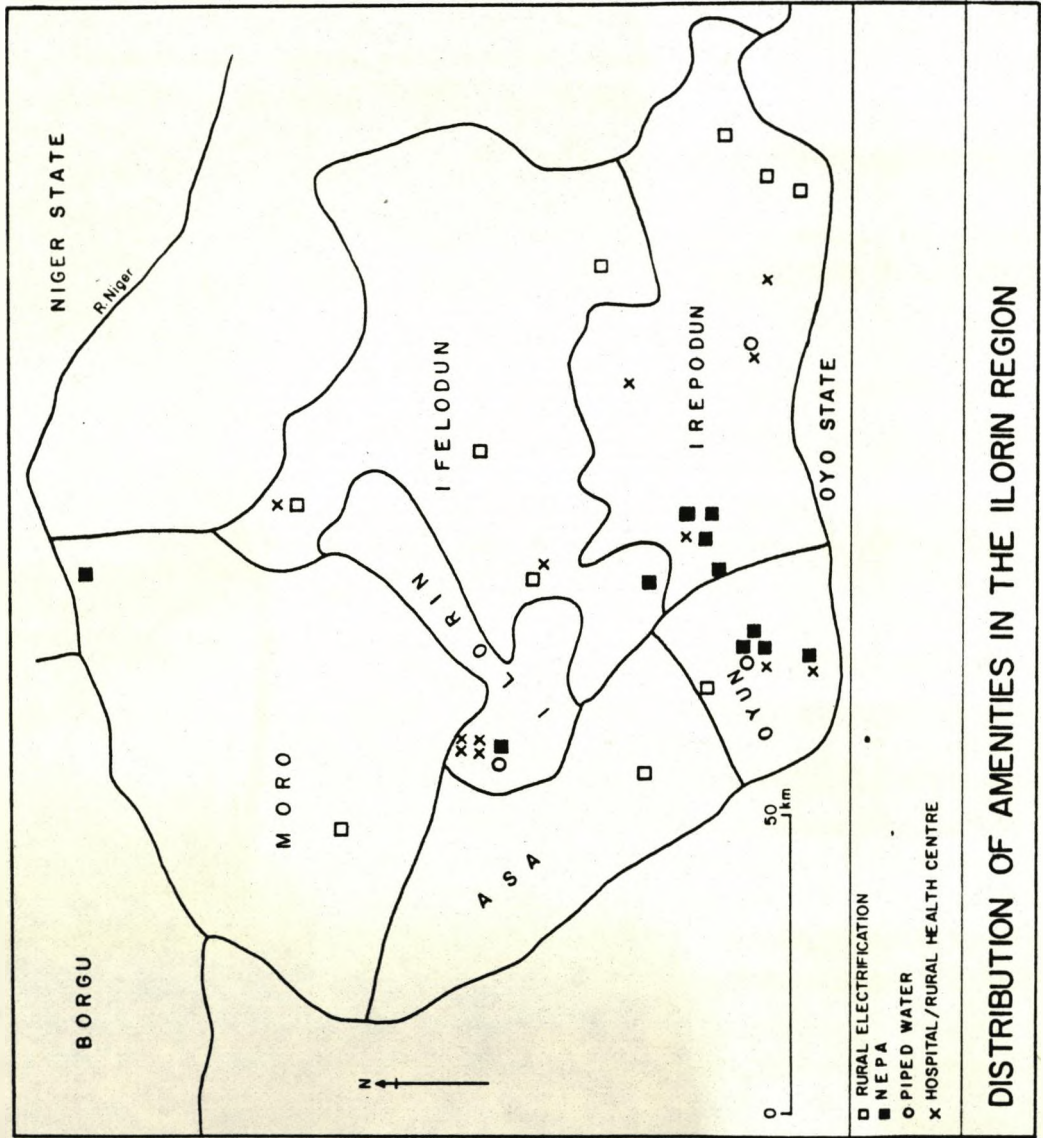
There has been a striking increase in primary school enrolment throughout the Ilorin region in the past ten years, especially since the Universal Primary Education programme was established in 1976. Official enrolment figures for the region rose dramatically between the school year 1976/7 and 1978/9, with the highest rates of increase recorded in Asa (285 per cent) and in Moro (241 per cent). The low level of enrolment in the primary schools in these two LGAs in 1976/7 was revealed in the small proportion of girls and in the small proportion of pupils in the more senior classes (Kwara State 1978: 7).⁴

In 1970 there were only 32 post-secondary institutions in the six LGAs. There were none in Asa and Moro and the nine in Ilorin LGA were all in the town itself rather than in the surrounding rural area. Irepodun had the greatest number of secondary schools, 13. By September 1980 the number of schools had risen to 108 but the 65 which had been founded at the beginning of that year consisted only of the first form. State and local government initiative was notable in the founding of schools in Asa, Moro and rural Ilorin where there had been no schools in 1970.⁵ The general pattern of access to education at all levels can be said to favour the city of Ilorin and the non-metropolitan districts at the expense of the rural metropolitan districts where in spite of recent advances there are fewer and less well established educational facilities (see also

Adekunle 1981).

There are other amenities which might attract people to certain areas. A piped water supply contributes to the general health of the people and cuts down the arduous task of fetching water. The provision of piped water is limited to the larger settlements in central Kwara State, to Ilorin, Offa, Omu Aran and Ajasse Po, as shown in map II 6. But even here demand often exceeds supply, especially during the dry season (Edungbola 1980). Most rural people depend on water from wells and streams. In the dry season when the water table falls rendering some of the wells useless and drying up local streams women and children have to travel further afield for water. In one rural settlement in Ifelodun women made a daily trip of $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres, rising at 3.30 a. m. in order to get to the stream before the Fulani cattle muddied the water (IADP 1981a).

The provision of electricity often takes priority over water supplies. This is because it is mainly women who fetch the water and the men who make decisions; also the danger of water-related diseases is not widely appreciated. Electricity is supplied from the national grid by the Nigerian Electric Power Authority to Ilorin, Offa, Oro, Omu Aran, Omupo and a number of surrounding smaller settlements. Some other centres are provided with electricity by petrol driven generators supplied by the Rural Electrification Board which selects



Map 116

growing settlements and local government headquarters as sites for projects. In some cases local people, both residents and those working away from home, collect money and ask the Rural Electrification Board to supply their community with electricity.⁶ Centres supplied with electricity are shown on map II 6.

As with water and electricity, medical services are concentrated in certain rural areas and in the city of Ilorin. In 1977 there were two government and five private hospitals in the city of Ilorin, whereas there were only five hospitals elsewhere in the region and most of these were smaller and had fewer facilities. Ifelodun and Irepodun were far better supplied with maternity centres and dispensaries than the rural metropolitan areas. In Irepodun 12 of the 23 maternity centres and dispensaries were community or mission sponsored whereas in Moro only 2 of the 8 centres were so sponsored (Kwara State 1977b). These figures suggest that in Irepodun and Ifelodun community initiative once again supported mainly by people working away, combined with mission activity, has been instrumental in providing rural health care, whereas in Moro and Asa care is provided mostly by the local government agencies and is more widely dispersed.

The imbalance in the distribution of amenities, especially their concentration in Ilorin, is reflected in patterns of daily and short-term commuting. Generally speaking the pattern here is the reverse of that in

Europe and North America in which people move from the peri-urban and rural areas to work in the towns. Because of the paucity of rural amenities, especially in the immediate hinterland of Ilorin, many local government employees and teachers, who might be expected to provide rural leadership, maintain their families in the city and commute daily or weekly to their jobs in surrounding villages. This pattern is not unique to Ilorin and such people, who might be expected to provide rural leadership, contribute to widening rather than narrowing the gap between rural and urban life-styles. They directly contribute to the exploitation of the rural areas by urban people and urban interests.

THE CITY OF ILORIN: THE URBAN EXPERIENCE

As a medium-sized city Ilorin is both a source area and a receiving area for migrants. Rural people flock to it as a source of economic and educational opportunities which cannot be enjoyed anywhere else in the State. But to some permanent Ilorin residents and to many rural residents economic and social opportunities may appear to be embodied in the still larger cities beyond the State boundary, such as Lagos and Ibadan. The city of Ilorin represents many different things to different people; all that is best and worst of the old, familiar ways and all that is best and worst of the new, exciting, 'modern' ways. These feelings of

ambivalence are common to the experience of 'urban peasants' in many Third World cities (McGee 1973).

Because so many urban residents in Nigeria, and in other parts of tropical Africa, were born in rural areas and maintain active links with the home places, it is often difficult, indeed irrelevant, to distinguish between the rural and the urban elements in people's experiences. This distinction is further muted in Yoruba cities, and in Ilorin, as many urban people maintain links with rural settlements which were originally founded from the city (Goddard 1965; Ojo 1973).

The city of Ilorin is unique in that it combines elements of the two great indigenous urban traditions in Nigeria, the Yoruba and the Hausa/Fulani (Mabogunje 1968: 65-100; Urquhart 1977: chapter 2; Watts forthcoming). Both Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani towns have a large proportion of their male economically active population engaged in agriculture (Mabogunje 1968: 220-221). In 1966 about 43 per cent of the economically active males in Zaria old city were farmers and even the large city of Kano still had a substantial farming population (Davies 1976: 52; Mortimore 1975: 191). The 1922 assessment report for Ilorin city indicated that 28 per cent of the adult male population were farmers; the 1966 tax return gave a figure of 12 per cent, while 27 per cent were craftsmen and 38 per cent traders

(Gavin 1977: 27; Ariyo 1969).

In 1929 Sylvia Leith Ross wrote of Ilorin that:

in spite of the size of the town, the term 'urban' can hardly be applied to the population...so constant is the movement between town and country (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 278).

More recently sociologists have written extensively about the characteristics of Yoruba towns and they have included Ilorin in their discussions because the majority of the population was and is Yoruba. Like Sylvia Leith Ross they were at first reluctant to refer to Yoruba towns as urban even though they may have had as many as 100,000 people (Bascom 1962; Schwab 1965; Wheatley 1970; Krapf-Askari 1969; Gugler and Flanagan 1978: 19 sqq; Eades 1980: chapter 3). However such settlements, although they contained a large proportion of farmers, were functionally distinct from the surrounding small farming settlements which were inhabited by people who preserved ties with the town compounds and returned there regularly (Goddard 1965).

On the criterion of heterogeneity Yoruba towns were and are truly urban. A wide range of craft industries - weaving, dyeing, pottery, blacksmithing - was carried out in the towns rather than in the surrounding rural settlements (Bray 1969; Mabogunje 1968: 82-5). In the recent past the proportion of traditional craftsmen in Ilorin (mainly weavers) was high compared to other Yoruba towns (Bascom 1962). Yoruba towns were also functionally distinct as trade and market centres.

Various lineages were distinguished by the roles their members could play in town government, as rulers, war leaders or custodians of sacred shrines, as well as practitioners of certain crafts. There were also opportunities for able individuals to assume special responsibilities regardless of their social origin.

The corporate kin-based responsibilities characteristic of a Yoruba town would not have been seen by the American sociologist Wirth as being urban and they certainly did not exist in the ethnically mixed North American cities from which his concept of 'urbanism' was derived (Wirth 1938; Gugler and Flanagan 1978: 19 sqq). For Wirth, as for Max Weber, it was axiomatic that in towns group life disintegrated and was replaced by individual alienation and isolation (Weber 1921). This view of cities was pervasive in American intellectual life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (White and White 1964). The Marxist view of cities was associated with the development of a wage labouring proletariat permanently alienated from the means of production.

These negative views of urban life have influenced observers of cities in other parts of the world and they have contributed to the assumption that rural people's movement to the cities of tropical Africa has resulted in crime and disorientation. Too often this judgement is made without recognising the extent to which migrants maintain contacts with their rural area of origin and

with people from that area who also live in the city. Wirth's analysis is clearly inimical to any interpretation of the city as part of a system or a network because it stresses individual isolation rather than connectedness. Yet recent studies have shown that in Western cities, as well as in those in the Third World, urban residents have a surprisingly large number of people in their social network (Smith 1980).

Hausa towns are much less kin-based in their organisation and more ethnically heterogeneous than Yoruba towns. Mobility is characterised by movement during the long dry season when little farming is done (Yusuf 1973). Urbanisation has also been associated with the break-up of kin-based gandu farms (Goddard 1973; Hill 1973: chapter 3; Wallace 1978) and the development of patron-client relationships in new urban settings. Although patronage was and still is an important element in social relationships in Yoruba towns organisation in such towns remains predominantly kin-based and in this sense is rather different from the patron-client relationships in ethnically heterogeneous Hausa/Fulani cities (Yusuf 1973; Urquhart 1977: chapter 2).

URBAN MORPHOLOGY

The character of the traditional Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani towns has been modified, but not obliterated, by the colonial impact and by the movement to the towns

of rural people. The spatial structure of these cities reflects these changes. Mabogunje recognised four types of contemporary African city and of these the 'rejuvenated traditional city' is the one which most closely approximates Ilorin. This type is a synthesis which has resulted from the fusion of an indigenous city, an immigrant quarter and a formerly European area (Mabogunje 1970c, vol. 1: 345). There are two main commercial centres, one in the old city and the other in the newer area which originated in the segregated European commercial section. The earlier colonial distinction has now been muted by the breakdown of racial segregation and the influx of people to the town. In whatever part of the world such towns might be found they still symbolise the unequal power structure of the colonial relationship (King 1976; Urquhart 1977: chapter 11; McGee 1971). It has also been suggested that in Nigeria the fragmented structure of the administration of colonial cities, which was associated with these morphological contrasts, has contributed to the current problems of urban administration (Home 1976: 64).

THE OLD CITY

The old city illustrates the fusion of the two indigenous urban traditions in Nigeria, the Yoruba and the Hausa/Fulani. The central area of the old city is still dominated by the ruler's palace, the market place and the religious centre, elements common

to both traditions (Mabogunje 1968: 65-100, Urquhart 1977: 9). As the ruler is a Muslim emir the religious centre is a mosque, reflecting the dominance of the Fulani Muslims in the traditional political and administrative life of Ilorin. However, the structure of the old city, with its compounds and markets, reflects the fact that the majority of the population are Yoruba in language and culture.

A new central mosque is being built on the site of the central market in a style which might be called 'international Saudi Arabian' and which is familiar from examples as far apart as Kano and Regent's Park, London. The new mosque will replace an earlier one which still stands on the opposite side of the market place from the palace. The old mosque, illustrated in figure III 6A, is built in the Yoruba courtyard style, of mud brick, surrounded by a wide veranda and covered by a steep corrugated iron roof; it stands on the site of an earlier Yoruba shrine (Okin 1968: 51).

The central market, known locally as Oja Oba, 'the king's market', has recently been moved to a new site provided with concrete stalls, water and electricity.⁷ The old market was patronised mainly by small-scale women traders who sold small quantities of imported and locally made goods, local fresh and cooked foods, as well as the commodities which helped to make Ilorin famous as a trading centre - salt, potash, pottery, locally woven and dyed cloth and the raw materials for

its manufacture. Although a large market, known as Ago, still exists immediately south of the emir's palace, with the destruction of the Oja Oba one of the symbols of the former greatness of Ilorin as a trading city has been irretrievably lost.

The compounds of the principal Yoruba and Fulani families are found close to the old central market and the emir's palace for many members of such families are still expected to be in frequent attendance at the palace. Some of the compounds are still in the Yoruba style, with a high gabled entrance which allowed horses to pass through. Many now contain double-storey houses, some with the steep roofs and concrete mouldings of the 'Brazilian' style popular in Ilorin in the 1940s and 1950s.

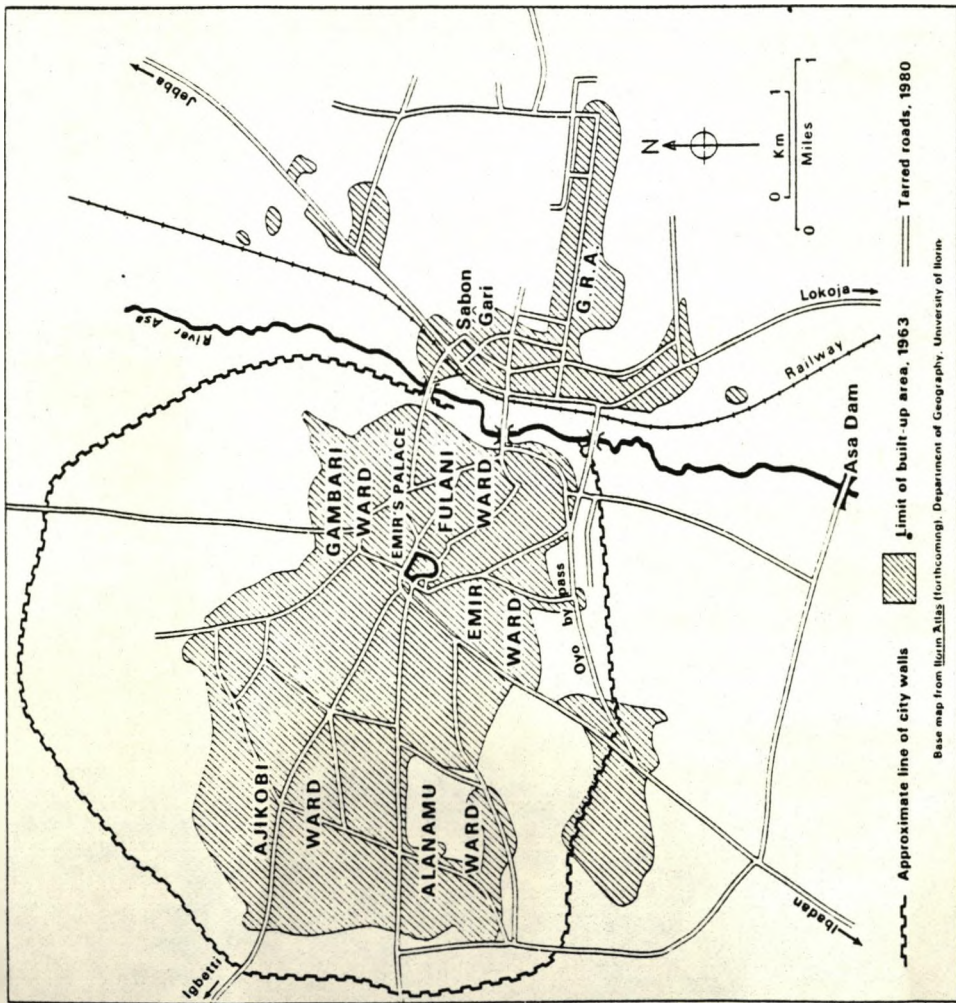
The compound of the Magaji Gari, who had the traditional role as the mediator between the Emir of Ilorin and his superior the Emir of Gwandu (Lloyd 1971: 42) was next to the entrance to the emir's palace. In 1957-8 this compound was demolished to make way for a new building for the Ilorin Local Government Secretariat. The choice of this central site reflected the continuing importance of the emir in the modern administration as well as the difficulty of finding an appropriate site for the office in the centre of the congested old city (Whitaker 1970: 168-72).

The central part of the old city consists of a dense network of enclosed compounds and individual houses, once thatched but now roofed with corrugated iron. The

buildings were originally linked by narrow alleys designed for pedestrians; some of these have now been widened and paved for vehicular traffic. Although congested, the density of the old city nowhere approaches that of Ibadan or Lagos (Ajaegbu 1976: 42) and further from the centre there is still much open land. Vandeleur's map of Ilorin shows that in 1897 much of the land within the city walls, especially to the north, was grassland and fields and today some of this land is still open, as shown in map II 7. This open land was used for farmland and as a source of firewood. In Yoruba cities it contained groves dedicated to local deities, while in the north it provided pasture for horses (Davies 1976: 8-9; Ojo 1966: 140-2; Mabogunje 1967).

Ilorin, like other pre-colonial Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani cities, was originally walled and entrance to the city was regulated through gates which were closed at night. Vandeleur (1898: 281) reported that to the north of the city the walls were up to 15' thick in places. Originally they were protected on the outer side by a deep fosse and the main gates were capped by massive arches like those which can still be seen at Zaria and Kano (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 272). The remains of the Ilorin walls are still visible today on the farmlands north of the city and near the university town campus.

The internal structure and heterogeneity of the old city is still evident in its division into administrative wards. There are five in the old town, one directly



Map II 7 The City of Ilorin

under the emir, and four administered by the balóguns, as shown in map 7. The Balóguns Ajikobi and Alanamu control the two predominantly Yoruba wards; the Balóguns Fulani and Gambari (Hausa) the other two.

Early twentieth century assessment reports recorded that the Fulani and Gambari wards contained residences and lodging houses for the long-distance traders who flocked to the city during the dry season, the main trading season, while Ajikobi and Alanamu wards were occupied by Yoruba farmers and craftsmen (Hermon-Hodge 272: 272). Table II 1 shows that this contrast survived into the middle of this century, for the Alanamu and

Table II 1: Ethnic Distribution in Ilorin Old City

	<u>Adult Males 1954</u>				
	Ilorin Yoruba	Fulani	Hausa	Others	Total
Ajikobi	2902	----	----	----	2902
Alanamu	2003	52	----	14	2069
Fulani	1257	249	49	451	2006
Gambari	2126	99	907	607	3739
Emir's	900	521	15	34	1470
Total	<u>9188</u>	<u>921</u>	<u>971</u>	<u>1106</u>	<u>12186</u>

Source: Nigerian Archives, Kaduna: Acc. 59, District Notebook, Ilorin Town 1954. Although these figures are an undercount they give some idea of the distribution of various groups in the old city.

Ajikobi wards were still, as they are today, predominantly occupied by indigenous Yoruba, while the three other wards are more ethnically mixed and contain recent migrants of varied ethnic origin as well as Fulani and Hausa. Today the Yoruba are still mostly employed in craft work, farming and trading, although new occupations, such as driving and various lower level civil service jobs, have become more important.

THE COLONIAL CITY

The development of a physically separate area for colonial administration, residence and commerce in Ilorin was a symbol of the new power structure (Mabogunje 1967). The tripartite arrangement of the city shows clearly on a map produced by the Nigerian Surveys in 1929 and is still evident today, as shown in map II 7 (Hermon-Hodge 1929: fold out map of Ilorin). The Asa River and the railway, which reached Ilorin in 1908, marked the division between the old city to the west and the colonial and immigrant city to the east. Immediately to the east of the railway trading plots were marked out in a new business area and still further east was the European residential area, completely isolated by a building-free zone. The colonial quarter, with its houses in their spacious grounds linked by motorable roads, had as its hub the Residency and the Club. Today the Residency is the official residence of the Governor of Kwara State and the Ilorin Club is a prestigious social

club with an elite Nigerian membership. The spacious layout of the Government Reservation Area still contrasts sharply with the crowded quarters of the old city and the newer immigrant area.

The sabon gari in Ilorin, like that in other Northern Nigerian towns, was originally planned for migrants from Southern Nigeria working in the city. Temple, when he was governor of Northern Nigeria, encouraged the establishment of these quarters as part of the policy of indirect rule. Such areas could then have their own political structure and institutions and it was hoped that this would minimise tensions between indigenous people and the new arrivals (Olusanya 1967; Ayandele 1966). This policy can also be seen as a device to perpetuate local loyalties among urban migrants in such a way as to render their activities easier to control in towns and ultimately to retard the development of a Nigerian national identity (Osoba 1969).

The new immigrants in the Ilorin sabon gari were very different from the traders and hangers-on who crowded the old city during the main trading season; they were labourers and traders who intended to spend much of the year in Ilorin. The sabon gari grew up north of the new business district and east of the railway. The first churches for Nigerian congregations in Ilorin were established in the sabon gari for many of the new arrivals were Christians, whereas the vast majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the old city were Muslims.

Today the sabon gari has been absorbed in the post-colonial growth of the city and the term is no longer used. Migrants in the city can still, however, find rental housing in this area as well as in other newer parts of the city and in the old city where space has been available for the building of structures suitable for renting.

THE CITY TODAY

Political independence rendered the three-fold division of Ilorin obsolete and paved the way for the third stage in the development of the city. This stage was marked by the merging of the formerly separate areas, the extension of the physical area of the city and of modern amenities such as paved roads, water supplies and electricity. Air photographs taken in 1963 show that there were virtually no buildings beyond the outline of the city walls and the bounds of the Government Reservation Area and the early sabon gari as shown on the 1929 map. The only exception was along the Ibadan road south of the city where there was a technical training centre (the future site of the town campus of the university), a teacher training college and a girls secondary school. Even in the early 1960s there was still room for infilling in the old city between the city walls and the densely settled core area. According to the 1963 census the density of the whole of Gambari ward and the Zarumi sub-ward to the north of the city

core was 25 and 39 per hectare respectively, and the density of the Baboko sub-ward in the south of the city was 18 per hectare (Kwara State 1977/8).

Expansion since the mid-1960s has taken place in Ilorin in three ways; building on the empty land within the city walls, the physical expansion beyond the walls and vertical expansion with the building of structures of two or more storeys. Such forms of expansion have also been noted in Yoruba towns to the south (Krapf-Askari 1969: 58). The physical growth of the town has not been equal in all directions; growth to the west and north of the old city has lagged behind that elsewhere. Public service provisions in this area have been neglected and this has in many cases deterred all but poor quality building.

The main expansion has taken place along the southern and eastern fringes of the old city, along the main north-south road and other roads built in the last twenty years to avoid the congested old city. This area enjoys better access to water and electricity and is more convenient for employment opportunities in the new commercial and administrative areas. But here, as in the old city, such is the demand for housing that building has often taken place with little regard for the present or future provision of water, sanitation or electricity. The physical expansion of the town has also been facilitated by the Land Decree which encourages local residents to establish their claim to a plot of

land by building foundations (Floyd and Sule 1979). The habit of building piecemeal as the builder can afford the materials and labour also results in a high proportion of unfinished buildings and a somewhat exaggerated impression of expansion on the fringes of the city.

The institutions which are associated with Ilorin's present position as primate city and capital of Kwara State and as a transportation, educational and industrial centre, are all situated on the expanding fringes of the newer commercial areas of the city. State and Federal office buildings are principally situated in the former building-free zone by the railway. New office buildings, banks, hotels and schools are in or near the Government Reservation Area or along recently constructed major roads.

There is a clear distinction today between conditions in the Government Reservation Area, which remains the elite housing area, and the rest of the city. A disproportionate amount of the meagre funds available for maintenance and the provision of amenities in the city is spent in this area. Only here can planning regulations governing housing quality, spacing and the provision of essential amenities be enforced. Elsewhere in the city even better quality housing with a fairly reliable water and electricity supply and spacious internal layouts is often cheek by jowl with poorer housing, insanitary market areas, garbage strewn alleys and dirty mosquito-infested ponds.

In spite of these environmental problems, which are common to other Nigerian cities (Salau 1979), the amenities provided for the mass of the people in Ilorin are, as we have seen, far better than in all but the most favoured parts of the surrounding rural area. People from the rural areas who come to the city to take advantage of these amenities and of employment opportunities increase the strains on the already overloaded existing services. Here, as elsewhere in tropical Africa, improvements in urban services often take precedence over those in rural areas and hence further encourage the movement of people to the urban centres and the relative decline of the rural areas.

Footnotes

1. Personal communication from Dr 'Yiwola Awoyale, University of Ilorin, Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages.
2. Nigerian Herald, July 29, 1978, p 2; 26 June, 1978, p 2; July 15, 1978, p 7; January 13, 1979, p 7; January 17, 1979, p 9; January 18, 1979, p. 9.
3. Nigerian Herald, July 28, 1978, p 6.
4. Data for 1978/9 from the Ministry of Education, Ilorin.
5. Ministry of Education, Ilorin.
6. NEPA information from Mr. Folorunsho, Statistics Division, Ministry of Economic Development, December 1980; from REB from Mr. Olubanjo, Ilorin REB Office, December 1980.
7. Nigerian Herald, December 14, 1979, p 6.

CHAPTER III

THE ILORIN REGION - SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

RURAL OPPORTUNITIES AND LONG-TERM POPULATION MOVEMENTS

Since the early 1970s Nigeria, despite a large rural sector, has had to import staple foods. This reflects a high rate of population growth, between 2.5 and 3 per cent a year, which compares unfavourably with the estimated 1.5 per cent increase in food production.¹ The main explanation for lagging food production, which cost Nigeria a massive ₦1500 in food imports in 1980² is the movement of potential food producers from the rural areas to the towns and the reluctance of those who remain to produce food. Government spending, fuelled by oil revenue, has contributed to a widening of the gap between urban and rural provisions of amenities and the rapid growth of urban employment opportunities.

A key factor in the movement to the towns has been the great discrepancy between urban and rural wage levels. In 1969 the minimum pay for urban workers in Nigeria was 1.5 to 2.5 times the average income of farm workers (Riddell 1978) and the gap has probably widened in recent years (Adepoju 1978: 81). As 95 per cent of Nigerian agricultural production still comes from small farmers who are tempted by opportunities in unskilled work in the towns agricultural production continues to stagnate.

Even though energetic farmers may be able to make a good living in favoured areas there is a widespread prejudice against farming because of its association with what is now seen as unsophisticated rural life. Low technology farming is also hot, hard and dirty work.

The rural areas around Ilorin are today primarily involved in the production of food for the city itself and for other urban areas in Nigeria. Ilorin city residents grow food crops in the peri-urban area and in the more distant rural settlements related to town compounds. The rural areas around Ilorin have not achieved the levels of prosperity enjoyed in the past by some export-oriented areas such as the cocoa belt to the south. Today the wealthiest rural areas are those where local people who have been successful in urban enterprises maintain active links with their home communities. Hence the present conditions in the rural areas around Ilorin can be understood partly in relation to the current exploitation of opportunities which exist beyond the region, and also in terms of the exploitation of rural resources by city-based people.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The Ilorin region is part of the transitional area between north and south in Nigeria which geographers have called the Middle Belt. Here a large range of food crops, both the root crops grown in the south and the grains which predominate in the north, can be grown (Gleave

and White 1969). According to climatic criteria Ilorin lies just within the Middle Belt. The dry season usually lasts from late October to mid-March and gets longer towards the north where the onset of the rains is on the average two weeks later than it is in the south (Pullan 1962; Agboola 1979: 40).

The boundary between the Southern Guinea savanna, characteristic of the Middle Belt, and the derived savanna passes just south of the city of Ilorin (Agboola 1979: 47; Pullan 1962; Gleave and White 1969). In the extreme south of Asa and Oyun LGAs there are still small areas of undisturbed forest. Throughout the area bananas and semi-wild oil and coconut palms are found along rivers and streams which in their natural state are dominated by thick riverine vegetation. Away from these watercourses human activity has also modified the vegetation and the predominant tree species are those which have been deliberately spared in agricultural clearing and burning. The commonest trees are Parkia clappertoniana, the locust bean, and Butyrosperum parkii, the shea butter nut. Shea butter nuts can be pounded and boiled to make an oil for cooking and lighting. The locust beans are used for flavouring soup; the bark of the tree is used for tanning, dyeing cloth and decorating pottery. These two trees are the basis for flourishing processing and trading activities carried out by rural women.

Rural women also collect firewood for which there

is a continuing demand in the city of Ilorin. Nearly forty years ago a colonial official noted the growing scarcity of firewood within 35 kilometres of the city (Dundas 1942a and 1942b). A 1978 survey estimated that within ten years the city's fuel needs would outstrip supply if present rates of consumption of charcoal and wood for cooking were maintained (IADP 1978).

The soils in the Ilorin area are often inherently infertile. They are predominantly laterite, low in organic matter and with a low cationic exchange capacity. As a result of surface compaction the clays in the rooting zone are often waterlogged during the wet season. They are thus susceptible to over-cultivation and soil erosion.³ Colonial officials commented on the erosion which resulted from over-cultivation in the immediate hinterland of Ilorin (Dundas 1942a and 1942b). Today problems also occur when tractors are being carelessly used for the first time, often ploughing up and down the slopes rather than following the contours.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Ilorin region is fortunate in the range of food crops which can be grown there. In the six LGAs around Ilorin which are coterminous with the Ilorin Agricultural Project and the Ilorin region as we have defined it, about 85 per cent of the cultivated area is devoted to four crops. Yams are grown by

85 per cent of the farmers, guinea corn (sorghum) by 79 per cent, maize by 63 per cent and cassava by 57 per cent. Yams are the favoured food for the farm family and also the most remunerative cash crop in spite of their heavy labour demands and the long growing period.

All four crops are incorporated into a complex cropping sequence. At the beginning of the rains in March and early April early maize is planted for harvesting in July and August. Guinea corn is planted in between the maize in May and June and harvested in October and December. The guinea corn stalks are then used as supports for yams which are planted in October and December and harvested twelve months later. During the year when the yams are maturing a second crop of maize and cow peas are interplanted. Cassava is often planted at the end of the cycle and left in the ground until it is needed. Melons, pumpkins and groundnuts are interplanted with all these staples as they quickly provide good ground cover and thus help to minimise soil erosion. Land is left fallow for two or three seasons at the end of the cycle, or for a shorter period if land is scarce or if chemical or organic fertiliser is used (IADP 1981b).

Farms in the Ilorin area are small, with about 1.5 hectares cultivated in any one year. There are significant differences in the area cultivated in each of the six LGAs and this is generally related to factors such as population pressure, soil quality

and water availability. Farms are somewhat larger in Asa and Moro than they are in Ifelodun and Irepodun and this may reflect the greater availability of farm labour in the former areas which is a result of the smaller volume of outmovement in these LGAs. As staple crops make the first demands on the farmer's time the production of crops other than staples is generally also dependent on the availability of labour. Okra is an important field cash crop around Shao and Malete in Moro LGA and around Bala in Asa (IADP 1981b). Men do most of the farming but women help with the harvesting, especially of okra in those areas where it is a cash crop. Women also cultivate onions and tomatoes on irrigated riverine land on an independent basis.

In a few areas around Ilorin tractors can be hired for land preparation but hand tools such as machetes and hoes are the main tools for small farmers. Because of the presence of tsetse fly, animals are not used for ploughing or pulling loads. Women and children are still the beasts of burden in the poorest farming households and in remote areas away from motorable roads. Local farmers keep smaller livestock, sheep, goats and chickens which forage freely around rural settlements and in many parts of the city. Sheep and goats kept in the city are also fed on grass collected by the farmer or his family, or they are driven to outlying farms to forage on fallow land.

The latter part of the dry season, January and February, is the slack season for farming and used to be the period of greatest long-distance movement, either on trading expeditions or to work in southern towns. Today, however, movements are of longer duration and therefore more disruptive of agricultural activities than previously.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN FOOD PRODUCTION IN THE ILORIN REGION

There has been an increase in food production in the area immediately around Ilorin over the past few years in response to the growing demand of the urban area. The rapidly escalating price of basic foodstuffs has also tempted many urban people to grow some or all of their own food. Permission to cultivate unused land in the city and the peri-urban area is not difficult to obtain and, as a result of the uneven growth of the city, there are often small areas available for cultivation close to the prospective farmer's house. Both indigenous people and migrants can thus find land on which to grow food in their spare time. Guinea corn and maize are favoured on these small and often temporary plots because they are less attractive to hungry goats and sheep than yams and the growing season is shorter than it is for yams and cassava.

As elsewhere in Africa (Skinner 1974: 51-3; Gugler 1975b), wealthier urban residents can obtain land further from the town which they can reach in their

cars or by motor cycle and where they may employ labourers. In the Ilorin area these large-scale operations can be very profitable if the entrepreneurs combine and form co-operatives which can effectively utilise subsidised inputs such as tractor hire and fertiliser.

Small-scale full-time farmers are responding to the growing urban market and the demand for more diversified products. Some women who have grown tomatoes and onions on riverside land are now growing a wider range of vegetable crops. A few Hausa men are beginning to cultivate fadama land along the River Asa near the city; they irrigate with a northern shaduf whereas the women irrigate their land in the traditional local fashion, from water stored in large earthenware pots scattered throughout their fields. Farmers can buy seeds for vegetables such as lettuce, green beans, cabbages and egg plants from a government nursery established in Ilorin in 1979 which also sells vegetables to local institutions, market women and individual purchasers.

A few fruit trees, such as banana, pawpaw, pineapples, coconuts and citrus are often found near rural settlements. However, the demand has until recently been restricted as fruit is still regarded by many people as a food more suitable for children than for adults. Citrus fruits, especially oranges, were only available in Ilorin in 1977 outside the two largest shops in the town but by 1981 they were being hawked

in the markets and along the main roads. Some are imported from the south but others are locally grown and reach the urban market through the rural market network. In the city of Ilorin backyard poultry keeping and small scale battery enterprises using exotic stock and imported feed provide a useful extra income for women.

There are a number of attempts under way to upgrade the level of farming in the Ilorin region as a whole. The Kwara State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources is undertaking a number of land development schemes involving large scale mechanised cultivation of food crops such as maize and cassava. These projects, however, are facing problems because of the high cost of land clearance and mechanised cultivation.

The most important agricultural project in the Ilorin area is the Ilorin Agricultural Development Project which was initiated late in 1979 and is financed jointly by the World Bank, the Federal and the State government. This project is planned to help small-scale farmers with the provision of better seed, fertiliser, advisory services and an improved infrastructure to help in marketing crops. Basic research to identify current agricultural patterns and the farmers special needs is continuing in 1981 alongside the planning and construction of farm centres throughout the area. The project also expects to engage in some large-scale farming enterprises in areas where the population density is low in relation to agricultural potential.

POPULATION DENSITY AND DISTRIBUTION

There are marked differences in population density within the Ilorin region. This is a comparatively recently settled area with a highly mobile population. It appears that there are considerable local contrasts in the extent of movement beyond the area and of local agricultural colonisation, and the degree to which both of these types of movement may be temporary or permanent. Such movements complicate attempts to estimate the size and distribution of the current resident population.

The most recent attempt to estimate the population of the whole of the Ilorin region was carried out early in 1980. The figures collected in this IADP survey were later compared with those of a sample survey and found to be much exaggerated. In the first survey the village and hamlet heads inflated the figures by adding people who were working away but still considered themselves members of the various local communities.⁴

Voter registration lists are unreliable because they also contain the names of many people who do not live permanently in the area. In Kwara State people are officially encouraged to return to their home areas to register to vote (Kwara State 1977c: 4-5). This movement at registration time is similar to that which occurs during the census although the latter movement is not officially encouraged (Udo 1970).

The accuracy of censuses in Nigeria is suspect

because they are used as the basis for revenue sharing and political representation. The most recent census was conducted in 1973 but its findings were never made public for fear of political repercussions. The earlier censuses, in 1962, 1963 and 1952/3, are of doubtful value (Okonjo 1968; Aluko 1965; Prothero 1956; Yusuf 1968). In the Ilorin area the 1963 census seems the more reliable. A comparison of the 1952 and 1963 censuses and earlier population estimates for the Ilorin region suggests that the 1952 census was an undercount. It is not surprising that local people withheld their co-operation during this census as there was widespread refusal to pay taxes or to acknowledge the authority of the emirate administration in the early 1950s (Whitaker 1970: chapter 3).

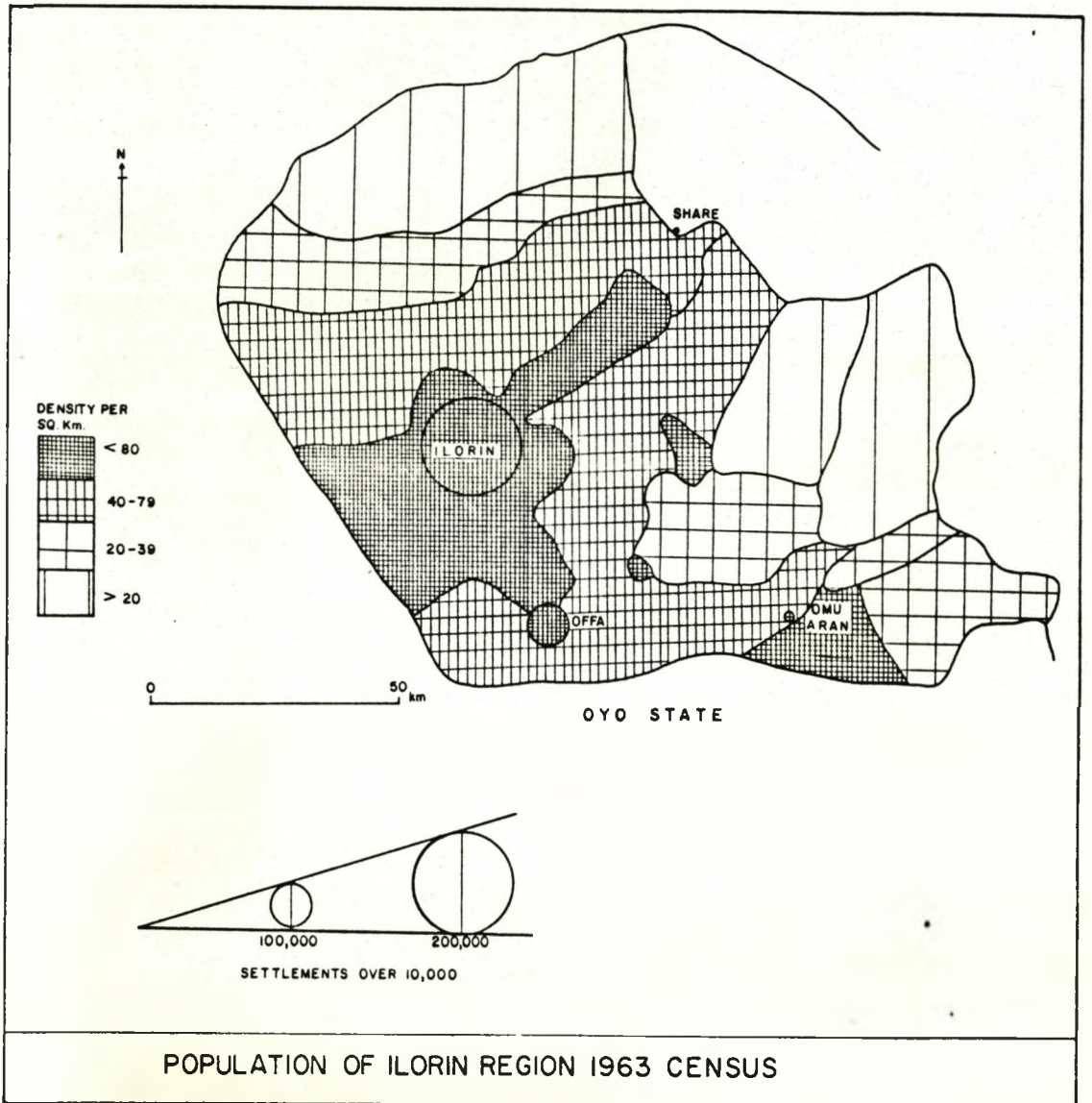
Because of the uneven spatial impact of population mobility in the years since 1963 it is not realistic to assume a uniform rate of growth of the population in the region since that time. Therefore there is no advantage in using the current Federal government estimates of population which are based on the 1963 census and assume a 2.5 per cent annual increase in rural population and a 5 per cent increase in the population of urban centres with populations of over 20,000 (Kwara State 1977/8; Kwara State 1973).

The 1963 census indicates a total population for the region of 900,000, with just under a quarter of the people, 208,000, living in the city of Ilorin

(Kwara State 1977/8). While it is likely that the population of the city has at least doubled in the last twenty years or so, due to a combination of natural increase and net in-migration, out-migration has resulted in the stagnation or very slow growth of the permanent population of the surrounding rural areas.

The 1963 census information is available for each village area but as the area and number of settlements included in each of these units proved difficult to identify, densities could only be mapped at district level. Densities were, however, recalculated for districts north and west of Ilorin where topographic maps and field work showed a sharp decline in population densities towards the unpopulated forest reserve surrounding the site of the abandoned city of Old Oyo.

In the Ilorin region marked contrasts in rural population densities exist between the sparsely populated areas to the north-west and north-east of the city and those more densely populated areas closer to the city and to the south and east, as shown in Map III 1. Two districts near Ilorin, Idofian and Igponrin, recorded densities of 182 and 199 per square kilometre respectively. The area to the north and west of the city was depopulated during the wars between Ilorin and the Oyo Yorubas whose headquarters were at Old Oyo. To the north-east of Ilorin the marches with Nupe territories were and are sparsely settled; the two large eastern districts of Ifelodun, Oro Agor and Ilere,



Map III 1

have densities of 6 and 10 people per square kilometre respectively. In the rest of the non-metropolitan area there was less long-term disruption of earlier settlement patterns by Nupe and Fulani raids and as a result population densities are higher than in other rural areas.

This brief analysis relates population densities to historical patterns and distance from the city of Ilorin rather than to any contrasts in soils, vegetation and agricultural potential. This accords with the view of the Middle Belt as consisting of islands of relatively high population density surrounded by more sparsely populated areas (Gleave and White, 1969). Such islands have been identified as the centres of fairly stable political entities in the nineteenth century to which people fled from the depredations of war and slave raiding; buffer areas between such centres were sparsely populated and have often remained so until today (Agboola 1968). Whatever the precise role of slave raiding in the depopulation of the Middle Belt in the years following the Fulani Jihad (Mason 1969; Gleave and Prothero 1971; Mason 1971; Gavin 1978), it is clear that population distribution in this area can still today be related to the dominant position of the city of Ilorin within its region.

WOMEN'S WORK, MEN'S WORK AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Two very important aspects of social and economic organisation in the Ilorin area, and in the Yoruba areas to the south, have withstood the pressures of social change such as the increased long-distance population movements and urbanisation. These are the separation of the economic and social spheres of men and women, and the importance of employment in the informal sector of the economy in both the rural and the urban areas. The urban informal sector provides employment opportunities for people from the rural areas around Ilorin who move to the towns (Fapohunda and Lubell 1978: 6; Sudarkasa 1973: passim). It is important to recognise these continuities for they challenge the stereotyped Western-derived view of urbanisation and social change in which the informal sector gradually withers away and the nuclear family sharing economic resources and social activities replaces the extended family.

Informal activities provide many opportunities for people with few skills to move from job to job and area to area. In the formal sector, in contrast, leave and pensions depend on length of service and formal education is usually required for entry. Apprenticeship of one sort or another is important in the informal sector in traditional crafts and in small-scale manufacturing and services. The master is often expected to act as a patron and help his

or her former apprentices or servants to establish themselves in business. Seen in terms of the whole working career, occupations in the informal sector generally allow for a flexibility in work patterns which is especially important for the highly mobile and for women who for a large part of their adult life combine economic activities with looking after young children. Even though it is not unusual for young children to be fostered with friends or relatives, as the general level of fertility is high, caring for young children limits a younger woman's mobility and economic activities.

Almost all women in the Ilorin area except the newly married and the very old or ill participate in some form of economic activity. Although the population is nominally Muslim only a very few women are in purdah and must therefore work inside the family compound. Trading is the most important occupation for women both in rural and urban areas. Women dominate the trade in food crops in the rural periodic markets and in the city of Ilorin. Only a few rural men are traders, mostly dealing with the large-scale movement of food products or with manufactured goods.

In the Ilorin area, as elsewhere in West Africa, husbands and wives seldom form a single economic unit. The few women who are full-time farmers work completely independently of their husbands. When women sell the produce grown by their husbands in the local market

they usually do so on a commercial basis. A husband might provide a new wife with capital to begin trading but later monetary exchanges between them may be as carefully remembered as transactions which take place outside the household. Men are expected to provide food for their wives and children and women contribute to the expenses of their children's clothing and education (Hill 1975; Sudarkasa 1973: chapter 6; Mintz 1971; Lloyd 1974: 37-8 and passim).

The independence of men and women in the economic sphere is echoed in social structures. Groups of men and groups of women co-operate in trading, farming or in craft activities. Women's social contacts are related to kin networks which are maintained after they leave their natal compounds on marriage and they are sustained through commercial activities such as visits to local periodic markets. Men's social networks tend to focus on leisure-time activities with men friends rather than with kin (Peil 1975).

Polygyny, which is common in the predominantly Muslim Ilorin region, provides an avenue for economic and social co-operation between co-wives. From a woman's point of view a second wife can be valuable as she can help with household chores and looking after children. When another wife lives in her husband's compound a woman is free to leave for long periods of time to engage in long-distance trade. As nearly all women are traders and many of them travel widely

traders are not regarded as prostitutes (see Sudarkasa 1973: 131).

Yoruba women have been described as Africa's most independent women and their high status is firmly based on their economic independence (Peil 1975). The role of trader provides these women with economic resources to support their children. Every man expects his wife to provide him with children and barrenness is a common reason for divorce. The marriage bond may not be particularly close and divorce and remarriage are not difficult for a younger woman. However, because of high rates of mortality and the fact that many women are married to men up to thirty years their senior, older women who are widowed may be unwilling or unable to marry again. In such cases they may return to their natal compound, live with a married son or, more rarely, live on their own.

Within marriage a woman is always expected to defer to her husband and he makes the important decisions which affect the household as a whole. Women can be said to exchange the security of marriage in a polygynous society for deference to their husbands while at the same time being able to maintain their economic independence. As long as women work in the informal sector there are few pressures to change this arrangement when people move between rural areas and the town. Even where employment is sought in the formal sector and the economic relationship between spouses may

change (Mintz 1971: 266; Peil 1975), opportunities for part-time work in the informal sector still provide for a separate independent sphere for women's activities in which they can have complete control over their own earnings.

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

A person moving to a new area or entering the labour market for the first time follows certain recognised procedures in looking for employment. People who have no specific vocational training, for example most primary and secondary school leavers, rarely direct their attention to a particular kind of job but towards jobs which they have a reasonable chance of obtaining through the influence of a relative, a friend or a person from their home area.

Employers in informal sector enterprises prefer to employ people they know or who are known to other employees. If people belong to the same kin group or are from the same home area they can be assumed to have some common basis for co-operation. Small-scale trading, in which there are many buyers and sellers transferring small quantities of goods, relies heavily on short-term credit and on the establishing of enduring personal social relations rather than impersonal contractual agreements (Remy 1976). Similarly, cultivation rights are often granted on the basis an informal agreement and the presence of other

cultivators from the same home area acts as a guarantee for the new farmer's good behaviour.

But even for people seeking work in the formal sector personal contacts are of paramount importance. There may be many people with the same qualifications looking for jobs. An individual may be helped by a patron from his home area or by a formal or informal quota system based on place of origin. The best way to find out about all but elite positions in the formal sector is to make a personal visit to the people or organisation involved. There are few telephones in the Ilorin area. The postal service is slow and many people must use another person's postal box number or the poste restante service. This job seeking network is thus different from that in most developed countries where people generally apply formally for a position before they see a member of the firm: Under these circumstances people are less likely to move without having received a firm job offer than they would in Nigeria. If they did move they might find themselves with nowhere to stay and nobody willing to help them financially in the new place. In the light of these observations one can argue that in Nigeria in both urban and rural areas the work situation is much more integrated with other spheres of life, especially with social interaction patterns, than it is in a Western society.

Communications between people in Nigeria who

have moved away and their home place are conducted mainly by face to face contact. Transport by shared, taxi or minibus between Ilorin and the surrounding countryside and the major Nigerian cities is relatively cheap. Even if an individual cannot make a journey in person it is often possible to send money or a message via an intermediary. Family and religious festivals are important for these are occasions on which large numbers of kin and friends meet together and exchange news. Population circulation can thus be seen as a social network which links the work and the home place.

ACTION SPACE

An individual's place of residence can be considered as the centre of gravity of his or her action space (Skeldon and Skeldon 1979: 1). The scale of such an action space ranges from the room in which an individual sleeps on a given night to the larger space, perhaps the whole country, within which movements and interaction may take place over a longer time span. The concept of 'action space' integrates time and space in what Hagerstrand calls the 'choreography of existence', for actions have both temporal and spatial attributes (Skeldon and Skeldon 1979: 1 sqq; Pred 1977). Students of population circulation and multilocality must be concerned with changes which take place over time in the centre of gravity of an individual's action space for if such a movement is

permanent it constitutes migration. An individual who is multilocal can be said to have two or more foci for his or her action space.

On one level of abstraction the space in which action takes place, on whatever scale, is a physical space occupied by measurable objects, and individuals and groups are seen as operating within this world of objects. This is the premise of studies of central place and the spatial aspects of modernisation, in which centrality and modernisation are measured in terms of the physical attributes of objects (Abiodun 1967; Soja 1968; Riddell 1970). This approach stresses physical forms and the relationships between them which can be analysed statistically. The settlement space is here merely a container for objects which are distributed within it.

In the subjective view of settlement space, which is more appropriate for this study, space is not neutral but charged with ideological and political significance (Sack 1980; Lefebvre 1977; Soja 1980). This view, which has a more recent pedigree in geography than the objective view, is derived from existential and phenomenological philosophies and interprets 'lived space' as the framework for human interaction (Tuan 1971 and 1972). The space levels in which an individual operates reflect his or her appreciation of existential space at a number of different scales. There are differences in the individual's perception

of the organisation and significance of space and of the kind of personal interactions which can take place in a given area. It is, however, possible to generalise about the perceptions of space levels within a particular society, as Lee (1977) has done in his study of the space levels of Sudanese villagers.

The humanistic, subjective interpretation of space stresses human interaction, situations, behaviour and process rather than static physical form and structure which characterise the objective view (Tuan 1971 and 1972). In this analysis the symbolic form of settlements will be given more emphasis than the physical form although both aspects are relevant for the understanding of settlements as a locus for action. Such an approach can help to identify the 'meaning' of multilocality and population circulation in central Kwara State for the individuals involved and for the larger social group.

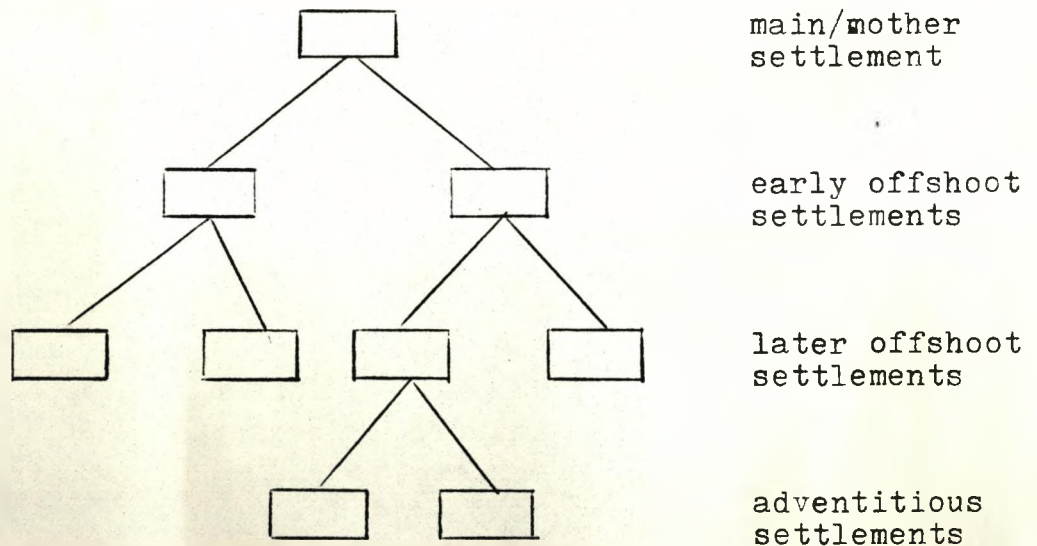
A DYNAMIC VIEW OF SETTLEMENT TYPES AND DISTRIBUTION

Most of the settlements in the Ilorin area are, by world standards, relatively recent and some account of their origins is preserved in oral traditions or in written records. For both residents and non-residents, settlements and the links between them are symbolic of a shared past and a validation for present actions and attitudes. As each oral history identifies the characteristics and status of a particular settlement

at a particular point in time (Robertson 1973; Stevens 1973) it can be expected to change over time.

It is useful here to begin with Ajaegbu's schema of a rural settlement hierarchy which he originally identified in south-western Nigeria in the course of a study of the rural economy (Ajaegbu 1976). In our analysis the social and symbolic links between the settlements are more important than the economic and functional ones. Settlements can be identified in terms of the categories given in figure III 1, which here reflects the order of the establishment of the settlements as revealed in oral histories. The main or mother settlement may be the city of Ilorin.

Figure III 1: A Typology of Settlements



Source: adapted from Ajaegbu 1976: 157.

Other people in the same area claim to come from Old Oyo and maintain customs which they claim to share with other people of a similar origin. These links give such settlements a shared identity and a common orientation towards other settlements which claim Ilorin origins and therefore may be suspected of supporting Ilorin hegemony over the rural area. Such identities may also be reflected in current patterns of population mobility.

The social organisation of these settlements echoes their hierarchical structure. In the Ilorin area settlements consist of one or more compounds or lineage groups, known locally as ilès, whose members claim a common origin; an ilé may consist of one or more separate buildings. Individual compounds preserve oral traditions of their origins which may be different from those of their immediate neighbours but which can usually be subsumed by a unifying tradition of a collective origin at the village level.

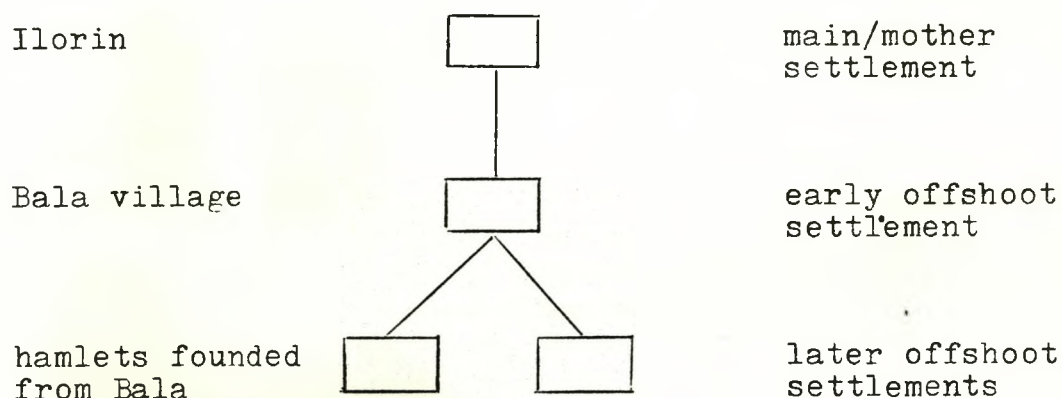
The inhabitants of each village unit recognise the authority of an independent chief, known as a bale in Yoruba or as a mogaji in Hausa. Besides these village units there are small purely agricultural hamlets consisting of a single compound whose inhabitants claim some limited independence of a nearby village unit whose lands they farm. In the Ilorin region these hamlets, occupied by indigenous Yoruba agriculturalists, can be distinguished visually

and culturally from those occupied permanently or temporarily by the mainly pastoral Fulani.

SOME SETTLEMENT HISTORIES

Even though settlements have a common form, consisting of one or more compound clusters, and can be analysed using a common typology, micro-studies here and elsewhere in tropical Africa have revealed variations in settlement history and leadership patterns (Charsley 1970; Richards 1966; Peel 1979).

Figure III 2: Bala Village in the Settlement Hierarchy

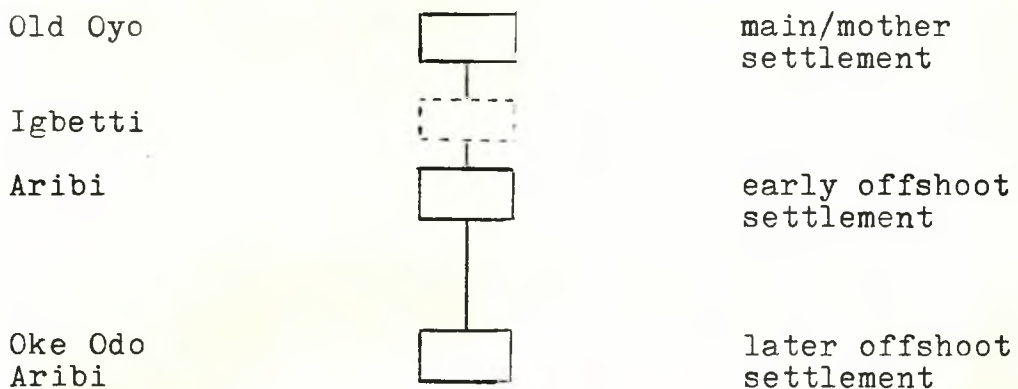


The position of Bala village in the settlement hierarchy is shown in figure III 2. The village originated as a farming settlement from Ilorin and today many families still have residential rights in city compounds. Bala gradually became a permanent settlement and a centre from which smaller offshoot settlements were established in the surrounding area. When the village

replaced Owode as the district headquarters in 1932 the new district head, who came from a leading Ilorin family, brought a number of his followers with him to the village and further strengthened village links with the city.

Figure III 3: Aribi Village in the Settlement

Hierarchy

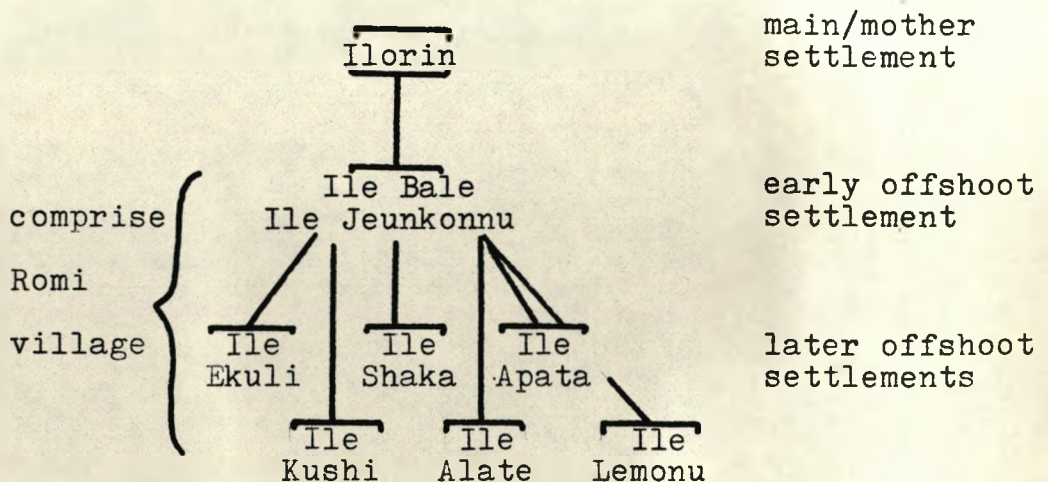


The village of Aribi, 22 kilometres north of Ilorin, claims a very different origin and present status from Bala. It consists of a main village and an offshoot settlement, Oke Odo Aribi, about two hundred metres away which was founded in the process of opening up and claiming new land. Aribi people claim to have come from Old Oyo via Igbetti, an old-established town in western Oyo State. The villagers still maintain contact with a compound in the new city of Oyo whose members left Old Oyo at the same time as the Aribi people; they visit this compound

for special ceremonies. The position of Aribi in the settlement network is shown in figure III 3. As the people claim to have preserved their group identity since leaving Old Oyo even though they spent some time in Igbetti, Aribi is an early rather than a later offshoot settlement.

In the Onire District of Asa LGA and in the Paiye District of Moro loosely structured clusters of completely dispersed compounds are found everywhere except in the two district headquarters of Alapa and Paiye. Dispersal may be a result of the establishment of settlements under the close control of individual compounds, ilés, in the city of Ilorin. The village of Romi in Onire District comprises a number of scattered units, only one consisting of more than one compound. These clusters constitute a single social unit as they recognise the authority of a single

Figure III 4: Romi Village in the Settlement Hierarchy



bale and were all originally settled from Ile Romi, a compound in the Oloje area of Ilorin. Figure III 4 shows the structure of Romi village and the way in which the original central core split up very soon after it was first established. The settlement of Oke Bode, also in Onire District, consists of one compound but its status is similar to that of the whole of the Romi cluster as it is related to a compound of the same name in Ilorin, Ile Oke Bode, and has its own independent bale.

In the Ilorin region people in rural settlements may maintain residence rights in the urban or rural settlements from which they or their forefathers moved but only those who have left very recently will continue to regard the mother settlement as the permanent base. This is in contrast to some of the farm settlements further south where the residents, even if they live in the farm hamlets all the year round, regard the town as their permanent home base (Goddard 1965).

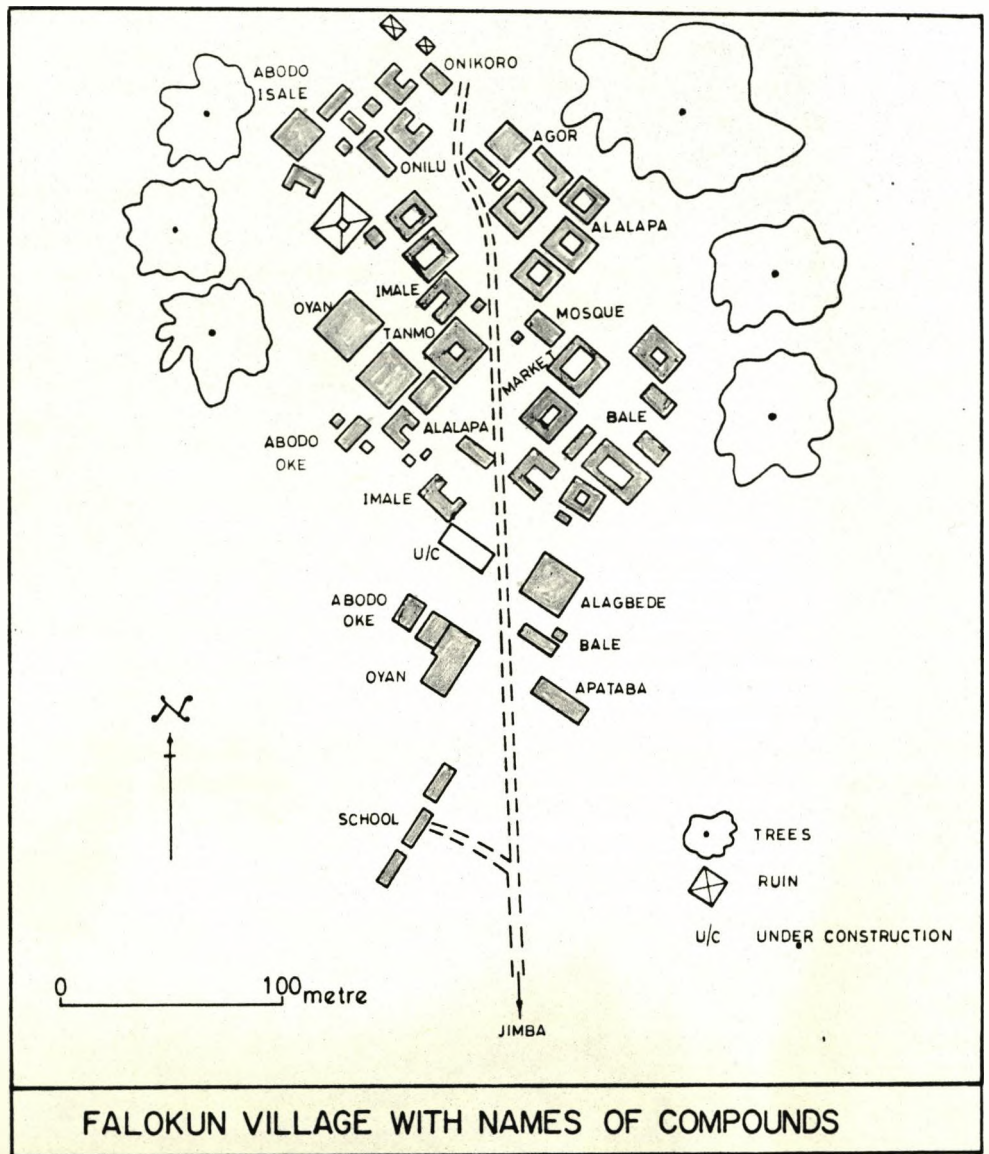
It is clear from this brief analysis that the pattern of settlement in the Ilorin region is dynamic and that the process by which settlements are being established can still be observed. In areas close to Ilorin some hamlets may have achieved a degree of stability in size and social structure, especially if any growth in numbers due to natural increase has been absorbed by movement to towns. While settlement

size is generally smaller to the west and north of Ilorin, small settlements consisting of only a single compound are still important elements in the rural settlement pattern to the south and east of the city and indeed right up to the edge of the built-up area.

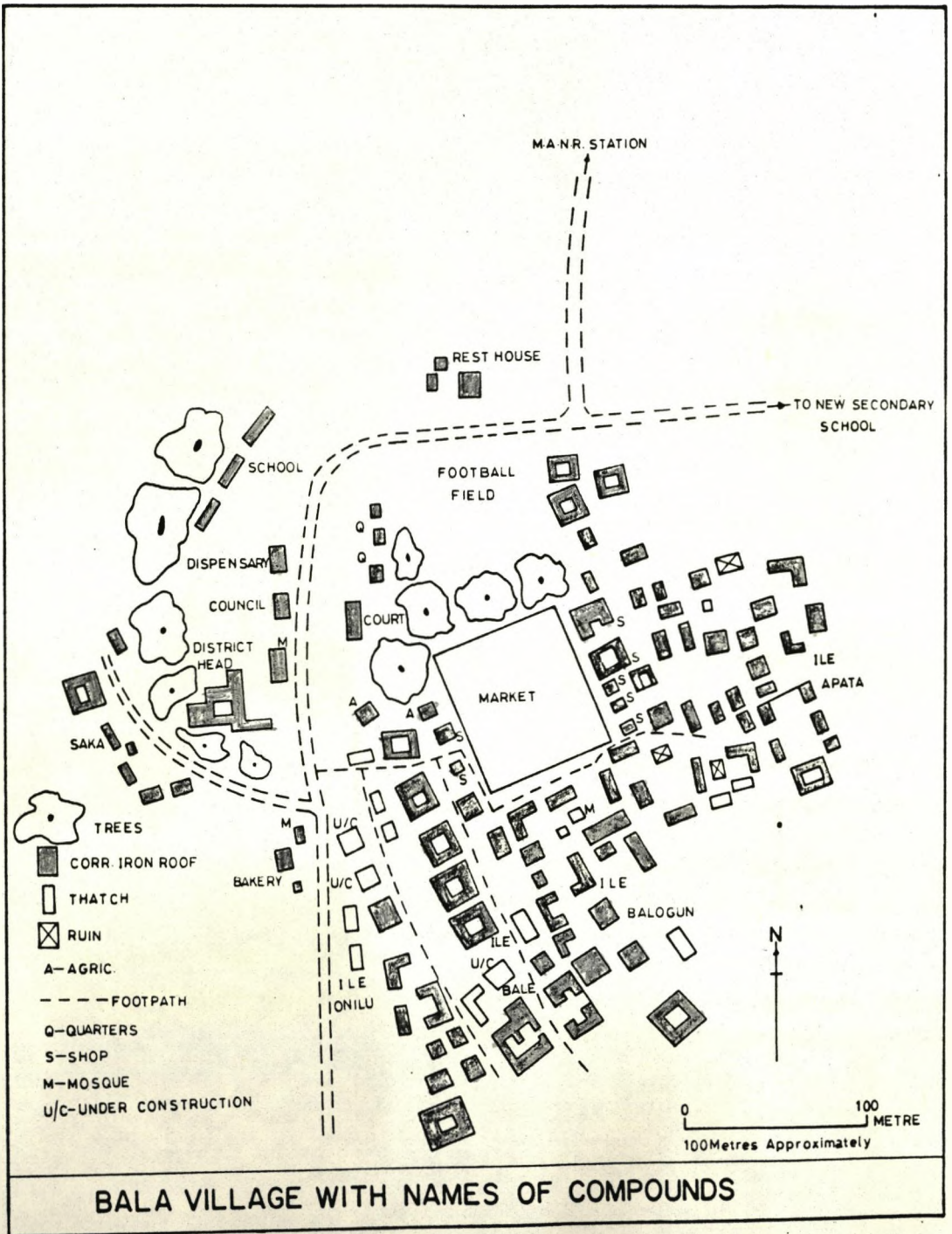
THE SETTLEMENT SPACE

The physical structure of villages in the Ilorin region often echoes that of the urban settlements (see chapter II). In the centre of the village is a tree-shaded open space bordered by the chief's house and the mosque. This open space is the socio-political and religious centre of the village and it functions as a meeting place for the men and women of the village and often as the location of a market which meets on every fourth day. The primary school is generally situated on the edge of the settlement as it is a more recent addition to the village scene. Other services, such as medical or agricultural centres, are also somewhat separate from indigenous compounds. This arrangement is illustrated in the nucleated settlement of Falokun, map III 2.

Bala, a large village and a district headquarters, shows even more clearly the separation between the village compounds and the newer areas, as in map III 3. The district head's compound moved from the old village when the court, dispensary and market



Map III 2



Map III 3

were laid out in the mid-1940s.⁵ Bala indigenes who live in the village compounds are primarily farmers and traders. The official quarters for the local and government employees, who usually maintain permanent residence elsewhere, are also separate from the compounds occupied by permanent villagers.

This physical separation of the residences and work places of the local people and the formal sector employees illustrates the disjunction between two sectors of society at village level. The separation of the services provided by an urban-based personnel representing an urban-based power structure from the rural people they are meant to serve reinforces the impression of the rural people as passive recipients of government assistance rather than as active participants in the process of rural development (Mabogunje 1980: 268). In a village such as Bala this physical separation also reflects two interrelating patterns of interaction with Ilorin, the one focusing on the formal local government structure and the other deriving from the interaction of villagers with the inhabitants of related city compounds. Ultimately both kinds of links are dependent on the position of the village as the district headquarters and as the residence of the district head who derives his position from his role in the Ilorin-based power structure.

ACTIVITY SPACES WITHIN SETTLEMENTS

In rural settlements and in the old parts of the indigenous city buildings are separated by narrow paths and by open spaces which form 'activity spaces' for the many activities which can take place out of doors in a warm climate. These areas are often shaded by evergreen trees of the ficus species known locally as odun and they provide a meeting place for groups of women and groups of men from the surrounding compounds. Interaction and co-operation between the women is based on economic activities; they meet to pound yam or locust beans, grind pepper and slice okra, as shown in figures III 5 A and B. These occupations can conveniently be combined with petty trading and keeping an eye on young children. In the Okelele area of Ilorin women potters work in small groups near their own compounds making and firing small pots and money boxes.

Some occupations which need space and fixed equipment take place on the outskirts of the village or in the more open areas on the fringes of the city. Okelele women make and fire large water pots in an area on the edge of the city specially set aside for the purpose. Rural women who co-operate to manufacture soap or shea butter need a brazier and ample space for storing and preparing ingredients (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 241 illustration of brazier for preparing shea butter of a type still used today).

Figure III 5: Rural Activity Spaces

A. Bala women preparing leaves for èkó.



B. Pounding locust beans in Odo Ode village.



The dyeing of cloth and the preparing of mordants is still carried out in some settlements and needs a brazier, a kiln and wooden frames over which the dyed cloth can be spread to dry.

Men are more likely than women to gather in activity spaces for purely social reasons and they rarely mix with the women on such occasions. They meet to discuss the state of their world and to play ayò, a local board game which custom usually forbids women from playing for fear that it might distract them from their various tasks. In the town men do cooperate in economic activities such as small-scale repairs and manufacturing which take place in or near their residences. In Okelele many men are weavers. The weaving is done on an open veranda or in a specially constructed shed providing shade for groups of up to half a dozen weavers and some protection for their looms, as shown in figures III 6 B and 7. The warp may extend for up to ten metres across the open space in front of the shed or along the veranda. As the loom is portable it can be stored indoors during bad weather or when it is not being used. Figure III 7 shows the arrangement of buildings and activity spaces in a part of Okelele and the location of clusters of men's looms. Women weave in both the rural and urban areas using an upright loom which is permanently set up against a wall in an interior room or on a veranda facing an inner courtyard;

Figure III 6: Urban Activity Spaces

A. Street market outside the old central mosque in the city of Ilorin.



B. Group of weavers, Okelele, Ilorin.



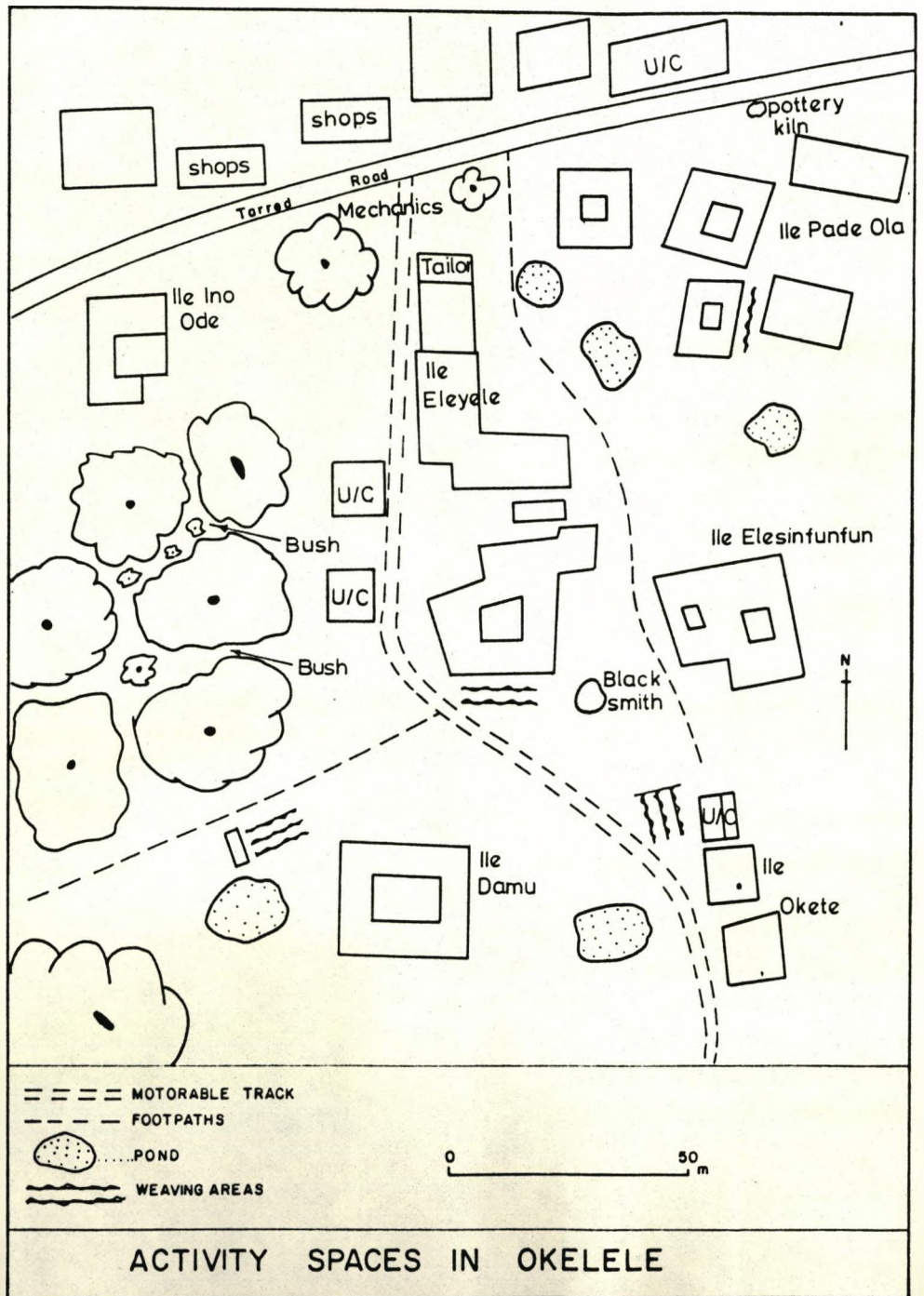


Figure III 7

the loom is not usually visible to passers-by.

Activities such as those just described whether carried out individually or co-operatively in the various activity spaces often form the basis for local mobility. Women visit markets to sell such things as shea butter and yam flour and collect wild materials such as the leaves to wrap round ekó from the land near the village. Weavers from Ilorin often market their cloth collectively and send one of their number to Oje market in Ibadan. These activity spaces can also be seen as intermediate between the village space, which embraces the whole settlement unit and its associated farmlands, and the domestic space encompassing the house and its interior courtyards which is a more private space (Lee 1977).

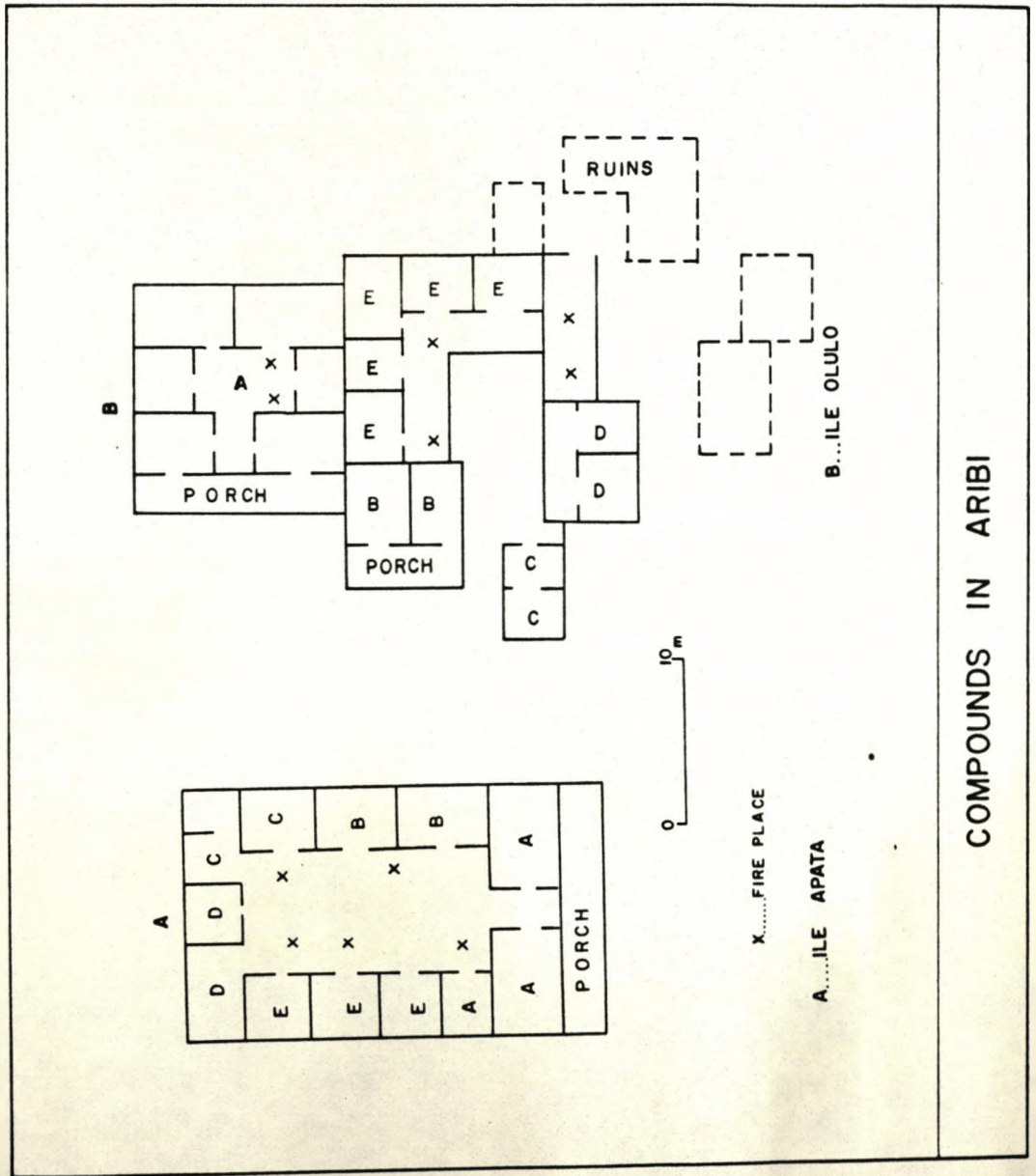
THE HOUSE SPACE

Houses and interior enclosed spaces such as courtyards both form and are formed by the domestic activities and personal interactions which take place within them (Oliver 1969 and 1971; for a pioneer study see Morgan 1881, 1965 reprint). In the Ilorin region the oldest form of housing in both the rural and the urban area is the enclosed compound consisting of a number of individual rooms arranged round a central courtyard or series of courtyards (Ojo 1966: 147-57). Here the term compound refers to a physical structure rather than to the social group which may or may not be

coterminous with it. The main entrance to the compound is controlled through a reception room adjacent to the room or room occupied by the head of the house. Other rooms are provided for the men of the house and their wives, as shown in figure III 8.

Compounds vary considerably in size and they can be very large, especially in the old city. There space for expansion is limited and the layout may be much more intricate than one would normally find in a rural setting such as that shown in the plans of Bala and Falokun in maps III 2 and 3. In the inner area of Okelele the distinction between the more public activity spaces and the private courtyard spaces may not be clear to an outsider although the people who live there share a common perception of this distinction.

It is sometimes possible to identify a group of houses representing a compound form which has dissolved into smaller units with the disappearance of the retaining wall (Bray 1969: 181); this is illustrated in figure III 9 by an example from Bala village. Such structures and the current popular house forms which consist of a row of rooms opening onto an open veranda may be seen as the spatial representation of the fragmentation of a former monolithic social group. In an enclosed compound the rooms are contiguous and face a common central courtyard, thus imposing on the occupants of the compound a much more continuous and intense form of interaction than that associated



COMPOUNDS IN ARIBI

Figure III 8

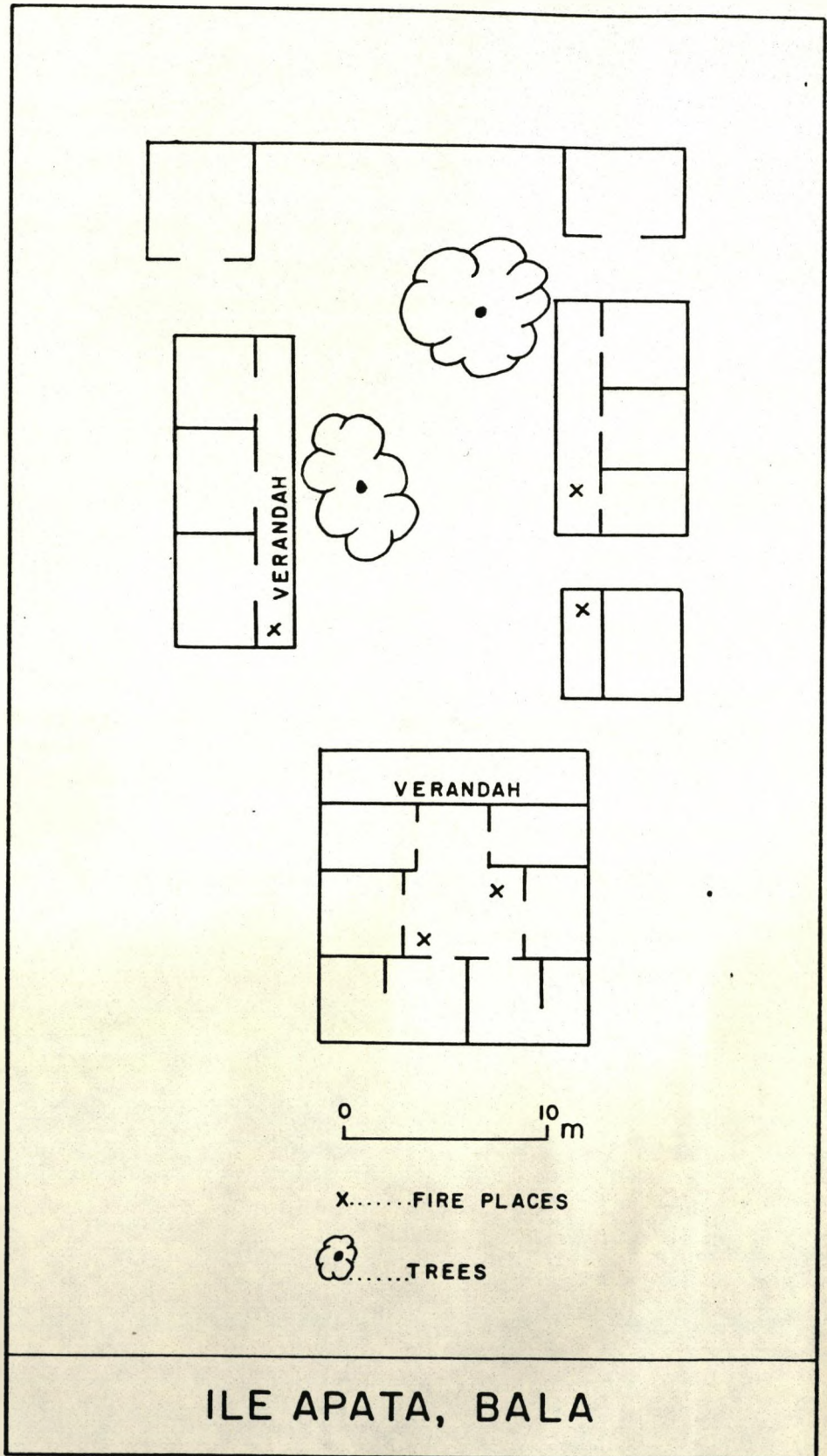


Figure III 9

with small groups of rooms each occupied by a man and his wife or wives and facing a veranda or open activity space.

If the veranda along the length of a building is almost entirely enclosed it becomes a private rather than a semi-public space. In the Ilorin region a house form consisting of a row of sleeping rooms leading off a long semi-enclosed veranda may be derived from a form found in the forest area to the south where the longer wet season demands greater protection from the rain (Crooke 1966: 63). Sometimes a plan consisting of a row of sleeping rooms on both sides of a long hall is also found in the Ilorin region. This central hall is too wide to function solely as a corridor and is used as a private activity space (Crooke 1966: 65-9).

The central hall type of plan is clearly related to a more recently introduced form in the Ilorin region commonly known as 'you-face-me-I-face-you'. As its name suggests the main body of the building consists of two rows of rooms facing each other across a central corridor. In urban areas the common latrine, kitchen space and store may be situated across a transverse corridor at the rear of the building; in the rural areas where there is more space the cooking area and store may be across a rear courtyard (Crooke 1966: 68-9). This plan, shown in figure III 10, is suitable when a large number of units are to be built in a limited space for letting; each room

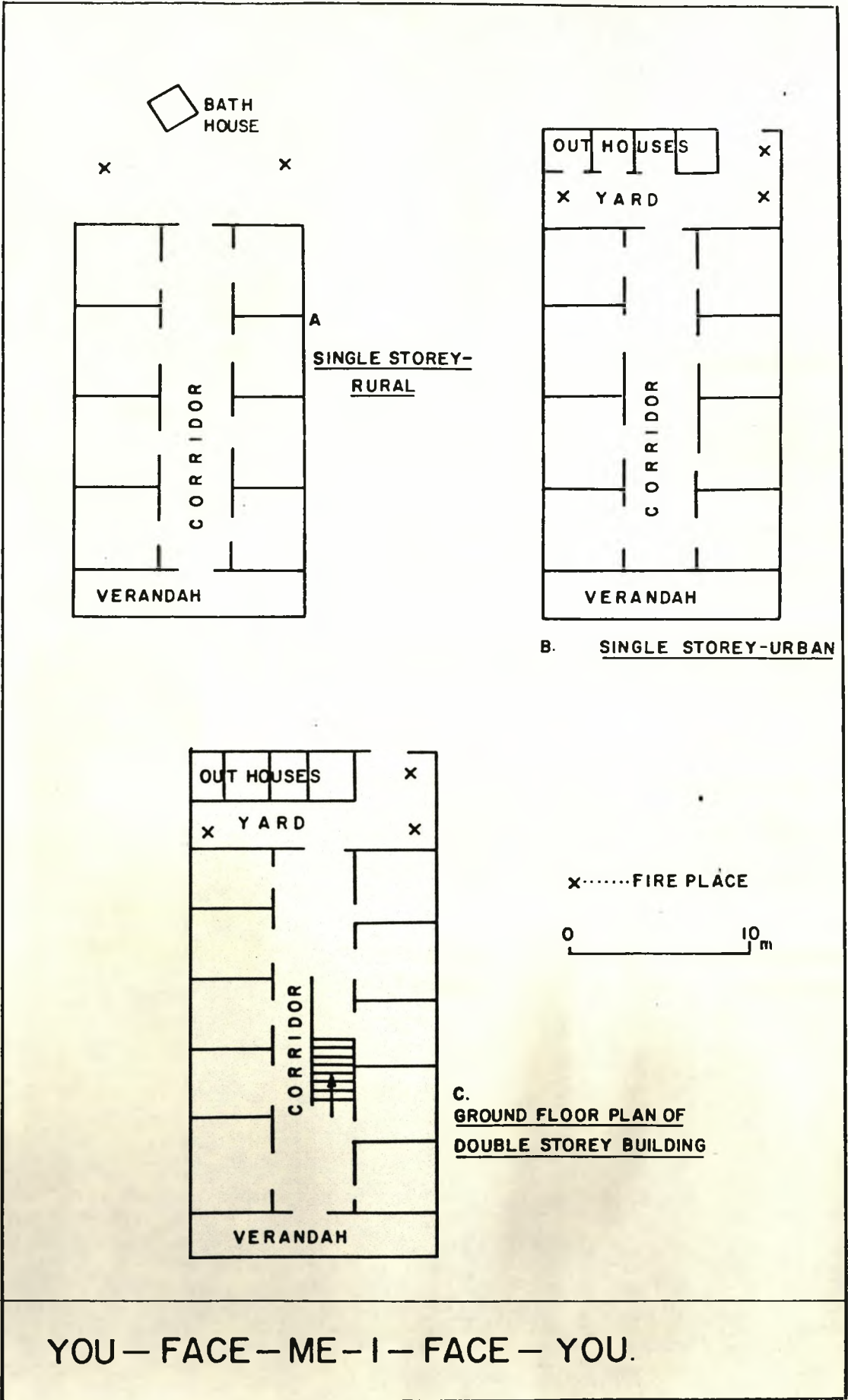


Figure III 10

can be let separately and other facilities shared. This plan can also be adapted for a double-storey house with a long straight stairway going up one side of a central hall, as shown in figure III 10 C.

BUILDING MATERIALS

The 'you-face-me-I-face-you' type of house has been introduced into the Ilorin area relatively recently by people who encountered it in southern Nigeria. The materials of which these buildings are constructed generally mark a departure from the traditional materials; corrugated iron roofing replacing thatch and later concrete replacing mud for the floors and walls, as shown in figures III 11 A and B. By the mid-1940s in the Ilorin region the moulded and painted concrete door and window mouldings and elaborate veranda balustrades mark the introduction of the 'Brazilian' style, originally inspired by the surface decoration of Portuguese baroque. This style is best illustrated in the double-storey houses of rich migrants returning from Lagos to their home settlement of Oro, 50 kilometres west of Ilorin.

In the indigenous city of Ilorin and in the rural areas the most marked change in housing materials has been the almost ubiquitous replacement of thatch by corrugated iron as a roofing material. An aerial photograph of the old city of Ilorin taken in the

Figure III 11: Building by Non-residents.

A. The new mosque under construction at Aregun.



B. House in Odo Ode built by people living in Lagos.



1950s shows the predominance of thatch as a roofing material in the urban area in the recent past and of the single storey compound-plan building (Buchanan and Pugh 1955: plate IX; Denyer 1978: plate 138). When the British entered Ilorin in 1897 Vandeleur (1898: 282-3) reported that even the emir's palace was thatched.

In north America scholars have noted the diffusion of 'folk' styles and materials in association with the relatively recent westward movement of the population, and the transition from 'folk' styles using local materials to 'popular' styles using standardised manufacturing materials and incorporating some 'folk' features (Kniffen 1965; Kniffen and Glassie 1966; Glassie 1968). Such duality exists in the Ilorin area where building materials and forms which are similar throughout most of Nigeria exist alongside and are replacing local types which may soon only survive in remote areas or in the museum at Jos.

In the Cameroon Tandap (1973: 175 sqq) has used changes in housing form and materials as a development index, as newer house types require external inputs such as cement, milled lumber and elaborate furniture. He found that the establishment of newer housing forms and materials was related to the return of migrant workers and to the amount of ready cash available. These elements are also relevant to a consideration of housing in the Ilorin region.

In both urban and rural areas a returning migrant demonstrates his or her status and new wealth by building a large house in the new style. Although new houses may be of a slightly different plan and made of different materials, they still consist of the same basic elements, a series of individual rooms each opening onto a small-scale semi-private activity space, either a long corridor or a veranda. In this sense the new houses of all but the elite provide a framework for human interaction and activities which is not so very different from that provided by the long-established forms.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

In this examination of housing structures and materials, as in the earlier discussion of the action space and the social and economic activities which take place there, I have stressed continuity and connectedness. People living in a particular place share activities and action spaces and with long-term mobility their social relationships extend to include new places and new activities in other urban or rural areas. Too often this continuity has been neglected in studies of population mobility which, because it involves movement, has been seen mainly in terms of change. But the major characteristics of population mobility in the Ilorin area, circulation and multilocality, are essentially

phenomena which provide some continuity and connect
edness in the experience of a highly mobile population.

Footnotes

1. New Nigerian, 16 August 1979, p 5.
2. Daily Sketch, June 3 1981, p 14, quoted by Makinwa
1982.
3. Personal communication, Dr Wole Ameyan, Department
of Geography, University of Ilorin.
4. Personal communication Emmanuel Adewoye and Steve
Adkins, IADP, February 1981.
5. Nigerian Archives, Kaduna: CSO 26/6 1267 vol. 13,
Ilorin Province Annual Reports 1940-51, IPAR
1945, para 67.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODS

INTRODUCTION

This account of research methods reflects the way in which my ideas developed during the research project. First I asked some very general questions about the mobility of the local population in the city of Ilorin and the surrounding rural area. How common was population circulation and in what ways was it related to multilocality? Were these two phenomena becoming more or less widespread and what kinds of social institutions supported or undermined them? Written sources provided few indications of the overall pattern of population mobility in the area. There were, for example, only scattered written references to the special relationship which exists between compounds in the city and certain related rural settlements (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 277; Gavin 1977: 38-9).

As a result of preliminary enquiries I hypothesised that the pattern of mobility varied considerably from place to place. The first step in the research was to identify the different types of movement occurring in a number of urban and rural locations. These places could be identified as 'home bases' for a resident and non-resident population. A pilot

survey in one village was followed by in-depth studies in eight more rural settlements from which further hypotheses about population mobility could be generated and tested as the study progressed. Parts of the old city of Ilorin in which a high proportion of the population was indigenous were also studied. These surveys provided information which could be used to identify a system of population mobility which could then be examined within the framework of the alternative opportunities available for the potential movers to achieve their various desired ends.

Alongside and subsequent to the surveys informal studies were conducted. I was interested in looking at mobility patterns in terms of people's underlying values and their attitudes towards place for I assumed that circulation and multilocality were related to loyalty to place of origin. The approach used here stresses flexibility; the continuous modification and refinement of concepts and hypotheses and the adoption or rejection of techniques as they were found appropriate or inappropriate for the problems to be solved. As van den Berghe (1973: 31) noted in his study of survey research in Africa: 'The research problem should determine the methodology'.

The six Local Government Areas closest to Ilorin are approximately coterminous with the emirate of Ilorin as it had existed when the Niger Company

forces entered Ilorin in 1897 and they still form a social and political unit although considerable differences exist within the area (see chapter II). In July 1981 these LGAs were subdivided¹ but in the text I refer to the divisions as they existed at the time of the fieldwork. The locations selected for detailed study are all within a 50 kilometre radius of the city. In spite of considerable variations in road distance and quality all the rural settlements could conveniently be visited in one day from Ilorin and still allow four or five hours for field investigations.

SOME GUIDING ASSUMPTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

In the study area long-term circulation was considered in relation to other forms of movement as part of a total 'mobility system' which links 'the urban and rural parts of the Ilorin region with each other and with other parts of Nigeria. I began by assuming that the reasons why people do not move may be as significant as the reasons why they do. It was therefore essential to obtain information about both residents and non-residents of the study locales and about people from these places who had made long distance moves in the past as well as those who had not. I also deliberately refrained from examining economic motives for mobility on the individual level. I did this in order to escape from the image of

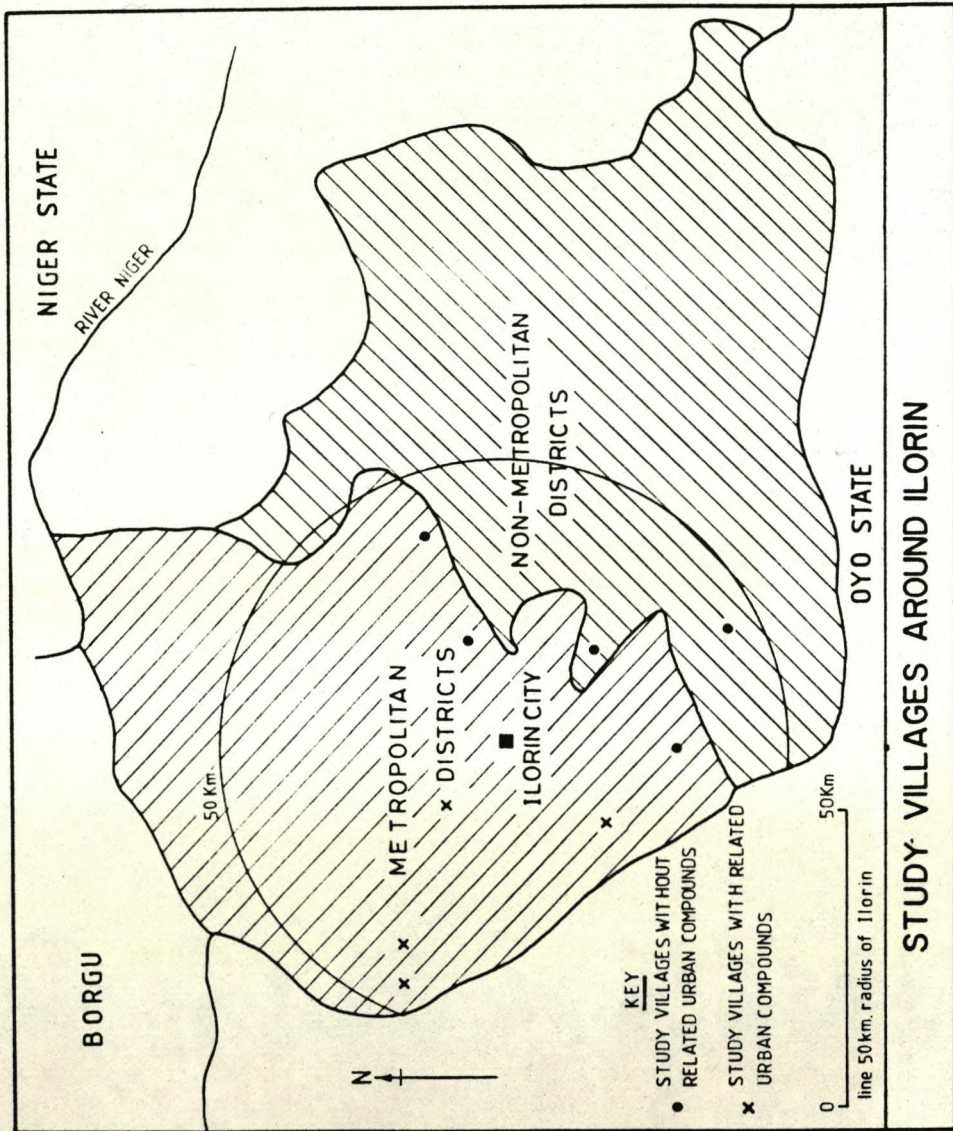
'economic man' making individual decisions based on perfect knowledge of the possibilities of economic gain. It was thus possible to explore alternative explanations for population mobility and the circumstances which favoured certain kinds of movement from some places and not from others.

In order to test the hypothesis that patterns of mobility differed from settlement to settlement it was important to identify a number of variables which might help to explain local variations in mobility. There was no reliable information about the number of residents and non-residents in each settlement which could be used as a guide to settlement selection. However, the influence of distance from Ilorin on mobility patterns could be studied by contrasting villages at various distances from the city. There was some regular daily and weekly movement between the city and neighbouring villages which helped to put other forms of mobility into perspective. It was also recognised that linear distance might be less relevant than the time taken or the cost of the journey. Information about a wide range of different forms of short-term mobility beyond the settlement of origin might be useful in assessing the extent to which the villagers' perception of distance was influenced by patterns of social interaction.

The nature of cultural and historical links between the villages and the city of Ilorin

constituted a second cluster of factors around which hypotheses about population mobility could be developed and tested. Variations in population density and the pattern of local government organisation are still related to the way in which the emirate authorities incorporated the area into a centralised system of political control (see chapter II). As shown in map IV 1, seven villages were studied in the metropolitan area which has a history of strong control from the city; four of these villages have related compounds in the city but the inhabitants of the other three claim to be independent of Ilorin. Two villages are situated in the non-metropolitan districts which have a history of weaker central control.

A third cluster of variables which might help to explain local differences in mobility focused on the provision of amenities which might make some villages more attractive than others as places of employment or as home places to which migrants might wish to return. In only one village, the district headquarters at Bala, were there opportunities for regular unskilled labouring jobs outside farming or for more educated villagers who might work in local government agencies. In other villages there were few or no opportunities considered suitable for those educated to primary school leaving level or above, other than teaching in the village school. Differences in farming opportunities which might be related to



Map IV 1

access to new technologies, to markets or to superior natural endowments proved difficult to identify at the preliminary stage of the research.

THE CHOICE OF STUDY LOCALES

The task of assembling preliminary information from which a rigorous sample of settlements could be drawn was beyond the scope of this study. Adegbola (1972) used existing maps and statistical data for drawing a stratified random sample of settlements in the Oshun Division of Oyo State but the value of such data as the basis for sampling is often doubtful in Nigeria. In the absence of reliable base data the researcher can identify 'representative' settlements based on the requirements of the particular research project (Richards 1974: 96; Olusanya 1969: 17). Such a procedure for settlement selection was followed here as the topographic maps did not include and name all settlements and the 1963 census data was unreliable.

A village can be considered as a physical entity and as a community of people with interests shared by both residents and non-residents. The actual identification of the village as a social unit under an independent bale or chief must take place in the field with the help of the chief and village elders.

Settlements were selected as the study progressed in accordance with the general hypotheses which have

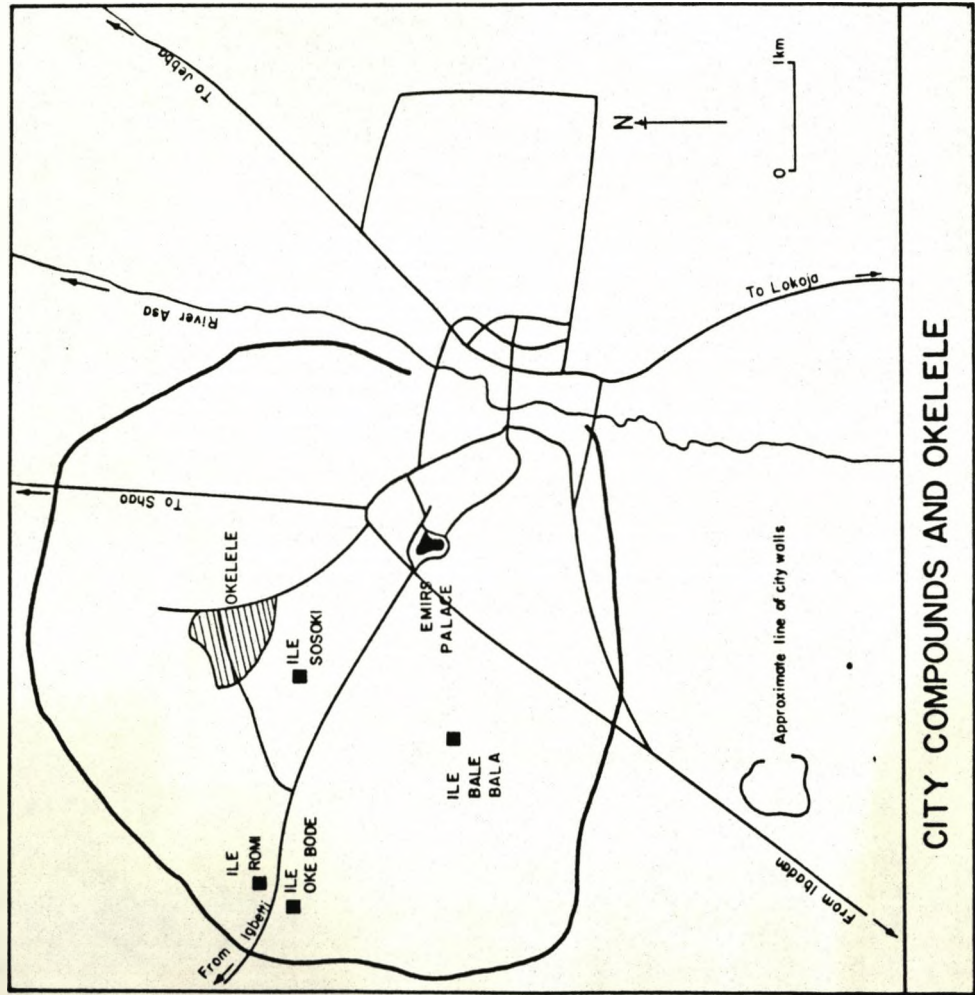
already been indicated. A pilot survey was carried out to test the questionnaire. On the advice of local government officials and after a number of preliminary visits the village of Odo Ode, 24 kilometres south of Ilorin was selected for the pilot survey. Some of the information collected there was of a quality satisfactory enough for inclusion in the main research analysis. Four other villages between 14 and 25 kilometres from the city and evenly distributed around the points of the compass were then selected for study and the pre-tested questionnaire administered (see Appendix I).

When this project began the scale of funding was uncertain. The project was designed so that it could be carried out with the help of a single field assistant/interpreter but could be extended later to include more distant settlements in which trained field assistants could work on their own without daily supervision. The study was later expanded to include four more villages between 35 and 50 kilometres in a straight line distance of Ilorin.

The nine villages studied in detail were chosen to reflect the range in the size of all but the largest settlements in the Ilorin hinterland. The largest village, Aregun, with a population of 527 people in two separate but related parts was ruled by a single chief. The two smallest villages, Oke Bode and Sosoki, with populations of 170 and 187

respectively, are located in the less densely populated and more recently settled area to the north and west of Ilorin where the modal size of settlements is smaller than in the more heavily settled south and east.

The four urban compounds linked to rural study villages were the first areas to be studied in the city. Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode were large enough to provide data comparable in detail to the rural settlements; Ile Sosoki and Ile Bale Bala each had a population of less than 25. In addition to these related city compounds it was also important to study part of the urban area as an independent entity. The largest units in the old city are the wards but as these have populations of up to 20,000 even the smallest would have been too large as a study area. Sub-wards were also unsuitable as the basis for a study area as they had been established by the colonial administration to facilitate tax collection. Fortunately an area of the old town known as Okelele could be investigated in co-operation with people from the University of Ilorin Faculty of Health Sciences working on a community health programme based on the local clinic. Okelele appeared to be a relatively stable area with few immigrants from beyond the immediate hinterland of Ilorin.



CITY COMPOUNDS AND OKELELE

Map IV 2

A SAMPLE SURVEY OR A FULL COVERAGE OF EACH LOCALE?

The decision to study a small number of settlements in depth reflected my concern with local social and institutional factors which might be related to the many forms of population mobility in the region. The decision about how to identify respondents within each settlement was less straightforward. A good sample can give results which are, considering the saving in time and money, comparable to those of a complete survey. But there were a number of reasons for conducting a full survey in each of the rural study settlements and in part of the city.

To conduct a sample survey within each village would have entailed a great deal of preparatory work. There was a map available for only one village, Falokun, and there was no reliable census data for any settlement. To use the list of taxable adults as the basis for a sample would have seriously endangered our credibility with the villagers as one of the biggest barriers to our acceptance was the belief that our work was in some way connected with tax collection. In addition local government officials doubted the reliability of the tax data; it was widely acknowledged that the tax rolls were often inflated by people who were living elsewhere but wanted to pay their taxes at home.

It was not possible to design a sample based on a numbering of buildings from a sketch map of each

village. Separate buildings ranged in size from large compounds with a population of over a hundred people to one-roomed houses for a nuclear family or a single adult (see chapter III). In Ibarapa, in western Oyo State, officials had great difficulty in preparing for the 1963 census because:

Some of the houses the enumerators tried to number before the census were so complex in shape, size and location that even the definition of what constitutes a house, and how a house is to be differentiated from a compound were not easy questions to answer in rural areas (Ogunlesi 1968: 119).

In the villages and in the urban compounds related to them the people soon became very involved in the survey and it would have been impolitic to have omitted a house. For example, on one occasion we did not visit a household because a baby had died there during the week. As we were nearing the end of our survey the child's father came to us and invited us to visit his house. In a total survey carried out over two or three weeks it was also possible to obtain useful information beyond that strictly required for the questionnaire.

The study area around the Okelele clinic had already been the site of Faculty of Health Science surveys. Although the area was too large for a total survey it was possible to extract a random sample based on a full population census which had just been completed by the project members. The two best enumerators in this census were then employed to

conduct a mobility survey of one in eight of the households. Comparisons between the sampled area and the compounds studied in depth were made only cautiously. The Okelele sample did prove useful because it revealed a range of activities and movements not present in the other two compounds. The social survey work being done by the students involved in the Community Based Education and Service (COBES) programme and the birth cohort project at the clinic provided background knowledge of a comparable depth to that obtained for other survey areas. In the urban area mapping was greatly assisted by the use of 1:2400 plans based on 1963 air photographs which were enlarged to a scale of 1:800. Medical students in Okelele added houses built since 1963.

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN AND TIMING

Prior to and during the administration of the pilot questionnaire a number of problems of design and administration emerged. Some questions, such as those asking the respondent's name, age and place of birth, were not as straightforward as they seemed at first because the respondent's interpretation of the significance of the question and the need for accuracy was fundamentally different from that of the interviewer. There were also problems associated with the definition of terms and the determination of various categories.

Local words representing categories and concepts generated by the culture of the people are known as 'etic' categories and are contrasted to 'emic' categories which are generated by the social scientists. Etic terms exist in Hausa for various forms of mobility, for example cin rani, 'eating the dry season', for dry season movements away from the home base (Olofson 1975 and forthcoming; Prothero 1957). However, etic terms associated with mobility in the Ilorin area appear to have only a very local usage reflecting the local dialects (see chapter II). For example, in Isolo-Opin in Igbomina the term peke is used for short-term and short-distance movements such as might be undertaken by young men before they made the longer journey to southern towns (Yusuf 1976: 13). I did not come across this term in the study settlements closer to Ilorin. As the use of etic terms may not be consistent and impedes comparison with other areas such terms were not used in the questionnaire although, of course, examples of such usages were recorded.

The actual timing of the surveys was important. The resources were not available for a year-long survey which might reflect seasonal patterns of mobility or employment. Neither could all the surveys be carried out simultaneously. The surveys were carried out at various times during the dry season between November and April in 1978/9 and 1979/80. The mobility data from the various locales could be usefully compared

if the times of the main festivals were considered in the analysis. The main Muslim festival in the Ilorin area is Id el-Kabir which occurred in November in 1978 and in October in 1979. The dry season includes Christmas and the New Year which are also times of high mobility for members of all communities.

THE HOUSEHOLD

In each settlement it was necessary to identify a unit within which people make decisions about mobility and with which movers are associated when they return. The ilé or compound could not be used because of the great range in the size, structure and social cohesion of the unit both within and between settlements (Eades 1980: 48-9). In anthropological studies, including those of the Yoruba, the household, defined as a group of people living and eating together, has widely been used as a unit of analysis and it appeared appropriate for the Ilorin area (Olusanya 1969: 19; Marris 1962: xii; see also Goody 1972: 106-10; Wallace 1978).

Although structuralists such as Levi-Straus have stressed the ritual and social significance of eating together, in the Ilorin area it is not easy to get a consistent response to the question: Se enjeun pò ní? Although members of a household may eat in the same place they do not always eat at the same time. Today they may eat together but it used to be more common

for men to eat separately from the women and children. However, this definition seemed to correspond to a social reality for in no cases were residents and non-residents listed as belonging to more than one household.

Each household recognises a head who was asked for the basic information about the resident and non-resident members. The household head is generally the eldest married male in the group. The fact that there were very few women household heads in the study population introduced a built-in bias towards a male-oriented view of society. Some attempts were made to correct this bias as all adults were asked individually about their mobility patterns and where possible women interviewed the female respondents.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

The distinction between people regarded as 'usually' or 'permanently' living in a household and those who were considered members of the household but living elsewhere is vital in a study of circulation and multilocality. There is no single Yoruba word which makes this distinction. In the census of residents I asked for the names of the people who usually slept in the house. Osborne (1973: 277), working in the Egba Yoruba-speaking area, considered all people who had lived in the house for more than a month as permanent residents. In the Ilorin area it was more

useful to identify people who had been living in the house for the past three months or who had joined it permanently during that time. This time span would exclude visits by people working elsewhere and women who had temporarily returned to the home village to give birth or to bring back older children to stay with grandparents. A similar length of time was considered necessary to establish a residence elsewhere unless this was a specifically seasonal move.

After the census of people 'usually' resident, details of members of the household who lived 'abroad' were collected. In practice these people included all those whose eventual return could be anticipated and who could thus be said to be engaging in circulation. To have identified all the people who had ever left, as Gugler (1971) did in eastern Nigeria, would have blurred the vital distinction between circulation and migration.

The principles underlying kinship terminology in Yoruba differ from those in English. Terms accord with the hierarchical structure of the society and reflect senior or junior status with respect to the speaker rather than the degree of blood relationship. For example, in Yoruba-speaking areas including Ilorin a person described as aburo is a younger relative, male or female, and either a full sibling, half-sibling, first cousin or more distant relative (Eades 1980: 51). The English terms broda and sista are

now increasingly used and may include a wide range of the speakers contemporaries from the home settlement or the home state. Such relationships were not traced systematically in the questionnaire although in informal investigations the role of seniority in mobility was investigated. However it was important to ask for the names of the mothers of children because the term omo, child, is used of grandchildren as well as of sons and daughters. The distinction was important because it seemed likely that the incidence of children living with grandparents or non-relatives might in some way be related to mobility.

After the initial census of each household all the resident adults were asked detailed questions about their past movements and employment history. It was not always easy to decide who was an adult. A person who is married and/or has children is referred to as agbà. For our purposes this definition was unsatisfactory because women marry at an earlier age than men and the years immediately before marriage are often years of economic independence and high mobility for people of both sexes. As it was important to cover this period in people's lives all people of 15 and over were included in the detailed mobility survey.

PROBLEMS OF QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTRATION

Many people in the Ilorin area do not know how old they are. It was therefore useful to establish an events calendar for each village and urban study area to identify important local and national events to which people could relate their ages; the events calendar for Okelele is given in table IV 1. In the village of Bala, for example, older villagers were asked if they were born before or after the arrival of the district head in 1932. Other people know their age in relation to national events such as the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 or a local event such as a dispute with a nearby village or the building of a new mosque or road. But in many cases it was impossible to ascertain exact ages and many of the ages entered in the forms were only approximate. Mothers know the ages of their children and can often produce a birth certificate because, although registration is not compulsory, birth certificates are needed when the child first goes to school. However, as certificates may be obtained some time after the birth of the child, they cannot be relied on to give exact age.

In both urban and rural areas some young children were not included in the list given by the household head. There is an understandable reluctance to give the names and ages of young children in a society in which the infant mortality rate is high. The Igbo writer Flora Nwapa echoes a widespread sentiment

Table IV 1: Events Calendar for Okelele, Ilorin

1895	Emir Salimu enthroned
1914	Amalgamation of North and South Nigeria
1915	Emir Salimu died, succeeded by Shaibu Bawa.
1919	Emir Shaibu died; Abdul Kadri succeeds.
1939-45	Hitler's War
1959	Emir Kadri died; Emir Sulu Gambari succeeds
1960	Nigerian Independence
1963	Nigerian census
1966	Military take-over; deaths of Chief Akinsola and the Saudana of Sokoto
1969	Emir's mass marriage of his daughters
1970	End of Nigerian civil war
1972	Change to right hand driving
1973	New currency
1975	Electricity comes to Okelele
1976	Death of Murtala Mohammed
1976	Saraki made Turaki of Ilorin
1977	Tarring of Okelele road

when she writes:

We don't ask people how many children they have. It is not done. Children are not goats or sheep or yams to be counted (Nwapa, Efuru, quoted by Soyinka 1977: 439).

It was important for the interviewers to enter at least two names for each individual in order to avoid confusion as people are known by a number of different names. They may be known by Islamic or Christian names as well as, for example, by the

names of the day of the week on which they were born. Twins are also known as Taiwo and Kehinde. As many names are not sex-specific it was always important to indicate the sex of the respondent.

The distinction between a respondent's birth place and their place of origin is important in Nigeria. In the Ilorin study locales it was sufficient to ask for an individual's birth place and to note the place of origin in the few cases in which this was different in the cause of enquiries about mobility and residential rights. Problems arose about the birthplace of young children or members of the household living away. If, for example, a child of village-born parents who were living in Lagos was born in Lagos, he or she was sometimes said to have been born in the village for that is the place where the family comes from and with which the child is expected to identify. In other cases it was essential to distinguish between people born in the village linked to the town compound and the town compound itself, for the names are often similar and in the survey context the respondents may consider the distinction between them irrelevant.

Another apparently straightforward question which posed some problems was that of occupation. Many people work in the informal sector and have more than one occupation either simultaneously or seasonally. Therefore residents were always given the opportunity to mention more than one occupation. Occupations were

entered on the questionnaire in the form they were given by the respondents and later recoded. The distinction between the informal and formal sector which is so important here is not recognised in extant classifications based on developed countries which have a very small informal sector. Akinola's (1964) typology of industrial structure in Ibadan was used as a starting point for a system of occupational classification. Within the informal sector my typology distinguishes between 'traditional' crafts such as weaving, pottery and leatherwork and 'modern' small-scale manufacturing and repairing such as welding, 'iron-bending' and motor repairing (see Appendix II). The terms 'traditional' and 'modern' refer to the recentness of the introduction of the occupation and not to any differences in their mode of organisation.

FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

The follow-up studies were generally less structured than the mobility questionnaires which had contained factual questions to which fairly straightforward objective answers could usually be given. They consisted principally of open-ended interviews and informal discussions although some short questionnaires were administered. The choice of what to study was suggested initially by the responses to the questionnaires and by discussions during that survey.

In every area some information was collected

about the origin of the people, the circumstances surrounding the founding of the settlement and its component compounds and the first movements to Lagos or to any other place to which a number of people had subsequently moved. Some farmers in all the rural settlements employed migrant labourers and a brief questionnaire was administered to some of them on an ad hoc basis. The complex links between the town compounds and the related rural settlements were explored and urban dwellers were asked about their farming experience. Some satellite hamlets related to the study settlements were also studied.

Indirect evidence for long-term circulation such as house building and development associations fostered by non-residents were investigated in order to gauge their economic contributions and social involvement in their home communities. Whatever the attractions of the study of cash remittances in providing apparently objective measures of these links (Adepoju 1974: 388), such data should be used cautiously.² The respondents are expected to recall a complex patterns of remittances in cash and kind over a period of a year or more. If the study is limited to cash remittances distortion might result for remittances in kind might be equally important. Information about income in the informal sector is notoriously difficult to ascertain, compared to that in the formal sector which is often indicated by grade levels common to the

whole Federation. Personal enquiries about any sources of income could adversely affect the success of other aspects of the research and therefore no attempts were made to ascertain the value of remittances or incomes from other sources in the various settlements studied.

It is important to understand population movements and multilocality in terms of people's perceptions of place. Here attitudinal scaling methods and repertory grids which have been borrowed by geographers from psychology appeared at first to be useful. But such studies required time and trained personnel beyond the resources of this project - indeed they could constitute an entirely new project. Brief field experiments in the use of such techniques suggested that they might not even begin to answer the most important questions posed in this study.

There are many pitfalls when such studies are carried out in a cross-cultural setting. The question of 'meaning' is always important in identifying nuances of opinion and attitude, especially when the language and culture of the researcher is different from that of the respondents. An objective question concerning the time of a person's last visit to Lagos is very different from a subjective one concerning which of a number of terms best expresses an individual's attitude towards people who leave their rural birth-place to work in a large city.

The advantage of the repertory grid technique

is that the constructs which are developed to identify the respondents' attitudes and opinions are formulated by the respondents themselves. Such grids have been used in cross-cultural studies in rural areas of Colombia and in west Africa to the satisfaction of the researchers involved (Townsend 1977; Barker and Richards 1978; see also Downs 1976). However attempts to develop some constructs concerning the characteristics of people in the Ilorin city compounds vis à vis those in related rural settlements did not get beyond general self-evident statements that village people are farmers and towns-people traders and craftsmen.

Hayward (1977) has shown that the concept 'home' suggests a wide range of meanings to north American subjects. Although the term 'home' is frequently used by English-speaking Nigerians and Ghanaians in much the same way as it is used by native English speakers (Middleton 1979), there is no single word in standard Yoruba which encompasses all the meanings of the English term. Its closest equivalent, the term ilé, embodies concepts which field studies revealed were too broad for the development of useful constructs about spatial identity. Nevertheless this term provided a very important starting point for informal discussions about the importance of place.

I also attempted to use scaling methods to ask structured questions about attitudes. I asked people

in two villages to rank various amenities such as roads, water supply and schools in the order of their importance as I hypothesised that population mobility might in some way be related to the provision of such amenities. Many of the answers merely reflected the fact that the villagers knew about the priorities of the local development association. Barker and Richards (1978) have pointed out the danger of attitudinal questions which force respondents to make artificial choices. They quote the farmer whose response to such a question was to ask: 'If you need a house which would you rather have - the walls or the roof?' (3-4).

Similarly the identification of motives for mobility presents the researcher with many problems. Questions about motivation are difficult to formulate as they involve the choice between a limited number of options which might operate at different levels of generality for different respondents (Chapman 1970: 7-8). To compound this difficulty, data on opinions and motives are often of doubtful value because there is no clear relationship between an individual's opinion and his or her actions (Bunting and Guelke 1979).

In the earlier factual questionnaires it had not been important to isolate the individual respondents. But in administering formal behavioural surveys it was essential to do so. However this proved impossible in the fieldwork setting for an interested

circle of onlookers soon collected around the survey group and people began to offer their own unsolicited suggestions. It soon became clear that such discussions were more useful than structured questionnaires as ways of obtaining the desired information about behavioural and motivational aspects of population mobility.

CONCLUSION

Writers of abstract methodological studies argue about the relative merits of trying to understand behaviour by starting with measurable, observable actions, or with perceptions, attitudes and images which are related in some rather uncertain way to observed behaviour (Bunting and Guelke 1977: 463, 471). However researchers attempting to understand specific actions, in this case population movements, are dealing with both sets of information at the same time. During field work there is a constant interplay between observable behaviour and the perceptions of the actors which might help to explain it. Questionnaire surveys and informal interviews designed to ascertain opinions, attitudes and motives proceed side by side and both contribute to the final analysis.

In much the same way there is a continuous interaction between the various explanations which are being developed at different stages in the research. Riddell (1981: 371-2) suggests the need to replace inductive analysis, working from spatial patterns to

implied processes, with deductive processes in which the researcher works from a hypothesis to observations. As Riddell rightly points out the overarching historical and structural determinants of mobility, such as forms of government and the power structure, cannot be identified from a study of spatial distributions. However his dichotomy is an over-simplification for in the real world inductive and deductive reasoning proceed side by side. There is a complex interaction between the two processes of reasoning which may be neglected by the philosophers of science who sometimes claim insights which have been denied to practising scientists. If the main purpose of this thesis is to generate theory and answer questions then it is essential to recognise the dialectical process by which such theory is achieved (Glaser and Strauss 1968: 48). Field work and research can be identified as a dialectic between actions and perceptions and between various explanations for these. They should be described as such, rather than presented as a 'sanitised' ex post facto rationale of a complex process.

Footnotes

1. Nigerian Herald, 4 July, 1981, p 1.
2. David Atteh, personal communication to Professor R. M. Prothero.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMUNITY OF RESIDENTS AND NON-RESIDENTS

COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

The study of population circulation can conveniently focus on a home base and its associated population which is linked together through the mobility system. In this study I have identified twelve 'communities' each consisting of a group of residents and non-residents based on a different home place. In this context a community can be defined as comprising:

a matrix of social relations capable of being given an objective boundary by the observer and (but not necessarily) recognised by the actors as providing in certain contexts a possible basis for collective identification against the outside world (Hart 1975: 7).

The social relationships studied here are given concrete expression in the movements of community members and are sustained by the flow of goods and ideas between them. There is no need to assume that a community, so defined, is homogeneous or that all members are committed to the group to the same extent (Calhoun 1980). The emphasis here is on a dynamic community whose members are continually interacting with each other (pace Giddens 1979) and moving over considerable distances.

There exists within each of the twelve places studied a fairly clear consensus about who is and

who is not a member of that particular community. Members are called 'natives' or 'indigenes' by English-speaking Nigerians. By accident of birth into a particular household or lineage group individuals share a strong sense of identification with each other and with a particular place which survives today regardless of the fact that many individuals also have an achieved status based on their activities in the wider society.

In the Ilorin region, as in other Yoruba-speaking areas, a man continues to be a member of his natal compound after marriage and can maintain this link in spite of a prolonged absence. A woman joins her husband's compound on marriage and their children are considered members of the husband's lineage. About one third (34 per cent, 334 of 982 women for whom there is information) of the resident women were born in places other than those in which they lived at the time of the survey, compared to only 6 per cent of the men, as shown in table V 1. Half of the men who moved had moved between related rural and urban compounds and most of the women had moved only a short distance on marriage. Hence it is not surprising that local sentiments remain strong among both men and women in the Ilorin region.

Rural men born elsewhere can be accepted into a community on the basis of their local origins, long residence and participation in the farming and social affairs of the settlement. The figures for rural

Table V 1: Birthplaces of Resident Adult Males
in the Study Settlements

<u>Urban</u>	born in related villages	born elsewhere	total adult male residents
Okelele	10	5	114
Ile Oke Bode	9	-	65
Ile Romi	9	-	58
<u>Rural</u>			
<u>With urban compounds</u>	born in related urban compounds	born elsewhere	total adult male residents
Bala	1	4	114
Oke Bode	-	-	45
Romi	2	-	80
Sosoki	-	2	58
<u>without urban compounds</u>	not applicable		
Aregun		2	133
Aribi	"	-	92
Falokun	"	3	65
Igbodun	"	3	35
Odo Ode	"	7	53
<u>Total</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>913</u>

men born elsewhere, as shown in table V 1, reflect the gradual process of short-distance rural colonisation, except for the village of Bala in which the newcomers accompanied the district head. People employed in rural areas as teachers or by the local government are not considered members of the settlement in which they work if they maintain a house in Ilorin or their natal settlement to which they regularly return and which they regard as their permanent base. Only one family which had originally come into the area from outside the state as migrant labourers had been accepted even partially into the village community. Elsewhere seasonal labourers, even if they live in the house of an absent villager, cultivate land year after year and participate in village activities, are not regarded as full members of the village community.

In urban areas it is likely that the criteria for membership in a local community is somewhat different from that found in a single large compound or a rural settlement (Schildkrout 1975). For example, in the Okelele area of Ilorin a sample survey extracted from the full census of residents included only 5 adult men (out of a total of 114) who had been born beyond the range of the related villages; they live in rented accommodation in local compounds. On the basis of this and other forms of interaction with the local people they are accepted as members of the urban-based community. The identification of non-

resident members of the various settlements initially depended on the perceptions of the household heads. The ramifications of this membership are examined later in this study.

AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENT POPULATION

The total resident population of the twelve study areas is 3709, of whom 913 are adult males and 1030 adult females. The demographic structure of this population shows a marked age distortion with older adults consistently outnumbering young adults. This can partly be ascribed to age misrepresentation which is also evident in the Federation as a whole, as shown in figure V 1 (Ajaegbu 1976: 20; Stokes 1978). However, there is no reason to believe that the fertility and mortality rates for the Ilorin region are different from those of the rest of the Federation. The most likely explanation for this age distribution is out-movement from the Ilorin settlements which is selective according to age.

The out-movement of young adults is reflected in the small number of both males and females between the ages of 15 and 24 and of males up to the age of 49. This results in a younger median age for adult women, 36-7, compared to men, 46-7. Figure V 2, which compares the cumulative age structure for men and women, shows this difference in age clearly. This age differential is partly the result of greater age

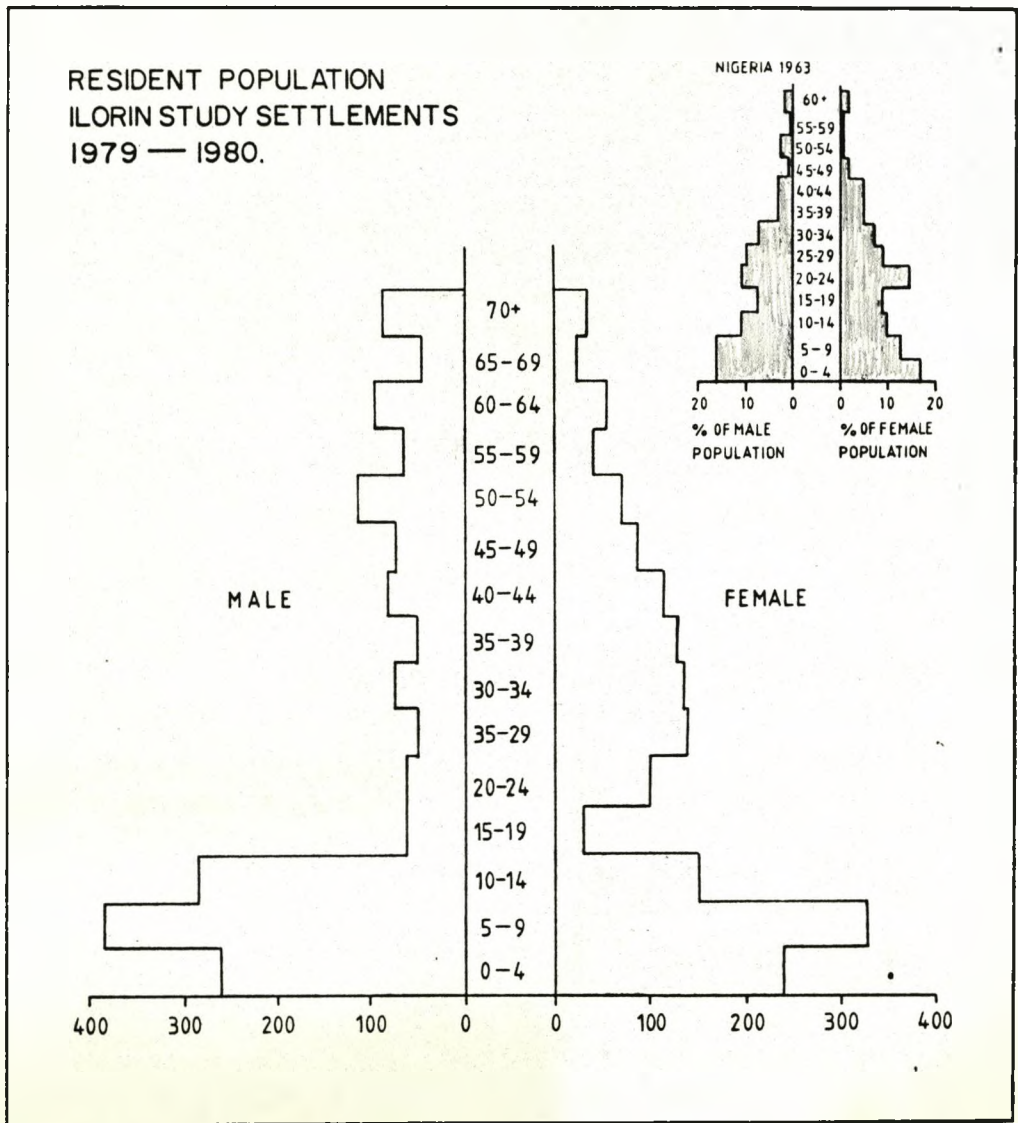
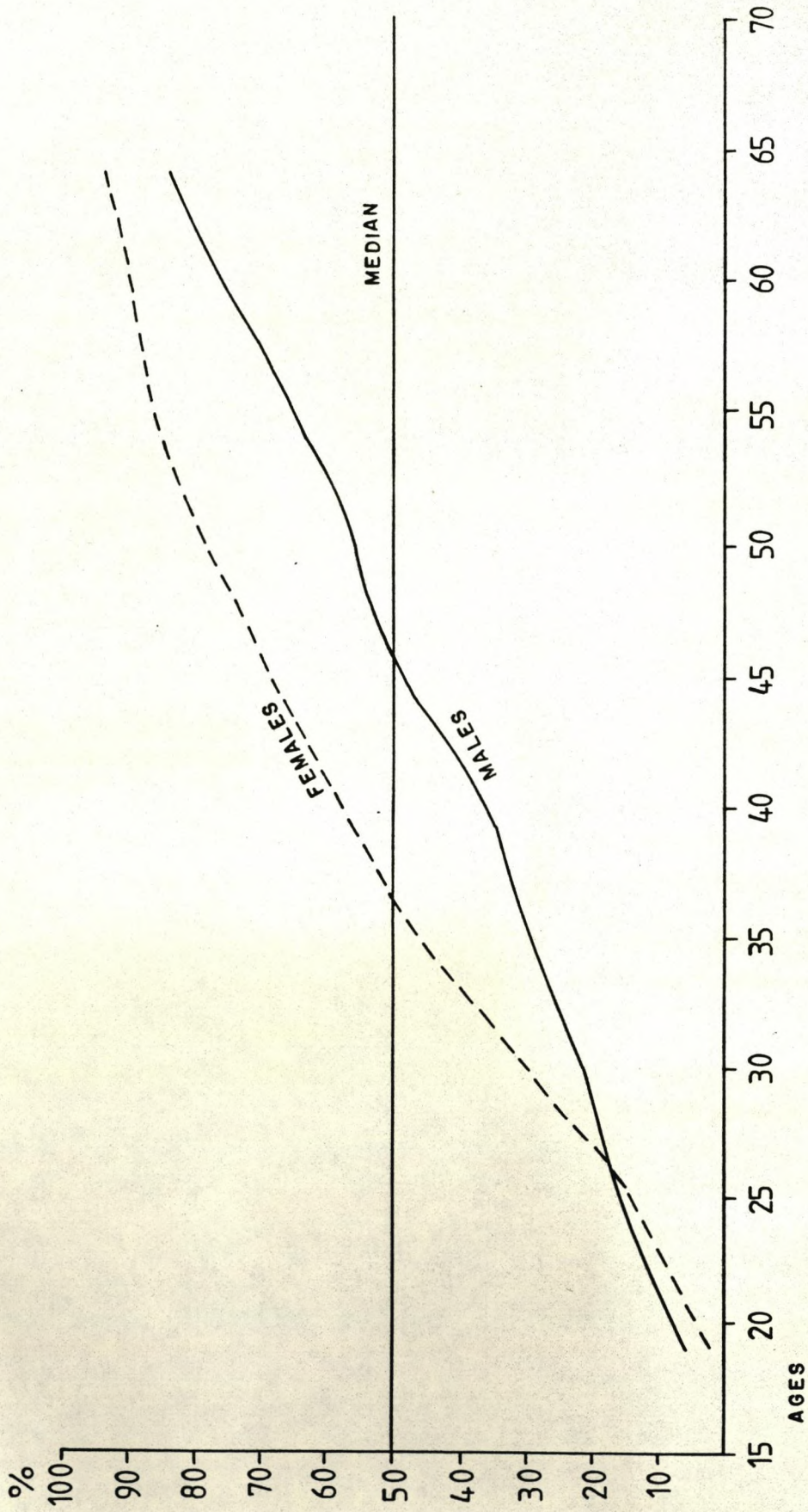


Figure V 1



RESIDENT ADULTS CUMULATIVE AGE STRUCTURE

Figure V 2

underestimation by women but it is also related to differences in patterns of circulation. Women often marry men ten or fifteen years their senior and men returning home by the age of 45 or 50 are often accompanied by a younger wife. Although there are fewer resident adult men than women (the adult sex ratio is 88) mobility involves marries women as well as their husbands; there are only 35 resident women with non-resident husbands.

An important implication of the absence of young adults is the very high dependency ratio which lowers the overall level of economic productivity of the resident population. The dependency ratio is high for the whole of Nigeria. Forty-eight per cent of the population was in the dependent age groups in 1963 (Ajaegbu 1976: 19) and this figure has increased in recent years. An estimated 47 per cent of the population was under 15 in 1980,¹ the same proportion as in the Ilorin study settlements. However, in the Ilorin survey 13 per cent of the population was 55 and over, making a total of 60 per cent of the population in the dependent age groups. Even if there had been an under-registration of older women (such as probably occurred in Romi and Aregun, see figure V 3), and young children (as in Bala and Okelele), such under-registration would have been found in the Federation as a whole. Greater accuracy would probably have resulted in a higher rather than a lower dependent population.

There are considerable contrasts in the age and sex structure of the resident population of each of

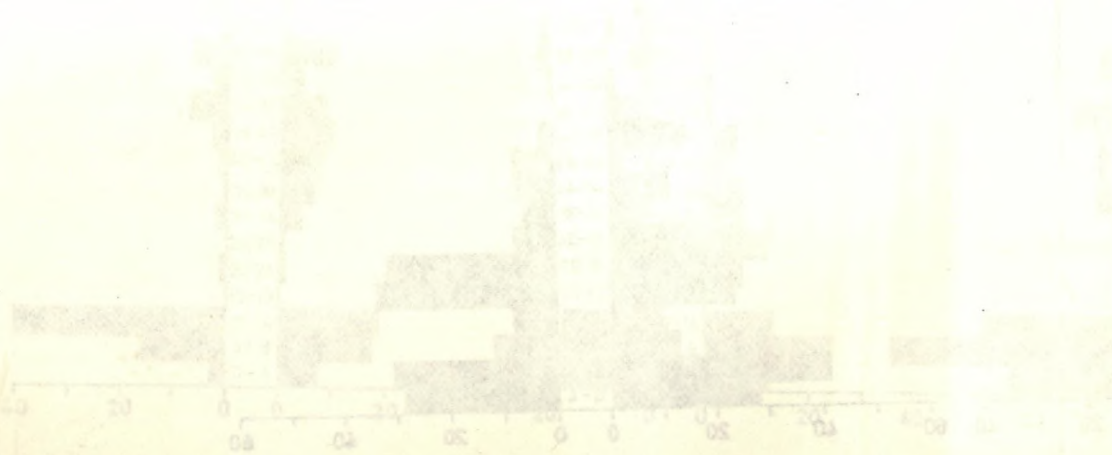


Figure V 3 Resident Population of each Settlement

Table V 2: Demographic Characteristics of the

	<u>Resident Adult Population</u>				
	male median age	female median age	per cent males 15-34	adult sex ratio	dependency ratio
Aregun	51	36	27	111	65
Aribi	42	34	31	66	61
Bala	49	36	20	79	54
Falokun	54	45	3	59	70
Igbodun	53	48	3	61	69
Odo Ode	45	38	17	84	64
Oke Bode	45	37	44	136	66
Okelele	32	25	62	102	43
Ile Oke Bode	38	31	42	131	58
Ile Romi	49	36	17	88	60
Romi	50	37	25	117	65
Sosoki	40	40	42	85	44

the twelve study locales. Bedford (1980: 29) has warned that variations in the demographic structure of small populations may be due to chance. However, the differences in age and sex structure observed in the settlements in the Ilorin region, as shown in figure V 3, are so large and consistent that they appear not to be the result of chance. One cannot invoke age misrepresentation as an explanation for such differences as one would expect the pattern of age misrepresentation to be similar in each place.

There are significant differences in the

proportion of young adults aged 15 to 35 compared to those of 35 and over in the eleven study areas in which a full census was carried out ($\chi^2 = 40$ for adult males, greater than .001). The villages of Igbodun and Falokun display most clearly the cluster of related characteristics which can be taken to indicate a high rate of out-movement among young adults. They have the highest adult male and female median ages, and the highest dependency ratios, as shown in table V 2. The age and sex pyramids for these two settlements, shown in figure V 3, reveal that the age cohort 10-14 is quite large for both sexes but that there are no members of either sex in the following cohort in Igbodun and only one male in Falokun.

The age and sex structure of the resident population of the two urban compounds indicates some likely contrasts in patterns of long-term mobility. It is not possible to compare this data directly with that from the Okelele sample. Here the adult sex ratio is 102 and the dependency ratio is lower than for any other study area. This is a somewhat more balanced age and sex structure than that found elsewhere. This may be the result of chance or perhaps of a balance between in- and out-movement.

OTHER DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESIDENTS

There are a number of characteristics besides age and sex which vary between settlements and may provide clues to variations in the level of population mobility. The number of children not living with one or other of their natural parents, although probably an underestimate, reflects high levels of adult mortality and fostering. Fostering enabled parents living away to fulfil obligations to kin in their home settlements by sending a child to keep a grandparent company and help with household tasks (Brydon 1979; Hart 1971). The highest proportion of children not living with one or other of their natural parents is found where other demographic data suggests a high rate of out-movement. As shown in table V 3, in Igbodun 33 per cent of the resident children and in Falokun 29 per cent are not living with one or other of their parents; most of them are living with grandparents. In the three urban clusters there are no records of fostering.

In the Ilorin region the eldest male is generally the head of the household and only if there is no married male will a woman act as the head. In some areas which experience a high rate of out-movement a large number of households are headed by women (Hill 1978; Mitchell 1975). However this does not occur in the study settlements. The inter-village contrasts in the number of female headed households shown in table V 3 appear to be related to differences in the extent of

Table V 3: Further Characteristics of the Resident Population

	1.	2.	3.	4.
Aregun	1 of 66	3.8	13	2/275
Aribi	-	4.3	40	11/206
Bala	9 of 96	2.7	23	16/154
Falokun	4 of 41	4.3	36	48/170
Igbodun	4 of 35	2.6	42	30/92
Odo Ode	-	4.0	28	?
Oke Bode	-	3.5	-	-
Okelele	-	5.6	29	-
Ile Oke Bode	-	4.6	-	-
Ile Romi	-	3.7	24	-
Romi	-	3.7	5	-
Sosoki	3 of 45	2.8	10	4/61

- Key: 1. Female headed households
 2. Average number of adults per household
 3. Percentage of men with more than one wife
 4. Children not living with parents

 the incorporation of elderly widows into village households rather than differences in the number of males away.

As a household is a dynamic entity which reflects the age and status of members of the group at a particular point in time the actual size of a household may not be very revealing (Goody 1958; Hill 1975b). In the rural settlements the prestige of the village or

compound head is often reflected in the size of the household. The larger than average household size in Okelele is the result of a small number of very large households; 39 per cent of all adults live in households with ten or more adults. Such households may be relatively short-lived as some of them are based on the co-operation of wives who take it in turns to prepare food so that other women can be away for the whole day trading in the city.

I was told several times during the survey of Falokun that households there are now smaller than in the past because many of the resident adults had been part of smaller households when they were working away and living in rented accommodation in towns. Because of this association, in the village smaller households are generally held to be a mark of 'civilisation'.

The incidence of polygyny may be related to the status and age of the husband. However as women are expected to contribute to the support of their children they may not cost their husbands much; women themselves may prefer to join the household of a wealthy, high status man (see chapter III). In Falokun and Igbodun the relatively large proportion of polygynous marriages may in part be related to the high median age of the male population. The level of polygyny in Okelele, where there is a low median age, may reflect the relatively greater wealth of urban males and the attractiveness of urban residence for rural-born

women (Hill 1975b; Stokes 1978).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NON-RESIDENT POPULATION

The non-resident members of households in the study settlements are those who are engaging in circulation and who are expected to return eventually. As a woman becomes a member of her husband's household when she marries and some women leave their home area on or before marriage, it is likely that the number of non-resident women has been underestimated in this survey. Therefore the ratio between resident and non-resident males is the best initial indicator of the extent of incomplete circulation. There are 913 resident adult males in the survey settlements and 739 non-residents, the latter comprising 45 per cent of the total adult male community. As the records also indicate that many of the absent men are living with their wives and children this suggests a considerable over-all non-resident community.

There is a significant difference in the proportion of resident and non-resident males in each of the twelve study settlements ($\chi^2 = 81$, greater than .001). As shown in table V 4, the highest proportion of non-resident males was recorded in Igbodun and Falokun, the villages in which the demographic characteristics indicate a high rate of out-movement. Given the more balanced population structure of Okelele it is perhaps not surprising that the proportion of non-residents

Table V 4: Circulation of Residents and Non-residents

	<u>Completed Circulation</u>		<u>Incomplete Circulation</u>	
	resident males who lived away	resident females who lived away	non- resident males	resident males
Aregun	27 of 133	25 of 117	79	133
Aribi	9 of 74	8 of 129	31	92
Bala	19 of 109	7 of 140	32	115
Falokun	43 of 63	38 of 105	160	65
Igbodun	31 of 35	26 of 54	55	35
Odo Ode	24 of 50	13 of 56	46	53
Oke Bode	13 of 45	7 of 33	67	45
Okelele	54 of 114	39 of 110	54	114
Ile Oke Bode	27 of 57	7 of 44	39	58
Ile Romi	21 of 64	41 of 75	44	65
Romi	28 of 80	14 of 68	100	80
Sosoki	<u>14 of 47</u>	<u>22 of 65</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>58</u>
<u>Total</u>	310 of 871	247 of 995	739	913

there is smaller than in all but one other study settlement, Bala.

If most of the long-term movement from the study settlements is circulatory rather than migratory the age and sex structure of the residents and non-residents should reveal a more balanced age and sex structure than that of the residents alone. Unfortunately it is not possible to construct a population pyramid for the total population because of the difficulty of ascertaining the age of the non-residents. However

information about the non-resident population of two settlements, Oke Bode and Falokun, appears to be more comprehensive than that for other study settlements.

The greater number of young adults resident in Oke Bode, as shown in figure V 4, indicates that young men leave slightly later than they do in Falokun, where they tend to leave immediately after they have completed primary school. Whether the absence of men and women in their forties from Oke Bode village is the result of chance or of the total loss of older migrants to the home settlement is a question which can only be answered when patterns of movement are examined in more detail. In Falokun some men in their forties and fifties are still recorded as living away. These general contrasts suggest once again the possibility that the experience of long-term mobility may vary considerably from settlement to settlement in the Ilorin region.

COMPLETED LONG-DISTANCE CIRCULATION

Thirty per cent of the present resident adult population of the study settlements, 557 of 1866 for whom there is information, have lived and worked away from their present place of residence for more than three months at some time during their lives. This figure excludes women who moved on marriage and men who moved from their place of birth to their present permanent residence and reflects fairly accurately those who have engaged in long-term circulation. Therefore on the basis of their own experience, a substantial minority

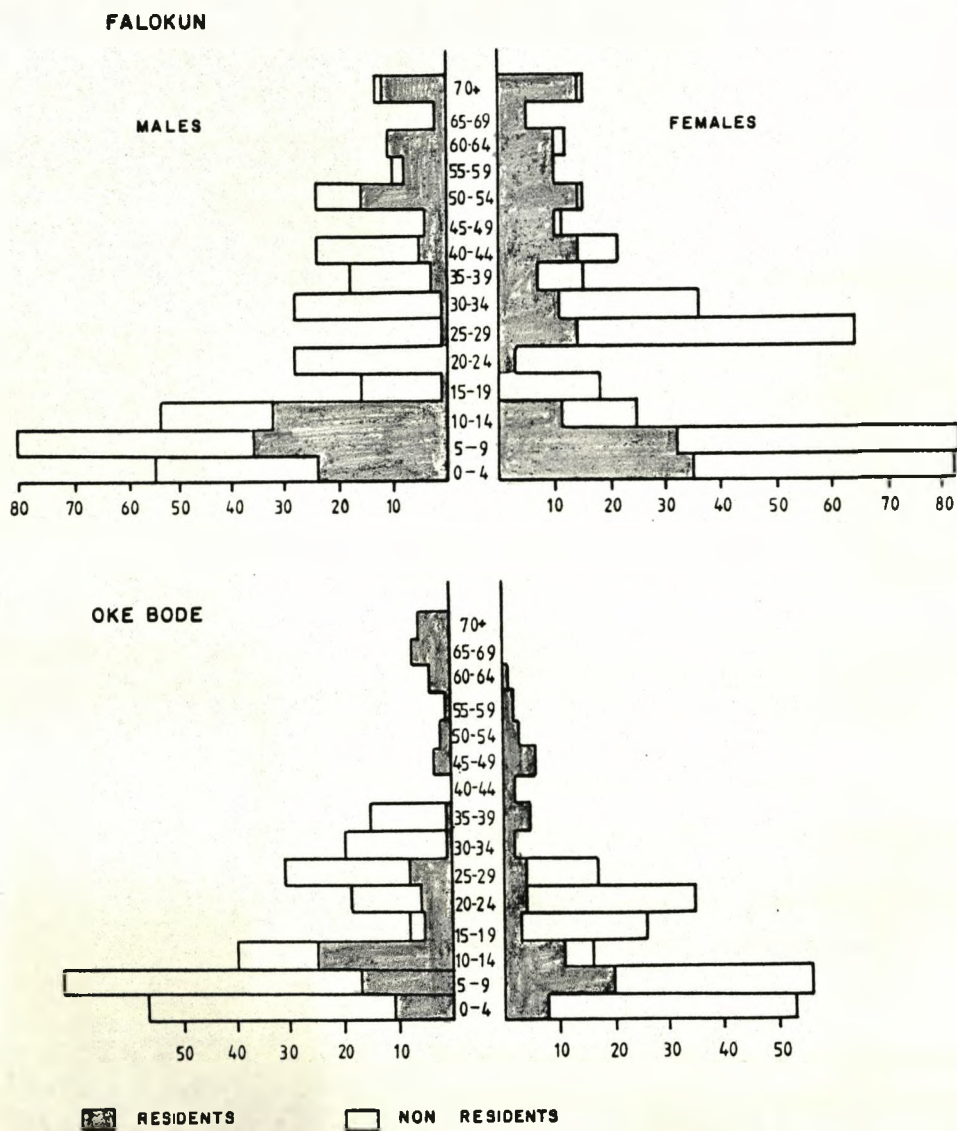


Figure V 4. Resident and Non-Resident
Population of Oke Bode and
Falokun

of the current resident population can understand and relate to the experiences of non-residents with whom they interact.

A significantly greater proportion of the resident men than women have lived away ($\chi^2 = 16$, greater than .001). As shown in table V 4, 247 of the 995 women for whom there is information (25 per cent) and 310 of the 871 men (35 per cent) have lived away. This suggests that in the past there might have been a larger number of married men absent, leaving their wives and families at home, but this is only a tentative suggestion in view of the possible high rates of movement of younger unmarried men and women.

The information about the number of years spent away is not complete but table V 5 does not indicate an overall difference in the time spent away by men and by women. The short time that urban men spent away reflects the relatively large volume but short duration of out-movement from Okelele. Thirty five of the 43 men recorded as having lived away for a known length of time spent five years or less away from Okelele, with a median of three years. This accounts in part for the apparent anomaly in the Okelele figures which show a high rate of completed circulation but only a small number of men currently living away. If the time spent away is short only a small proportion of men will be away at any one time. The median length of time men and women from all settlements spent away was 9

Table V 5: Length of Time Spent Away by Residents

years away	<u>Males</u>				<u>Females</u>			
	from Ilorin		from rural areas		from Ilorin		from rural areas	
0-4	31	41%	27	17%	17	27%	20	23%
5-9	17	22%	45	28%	18	29%	35	41%
10-14	12	16%	32	20%	11	17%	17	20%
15-19	6	8%	21	13%	13	21%	6	7%
20-24	3	4%	13	8%	3	5%	3	3%
over 24	<u>6</u>	8%	<u>21</u>	13%	<u>-</u>	-	<u>4</u>	5%
<u>Total</u>	75		159		62		85	

years and only 4 per cent spent one year or less away.

There is a significant difference in the extent of completed circulation among both men and women from place to place ($\chi^2 = 82$ for men, 96 for women, greater than .001). Any comparison between current and completed circulation must be made with care for people currently regarded as engaging in circulation may not carry out their intention to return. There is, however, a statistical correlation in the ranking of settlements according to the incidence of complete and incomplete circulation for men in the various settlements (excluding Okelele sample, $S = 41$, greater than .001). This relationship lends further support to the treatment of population circulation as a system linking the residents and non-residents of each settlement. The two villages with the highest proportion of indigenes who had once worked away,

Igbodun and Falokun, are also the villages with the highest proportion of non-resident members and they spent a longer period away than people who left the other study settlements.

OVERALL OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The study of the occupational structure of the resident and the non-resident population provides some insight into the characteristics of the two populations and the changes which might occur when people make a long-term move. The main differences in the occupational structure are based on sex and on rural or urban residence. Differences in the socio-economic status of residents and non-residents are not reflected in differences in occupations. Few people are employed in the formal sector of the economy (see Appendix II for a typology of occupations). Table V 6 shows that only 3 per cent of the rural male residents and 13 per cent of the urban residents are employed in this sector; nine per cent of the non-resident males and 18 per cent of those who had once worked away are so employed. The proportion of women employed in the formal sector is negligible. Most of the informal sector employment is in the lower level of government and related service enterprises in which a formal or informal quota system based on place of origin often operates. Under these conditions such forms of employment strengthen local identities and patronage networks. The situation may be different

in factory employment which Marxists (see Chapter I) and others (Perkin 1969: chapter 6) hold has been responsible for the generation of a class consciousness based on the common interests of all the employees. However very few people in the study settlement are employed in factories; only one resident male, three of those who had once worked away and 18 of those currently away.

In the informal sector, which employs the vast majority of residents and non-residents, initial recruitment and movement between jobs is often based on personal recommendation and patronage. In such a situation the mobility system of each community can be an effective transmitter of information and assistance in finding jobs (see chapter III).

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE - RESIDENT POPULATION

There are considerable differences in the occupations of men and women and those who live in the rural and the urban areas. Seventy-nine per cent of the rural men give farming as their most important occupation and only 58 of those who claim to have an occupation do not do any farming. In contrast, in the urban area only 33 resident males, 14 per cent of those who work, consider farming as their major occupation although others farm on a part-time basis. As very few women are full-time farmers the absence of young adult males has a particularly serious impact on the local agricultural

economy (see Hill, 1978).

It is important to recognise that farming is still the main occupation of rural males in the immediate hinterland of Ilorin. In some areas further east, for example in the area around Oro Agor in central Ifelodun, where rates of circulation are high and many migrants are well educated, the reliance on remittances and gifts of food has resulted in an almost complete cessation of agricultural activities by the remaining residents. In other parts of Nigeria, especially the south-east, the adult males who remain in the rural areas have turned en masse to non-agricultural occupations such as trading and small-scale services and manufacturing (Okoye 1982).

The range of occupations open to residents in the city of Ilorin is wider than it is for those of the rural areas. Table V 6 shows that traditional crafts are significantly more important in the city than in the surrounding rural areas ($\chi^2 = 66$ for men, 71 for women, greater than .001), a pattern similar to that found in other Yoruba areas (see chapter II). Craft occupations in the city are often sharply differentiated according to compound. For example in some Okelele compounds all the adult men are weavers and many of the young boys are learning the craft. As might be expected the range of craft occupations found in the two compounds studied in depth is smaller than for the Okelele sample which included data from many different compounds.

Table V 6: Occupational Structure of Study CommunitiesA. Females

	<u>Resident</u>			<u>Occupation when away</u>		<u>Non-resident</u>		
	Rural	Urban						
1.	19	2%	-		8	4%	4	1%
2.	698	91%	170	79%	99	52%	472	95%
3.	13	2%	31	14%	5	3%	2	
4.	29	4%	12	6%	75	39%	12	2%
5.	---	-	1	-	-	-	1	
6.	---	-	1	-	-	-	-	
7.	1	-	-	-	2	1%	4	1%
8.	<u>2</u>	-	<u>-</u>	-	<u>1</u>	-	<u>-</u>	
	762		215		190		495	

B. Males

	<u>Resident</u>			<u>Occupation when away</u>		<u>Non-resident</u>		
	Rural	Urban						
1.	519	79%	33	14%	54	20%	55	7%
2.	45	7%	52	23%	41	15%	271	37%
3.	6	1%	33	14%	23	8%	9	
4.	27	4%	12	5%	32	11%	18	2%
5.	38	6%	64	28%	64	23%	291	39%
6.	3		3		5		16	2%
7.	18	3%	30	3%	48	18%	66	9%
8.	<u>2</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>11</u>	
	658		228		272		737	

Key: 1. Primary occupations 2. Trading
 3. Small-scale 'traditional' crafts

Table V 6 continued

- Key: 4. Small-scale 'traditional' services.
 5. Small-scale 'modern services and manufactures.'
 6. Students
 7. Formal sector
 8. Other
-

The traditional services are equally important in the town and in the city, and are carried out by both men and women. For men the largest groups in this category are imams and drummers; for women, butchers, hair plaiters and house-servants. The small-scale enterprises which I have characterised as modern solely on the grounds of their relative recentness in the society often combine manufacturing, sales and repairs in a single enterprise. This category includes drivers, motor repairers, carpenters, 'iron benders' and photographers and as one would expect it forms an important cluster of occupations for Ilorin men. With the occasional exception of tailoring, jobs in this category are exclusively a male preserve.

Trading is significantly more important for resident women than for resident men. Only 11 per cent of the men claim to be traders while 91 per cent of the rural women and 79 per cent of the urban women give trading as their main occupation. There are some differences in the types of trading carried

out by rural and urban women. Trading based on rural resources, such as the preparing and selling of èkó (a cold maize meal snack), locust beans and shea butter is monopolised by rural women who sell them in the rural markets and in Ilorin. Because of the arduous work involved in preparing shea butter and locust beans and the availability of cheap imported substitutes, kerosene and 'maggi' soup cubes, the returns for such work are low and production is declining. Women who have worked away from the villages seldom return to such tasks. Rural women also dominate the small-scale trade in food crops which focuses on the rural periodic markets. Women in towns are more likely to trade in manufactured goods or prepare hot cooked food for sale than their rural sisters.

Of the small number of resident men and women employed in the formal sector, only one is employed in a factory, while 38 are employed in government or in associated service enterprises such as schools and hospitals. This reflects the greater role of such agencies as sources of employment in the state capital of Ilorin. For example, the state civil service has expanded rapidly in recent years. In 1971 there were only 3,735 people employed in the various state ministries, in 1974/5 8,656 (Kwara State 1973; Kwara State 1976b: 25), and in 1979 13,167.² However it appears that the urban study population has not been

able to take full advantage of these expanding opportunities. Perhaps this is because they lack the formal education to do so and find it easier to obtain remunerative employment in the informal sector in which so many of them are already active and which is expanding with the growth of the Ilorin population.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NON-RESIDENT POPULATION

Trading is the most important occupation for non-resident women, occupying 95 per cent of them. It is likely that this figure is an exaggeration for if the resident household head could not remember the non-residents occupation he might simply give the occupation perceived as most important for women. Women in towns continue as small-scale traders in a field where much of the more lucrative large-scale trading is dominated by men (Sudarkasa 1973: chapter 4; Remy 1976; Mintz 1971). Thirty seven per cent of the non-resident men are traders.

As males from rural areas give up their major occupation, farming, when they move to towns they experience a greater change in occupation than do women, although like women they remain predominantly in the informal sector. Most of the men take jobs in towns in which they have had little or no prior experience in the rural environment. Indeed, the opportunity to take such jobs can be seen as one of the major attractions of urban residence.

The largest number of urban males are employed in 'modern' small-scale services and manufacturing. 185 men, nearly all of whom live in cities, are recorded as drivers, a broad category which includes drivers' mates, touts and vehicle drivers as well as vehicle owners. These jobs are generally more remunerative than small-scale farming which most men did in the rural area and the petty trading which occupies most women. Hence it appears that the economic status of the women who move to the towns may be lower, vis à vis their husbands, than it was in the rural area. It may be, however, that women's occupational continuity minimises the stress of moving to a new area. An important additional advantage of petty trading is that the women can continue to combine such work with looking after young children.

It is useful to compare the occupations of the men who are non-resident with those residents who have completed circulation. The fact that fewer of those who are away are farmers reflects the change from rural or farming destinations to urban ones in Nigeria in the recent past (Green 1974: Mabogunje 1970b). An increase in the proportion of absent males engaged in the modern small-scale service and manufacturing sector reflects the increasing importance of urban destinations and the growth of this sector of the economy in the country as a whole.

Although employment in the informal sector

does provide some opportunities for those with little formal education to acquire wealth and status, few members of the study community can be said to have become members of the elite. One member of a powerful Ilorin family is now a state legislator for the rural constituency in which his family has their rural power base. A few non-resident traders, including a handful of women, own houses and lorries in Lagos. While their base in trade excludes them from true elite membership these people do provide an example of upward mobility and a possible source of patronage for aspiring migrants from their home settlements (see Lloyd 1974). The future outlook for employment in the formal sector for people in the study communities is not encouraging. Very few of them have post-primary education, none is yet a university graduate (although two are university students). Thus it appears that the present patterns of occupation and of recruitment into employment will continue in the foreseeable future.

CONCLUSIONS - THE NEED TO DISAGGREGATE DATA

Although all the inhabitants of the Ilorin region are exposed to economic pressures which might prompt them to find work elsewhere, this brief study of the resident and non-resident population of twelve communities indicates that the extent to which people perceive of opportunities and are able to act on them

may vary considerably from place to place. The differences in the demographic and related characteristics between communities appear to justify examining these settlements individually rather than dealing with the data on an exclusively aggregate level. To aggregate the data would be to misrepresent the reality. For it appears that the opportunity structure for the various study communities varies considerably and is, in turn, related to the context of the mobility system focusing on each of the places studied.

Footnotes

1. New Nigerian, January 7, 1981, p 14.
2. Speech by J. O. Obajemu, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Establishments and Training, Ilorin August 1979.

CHAPTER VI

THE MOBILITY SYSTEM IN THE ILORIN REGION

THE CLASSIFICATION OF POPULATION CIRCULATION

In identifying the various kinds of movement which occur in the mobility system based on the Ilorin region I will take as a starting point the typology devised by Gould and Prothero (1975) which recognises the distinction between circulation and migration. My typology will focus on circulation, on moves originating from the home base and involving an eventual expected return. Within this framework forms of multilocality which may be associated with circulation can also be recognised.

In this typology only movements beyond the settlement and its associated farm land are considered. They are classified according to the space within which they occur and their duration. The spatial dimension can be expressed in terms of linear distance or its social or economic transformation. Such a transformation is important here because the movers' perception of distance is based on the social and economic context within which mobility occurs, on the strength of links with people living elsewhere and on the time and expenses occurred in such movements.

A distinction can be made between the urban and rural origins and destinations of the moves. The

distinction being made here is that between urban and rural places; no assumptions are made about the extent to which differences in size, services provided and employment opportunities are related to differences in life-style or patterns of interaction (see chapter I).

The time dimension of each circulatory movement can be divided into four categories; daily, periodic, seasonal and long-term. Periodic movement involves a stay away of at least one night. Seasonal movements relate to annual variations in the pattern of agricultural work or other activities. In Gould and Prothero's typology a long-term move lasts for at least one year although it does not preclude brief visits to other places during that time, for example to the home base. In this study I have treated every spell of residence of more than three months duration as a long-term move providing it does not primarily partake of the character of a seasonal move. This period is recognised by residents and non-residents alike as the approximate time necessary to establish residence by an indigene in the home area, or in the new work place (see chapter IV). The survey did, however, reveal that only 22 (4 per cent) of the 557 long-term moves recorded by present residents and seven of the 36 known second moves were of less than one year's duration.

Table VI 1 shows that only three of the 16 possible types of circulation were not found in the

Table VI 1: A Typology of Population Circulation

	daily	periodic	seasonal	long-term
rural-rural	***	***	***	***
rural-urban	***	***	---	***
urban-rural	***	***	***	***
urban-urban	---	***	---	***

*** indicates types of mobility recorded in the Ilorin region.

After Gould and Prothero (1975)

Ilorin region. Regular urban-urban daily movements were not encountered, largely because of the distance of other urban centres from Ilorin. The nature of urban-urban movement is not such that it is likely to give rise to seasonal movements. Although some urban dwellers move seasonally to farm no rural people were recorded as moving to the city seasonally. Table VI 2 gives a brief description of the various kinds of movement which have been recorded in the Ilorin region and shows the great range which occurs within each category. Multilocality may be associated with all these forms of circulation but the rights and privileges associated with it are not necessarily the same in all cases.

The different types of circulation described in table VI 2 can be shown diagrammatically as they occur in a particular location. The various forms of population circulation to, from and through a

Table VI 2: Population Circulation in the Ilorin

		<u>Region</u>
DAILY		
<u>rural-rural</u>	-	traders to periodic markets
	-	families to family festivals
	-	women and children visiting women's relatives in her settlement of origin
	-	farmers to outlying farms
	-	movement to schools and rural amenities
<u>rural-urban</u>	-	families to Ilorin compounds for social visits and Islamic festivals
	-	rural adults to Ilorin to work and trade
	-	men accompany district head for Islamic festivals in Ilorin
<u>urban-rural</u>	-	farmers leave town compounds for family farms
	-	town-dwelling adults work in rural areas
	-	urban-based traders visit rural areas
<u>urban-urban</u>	-	none found
PERIODIC		
<u>rural-rural</u>	-	families and individuals visit relatives and for Islamic festivals
	-	individuals go to work in formal and in- formal sector - tailors, drummers, craft workers, teachers etc.
<u>rural-urban</u>	-	families and individuals go to town for social visits and Islamic festivals

Table VI 2 continued

Periodic circulation

- rural-urban - men accompany district head to Ilorin
for Islamic festivals
- craftsmen, traders and imams visit
Lagos and other towns
- visits to relatives and friends working
in Lagos and Ilorin
- urban-rural - families and individuals to related
farm settlements to visit and farm
- urban-urban - Ilorin people visit relatives working
in other towns
- Ilorin people trade in other towns

SEASONAL

- rural-rural - migrant labourers to rural areas
- urban-urban - none found
- rural-urban - none found
- urban-rural - from Ilorin to related farm settlements
during main agricultural season

LONG-TERM CIRCULATION

- rural-rural - agricultural colonisation by rural people
- permanent farming by former migrant
labourers
- fostering of children
- rural-urban - to work in towns
- children to towns for schooling,
fostering with relatives as house-
servants and apprentices

Table VI 2 continued

Long-term circulation

- urban-rural - from Ilorin to farm family lands
 - widows returning to natal compounds
- urban-urban - from Ilorin to work in other towns
 - fostering of children and apprenticeship (especially in weaving)
-

particular point in the sub-system can be related to those observed at other points. Figure VI 1 indicates some of the possible movements from a permanent base in a rural settlement as well as the possible ways in which they are linked to the wider mobility system.

THE MOBILITY SYSTEM - LINEAR DISTANCE

It is clear that there are a number of points of continuity and discontinuity in the experience of the residents and non-residents. What is needed is an overall framework within which to integrate long- and short-term movements which constitute the total mobility system and can also be seen as patterns of social interaction occurring at different scales. As full mobility data was not collected for non-resident members of households or for short-term movers into the study settlements, this analysis is restricted to the mobility system of the permanent residents of the Ilorin area study settlements.

Perhaps the easiest way of analysing the

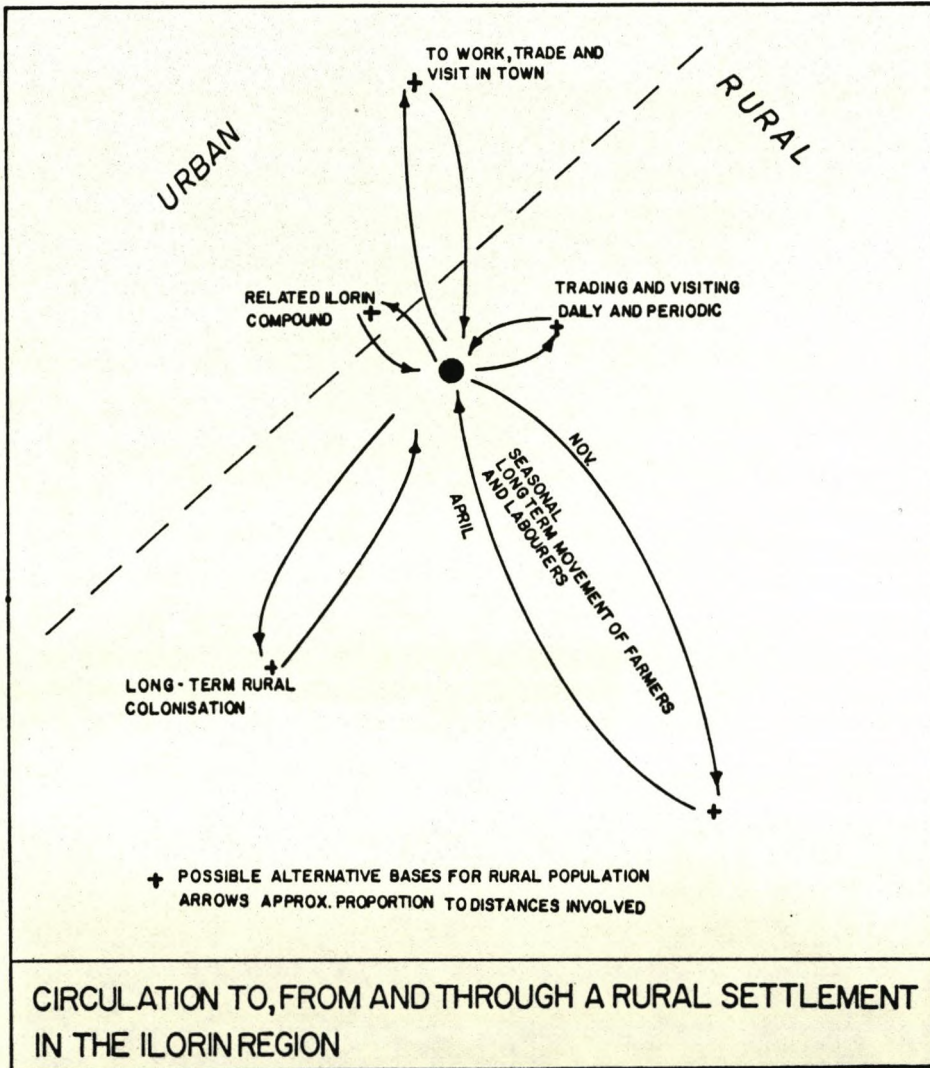


Figure VI 1

mobility system, although not necessarily the most illuminating, is to consider the various kinds of mobility as covering a distinctive range of distances from the home settlements and arranged in order reflecting the median distance of each type of movement from the home base. Because of the high level of deviation from the mean, the median is the best single measure of distance for the characterisation of each mobility type. Each mobility range can thus be seen as a 'field' characterised by a particular kind of interaction.

The most highly localised element of the mobility system is that encompassed by women who move on marriage. Historians of Europe have identified an 'isolate', an area of possible interaction limited by the range of movement by foot which defined the area from which people in a particular settlement might find marriage partners (Jones 1981; Perry 1969). In the Ilorin region such limitations on movement have been removed by the advent of relatively cheap motorised transport but the preference for spouses from the immediate home area remains. As marriage here is virilocal it is the women and not the men who move on marriage. Half of the women not born in the settlements in which they now live were born within 13 kilometres of that settlement, within the approximate range of one day's return journey on foot. Only 20 per cent were born more than 50 kilometres away. The skewed nature of this distribution is

clearly shown in figure VI 2 A in which there is a clustering of short-distance moves to the women's present home settlement. In spite of the high incidence of long-term circulation only one resident male indigene had taken a wife from beyond the Ilorin region. The few other women born far afield were either non-indigenes who came to the area with their husbands or members of local families living elsewhere at the time of their birth.

The next element in the interlocking mobility system is the area covered by most recent visits, either daily or overnight. Half of such visits by adults were within a 17 kilometre radius of the home base and 86 per cent within a radius of 54 kilometres, the distance of the furthest rural settlement from Ilorin, as shown in figure VI 2 B. As some of these visits were overnight visits they do not accurately reflect the spatial pattern of daily circulation in which the range of distances would probably be somewhat smaller.

The median distance of the last recorded overnight visit, the most recent example of periodic circulation, is 40 kilometres and a number of more distant destinations show clearly, as in Figure VI 2 C. The cluster of journeys between 300 and 360 kilometres from the home place includes journeys to Lagos, which totalled 16 per cent of all overnight visits, compared to 5 per cent of all last visits. Six of the last

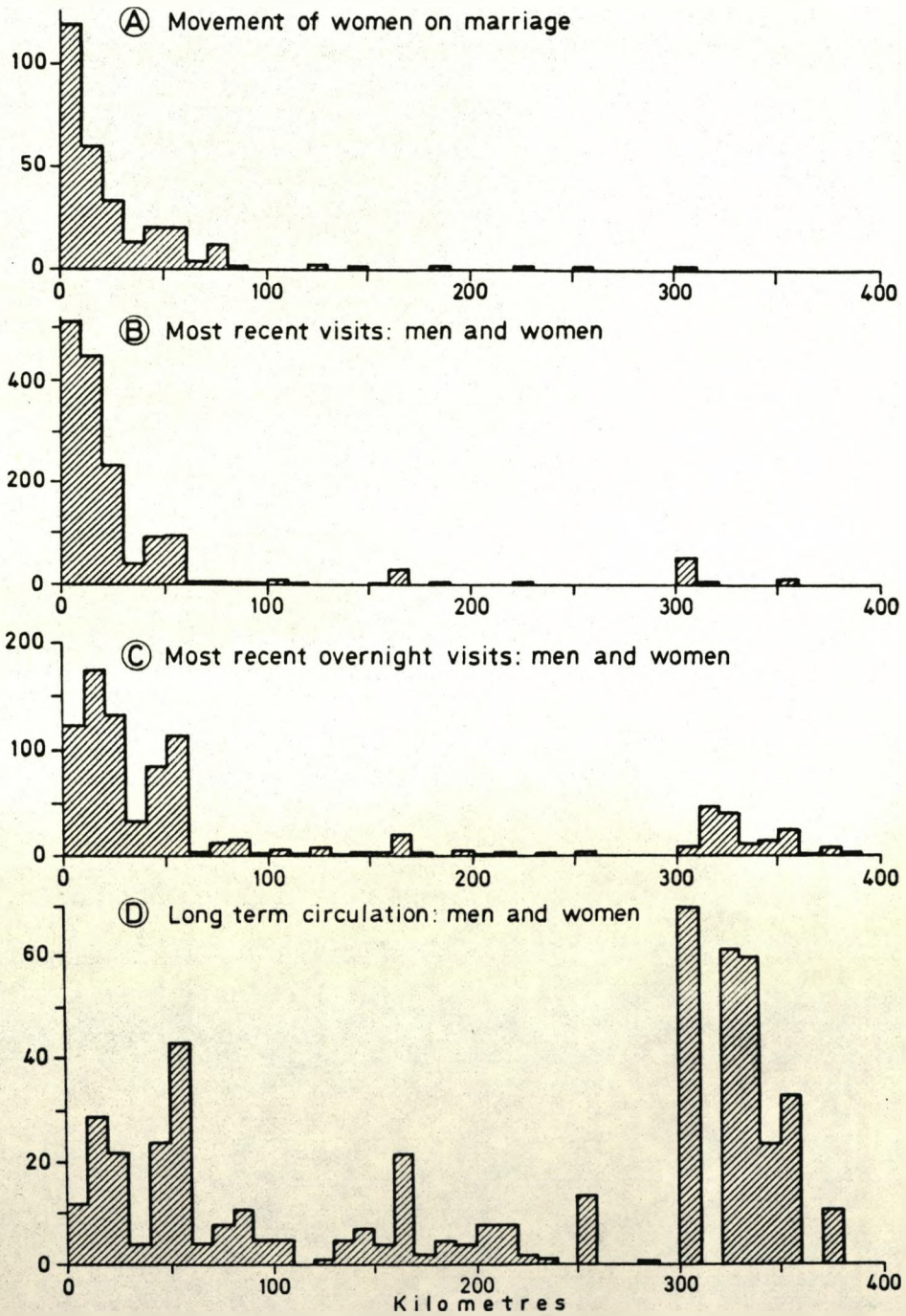


Figure VI 2: The Mobility System

overnight visits were to Mecca on the pilgrimage. The volume of current seasonal movements by residents of the study settlements is not great enough to include in this analysis; most seasonal movement in the Ilorin area involves people coming from beyond the region to work as farm labourers.

The distances covered by people who moved to live and work away from their home settlements are generally greater than the daily or periodic moves. Figure VI 2 D shows that movements to Ilorin and to nearby rural areas within a 54 kilometre radius of the home place account for 24 per cent of all moves. The next cluster of locations is between 130 and 220 kilometres from the home place and includes the cities of Ogbomosho and Ibadan and the rural areas of Ondo and Oyo States. Most marked of all is the cluster of destinations between 300 and 360 kilometres, principally to metropolitan Lagos, which assumes a far more important position here than for any other mobility type.

THE MOBILITY SYSTEM - SOCIAL DISTANCE AND INTERACTION

The study of the linear distances involved in the various forms of mobility in the Ilorin area is not very revealing. The discontinuities in the distances which characterise the various forms of movement reflect the unevenness in the distribution of economic and social opportunities in space. Such discontinuities may not be recognised by the movers themselves.

Movers transform distances into time and cost equivalents and weigh them against the various social and economic advantages involved in making a journey. For example, if transport is available directly from the village to Lagos and the trader can stay with relatives there he or she may prefer going to Lagos rather than Ilorin or Ibadan.

It is therefore necessary to interpret the mobility system in terms of social interaction patterns within the wider region and on the level of the individual settlement rather than simply as an aggregate of moves which take place in neutral space (see chapter III). Maps and diagrams of population movement should be transformed where possible from the realm of absolute space to that of relative space which reflects more accurately human perceptions of the social distances involved in such movements.

In studying social distance, Swindell (1981: 100) has distinguished between strangers and community and kinship networks in the use of labour on Gambian groundnut farms. In my study social distance involves kinship and community networks extended over space seen from the point of view of the resident members of the study settlements. In figure VI 3 A and B, A indicates the median linear distance associated with each type of movement from the settlement and B represents a transformation of linear distance into social distance rendered on a semi-logarithmic scale

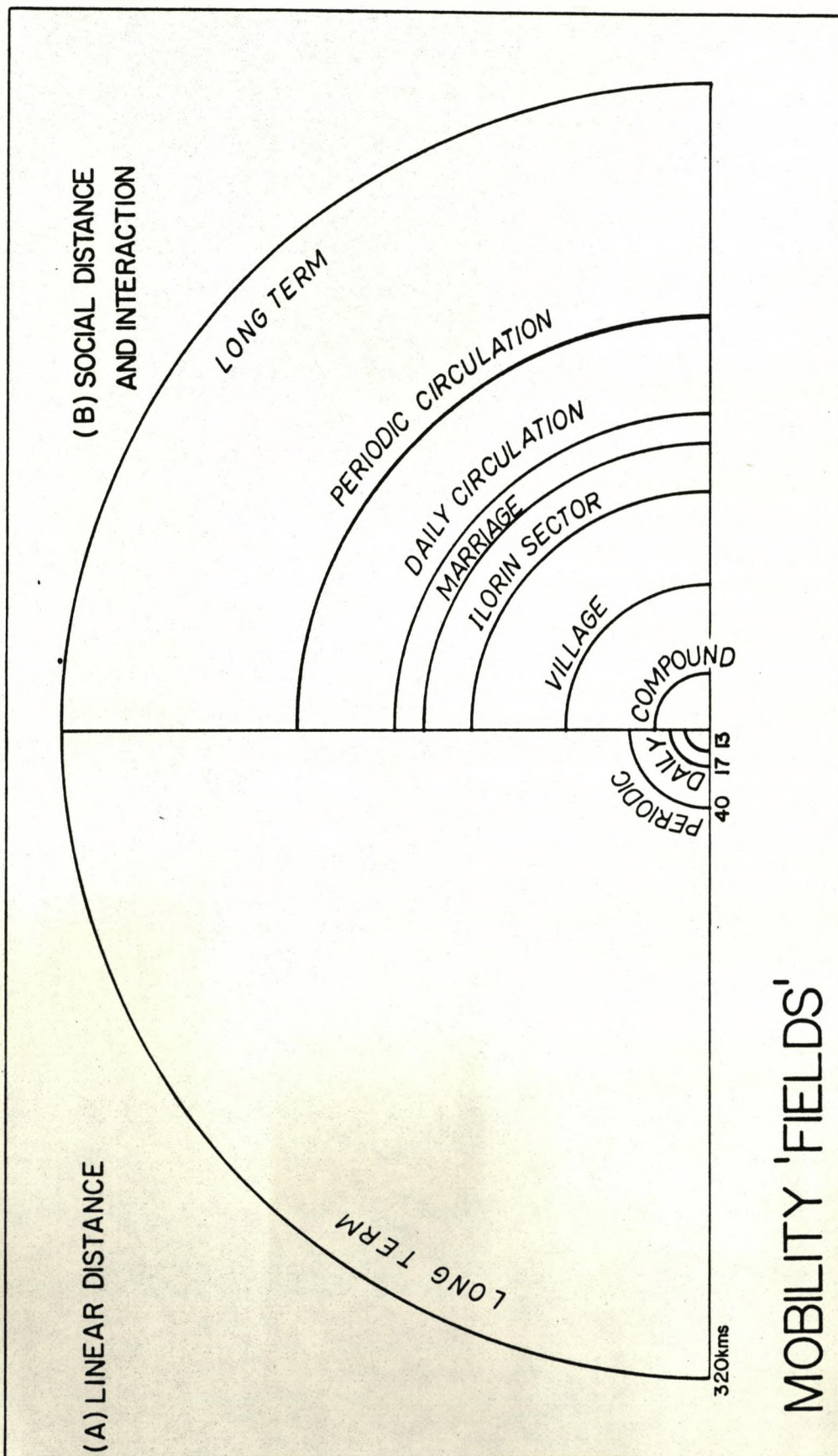


Figure VI 3

which illustrates the continuity between the different forms of circulation. Activity spaces on the level of the village or the town sector, and the compound spaces within them are interpolated to suggest the dominance of this form of localised interaction in the day to day life of the individuals concerned and to relate them to other forms of movement beyond the home settlement. Figure VI 3 B can be said to reflect more accurately than 3 A the relationship between different forms of mobility as they are perceived by the actors involved.

An understanding of the mobility system which stresses social rather than linear distance should take into account the motives and frequency of moves and should attempt to analyse the links between different types of moves. The area from which marriage partners are taken is almost coterminous with that covered by the most recent visits for local level interaction is the basis for marriage agreements. The reputation of the prospective spouses' family and the settlement in which he or she lives is a more important consideration in the marriage than it would be in a monogamous society in which the couple usually sets up a separate household independent of kin links. Even if such interaction takes place beyond the home settlement it usually involves people from the same general home area.

The study of daily circulation in the Ilorin

region focuses on movements beyond the settlement of residence, on social interaction between rather than within the settlements. The village space in figure VI 3 B encompasses interaction within the physical confines of the village and with village people in such short-distance moves as those of men to the farm and women to fetch water and firewood. The town space occupies the larger area within which the urban resident moves each day. During the week before the survey 624 of the 899 women for whom we have information, 70 per cent, and 521 of 852 men, 61 per cent, moved beyond the confines of the home settlement and its immediate surroundings either for a daily or an overnight visit.

The commonest form of daily circulation for rural women is to the local periodic markets and it is here that they meet female kin who have married men living in nearby settlements. Although markets differ in size and some have a reputation for certain agricultural products, women generally move between one or two local markets taking advantage of their periodicity, for neighbouring markets rarely operate on the same day (see map VII 3; also Hodder and Ukwu 1969; Smith 1979/80). Half of the rural women go to a nearby four-day market every market day, and twelve per cent go to more than one, as shown on table VI 3. In the village of Romi 93 per cent of the women claim to go every market day to

Table VI 3: Rural Women's Visits to Markets

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Aregun	58	50%	10	2	119
Aribi	56	41%	39	-	127
Falokun	53	52%	35	8	110
Igbodun	17	36%	26	10	57
Oke Bode	15	47%	1	1	33
Romi	63	93%	4	1	68
Sosoki	31	62%	15	16	68

Key: 1. Number of women leaving the village to go to a nearby periodic market every market day.

2. Proportion of women in column 1 of total women for whom there is information.

3. Number of women who claim they never go to a periodic market.

4. Missing values.

5. Total number of resident women in each settlement.

Falokun and Sosoki also have periodic markets but these are very small and of less importance to village women than those elsewhere. Information on Ode Ode is incomplete.

Bukase and/or Igbetti markets. Although these meet on the same day Bukase meets in the morning and Igbetti in the afternoon; they are both situated on the main road and can profitably be visited on the same day.

The variations from village to village in the proportion of women who never visit markets is not easy to interpret. In the case of Igbodun and Falokun it may reflect the older median age of the women and the fact that some of them are fully occupied looking after grandchildren or are supported by absent sons and daughters. Relatively few women leave Bala regularly for other rural markets as the village has its own important market, which 45 of the 139 women attend every market day. However, 57 of the Bala women had been to Ilorin in the week before the survey. The main occupation of half of the Bala women is the making and selling of èkó, cold maize meal cakes. The women spend two or three days in the village preparing the cakes and every third or fourth day they go to Ilorin to sell them. These visits also reinforce links between the village and related city compounds.

There is no significant difference in the frequency of the last visit beyond the home settlement for men and women, or between the rural settlements. However men and women do not give the same reasons for their visits. Trading is significantly less

Table VI 4: Reasons for Most Recent Visit Beyond

	<u>Home Settlement</u>		
	male	female	total
no visit recorded	75	121	196
trade	231	447	678
to visit friends	197	63	260
to visit relatives	191	207	398
ceremony/festival	61	113	174
work	48	16	64
other	40	12	52
missing values	<u>70</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>121</u>
	913	1030	1943

Table VI 5: Reasons for Most Recent Overnight Visit

	male	female	total
no visit	364	395	759
trade	72	74	146
visit friend	87	48	135
visit relative	138	239	377
ceremony/festival	96	181	277
work	32	10	42
other	25	6	31
missing values	<u>99</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>176</u>
	913	1030	1943

important for men than for women, as shown in table VI 4 ($\chi^2 = 47$, greater than .001) and a far greater proportion of men than women visit friends. Although men are often seen at local markets they go primarily for social reasons and regard small-scale trading as women's work.

The high level of periodic circulation in the Ilorin region is revealed by the fact that just over one fifth (21 per cent) of the resident adults for whom there is information had spent a night away from home during the week before the survey. On such visits people generally exercise reciprocal rights based on kinship or, less frequently, on friendship. If these rights are exercised for a prolonged period of time in one other place it is easy to see how the individual might eventually become multilocal; alternatively the persistence of such visits might reflect a process of movement away from a group of kin or a lineage and the establishment of a new home base.

There is little apparent difference in the frequency of overnight visits between men and women but the reasons they give for going show clearly that most overnight visits are of a different character from the most recent visits, as shown in tables VI 4 and 5. For women overnight visits are predominantly to relatives (43 per cent), or for a ceremony or festival (32 per cent). Such visits may reflect the maintenance of residential rights by women

in their natal compounds; rights which, should they be divorced or widowed, they can resume on a permanent basis. A significantly greater number of men than women give work related reasons (other than trade) for their last overnight visit ($\chi^2 = 16$, greater than .001). Men are also significantly more likely to visit friends than are women ($\chi^2 = 21$, greater than .001). These contrasts reflect the social separation between male and female spheres which is found in most Yoruba-speaking areas; the women interact mainly with female kin and the men with other men on the basis of friendship (Peil 1975).

The importance of social rather than economic motives for periodic circulation may also relate such visits to long-term circulation patterns. The survey data does not suggest a direct relationship between periodic and long-term circulation between the home place and the places where many non-residents work. However it appears from informal interviews in the study settlements that there is a considerable amount of interaction on this level in some of the villages.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the foregoing comments it seems reasonable to treat the various forms of mobility found in the Ilorin region as a system which operates in social space. An analysis of moves in objective

space which uses linear distance, rather than considering distance as perceived by the movers themselves, emphasises the discontinuities between the various kinds of circulation without actually suggesting any explanation for the spatial patterns revealed. Overall differences in the spatial distribution of economic opportunities may be reflected in such patterns of movement. But the significant differences in the rates of out-movement from the various settlements which were indicated in chapter V cannot be explained by a hypothesis which merely suggests that people move in response to economic opportunities.

A qualitative analysis of the social interaction patterns involved in the various forms of mobility is useful for it stresses the continuities between the different types of movement as they are perceived by the residents themselves. It also provides a framework for a study of the opportunity structure and mobility system of each settlement and of the Ilorin region as a whole.

CHAPTER VII

LONG TERM RURAL-RURAL MOVEMENTS

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL-RURAL MOVEMENTS

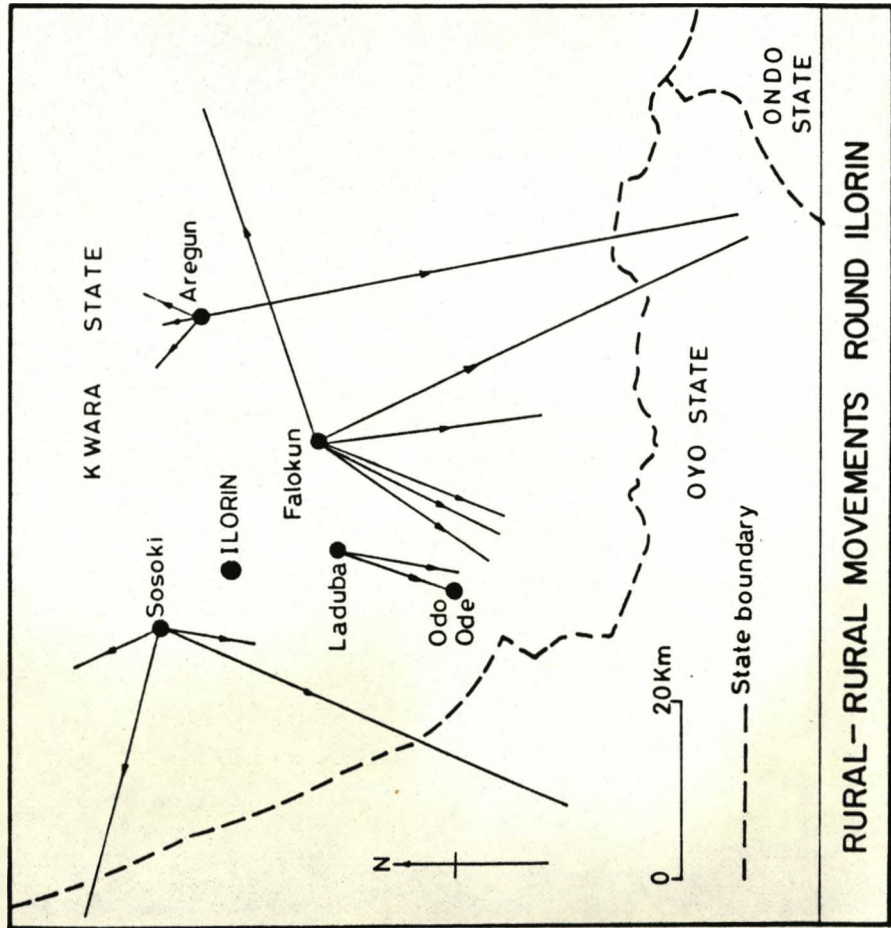
Long term rural-rural movements in the Ilorin area occur within the region and extend beyond it. As some settlements within the region were founded relatively recently, where permanent migration occurs the stages in the shift of the action space of a household or an individual to a new settlement can still be traced. In such cases residential and cultivation rights are usually transferred gradually and hence a period of multilocality is involved. It is sometimes possible to identify circulation to new destinations, especially towns, from relatively newly established rural settlements and to relate this movement to the town-ward movements also occurring from the original home place.

Whether circulation or migration occurs within the rural sphere people continue to interact with the area of origin and this interaction often stimulates further long-term movement from the original home settlement. Thus whether people are temporary or permanent movers they are part of a mobility system involving home area and new destination and there may be no marked difference between the destinations of the two types of long-term moves.

The general direction of long-term rural movement by people who have left some of the survey villages either temporarily or permanently is illustrated in map VII 1. The major direction of movement has been from areas close to the city to areas of less dense population further away. This colonisation movement is an expansion of the 'island' of relatively high population density around the city similar to that which has been observed from other relatively stable centres of population in the Middle Belt (see chapter III; also Agboola 1968; Gleave and White 1969).

Mabogunje (1970b) makes a useful distinction between two forms of rural-rural movement. The first is a colonising movement to relatively underpopulated and underdeveloped areas such as has occurred from the area closest to Ilorin. The second type of movement is to more developed areas, usually zones of export cash crop production rather than food production. This type of movement includes that from the Ilorin region south to the cocoa belt and the movement of migrant labourers from the north of Nigeria and other parts of the Middle Belt to the Ilorin region. Mabogunje (1970b) and Amin (1974: 78 sqq) assume that both of these types of movement are permanent.

The few small-scale studies of colonisation in the Middle Belt pay little direct attention to circulation and multilocality. They examine such



Map VII 1

topics as the dissolution of hill settlements originally established as a protection against Nupe and Fulani raiders and the expansion of settlements into formerly disputed land (Hocking 1977; Gleave 1963, 1965 and 1966; Netting 1968). Studies of agricultural colonisation in western Nigeria tend to stress the physical expansion of farmland rather than the processes which sustain the outward movement (Adejuwon 1971; Goddard 1965). What is needed is a model of rural-rural movement which gives due regard to the processes involved in such movements and the interactions which sustain them.

A MODEL OF LONG-TERM MOBILITY

A simple sequential model of the processes involved in rural-rural movement takes as its starting point the analysis of settlement processes introduced in chapter III in which daughter or offshoot settlements are established from a main or mother settlement. The model describes the way in which such a process may be completed and how, in turn, the people from the daughter settlement may leave for the towns and their labour on the farms is replaced by seasonal migrant farm workers from other parts of Nigeria. Each of these stages may not be completed by all residents of the offshoot settlement before the next stage begins. This sequence does provide a useful framework within which to analyse

long-term rural-rural movements in the context of the total mobility system and to identify the different forms of multilocality involved.

The first stage of the model begins with the establishment of a rural or daughter settlement as shown in figure VII 1. Such a settlement may have its origin in a hut temporarily occupied during the busiest time of the year on outlying farmland. Daily and periodic visits between the parent settlement (A) and the new settlement (B) are associated with trading and with family and religious festivals. During this stage some migrants may gradually complete the transfer of residence and cultivation rights to the new settlement which then becomes their permanent home. The completion of such a process for some of the inhabitants can be said to mark the end of the first stage of the model.

The second stage is initiated when some families and individuals who have transferred some or all of their residential and cultivation rights to the new settlement seek for alternative employment in the towns (C in figure VII 1, II). During this time periodic and/or daily circulation continues between the original main and offshoot settlements and the towns where the non-residents from these two settlements live.

The third stage begins when the volume of movement to the towns is such that there are no longer

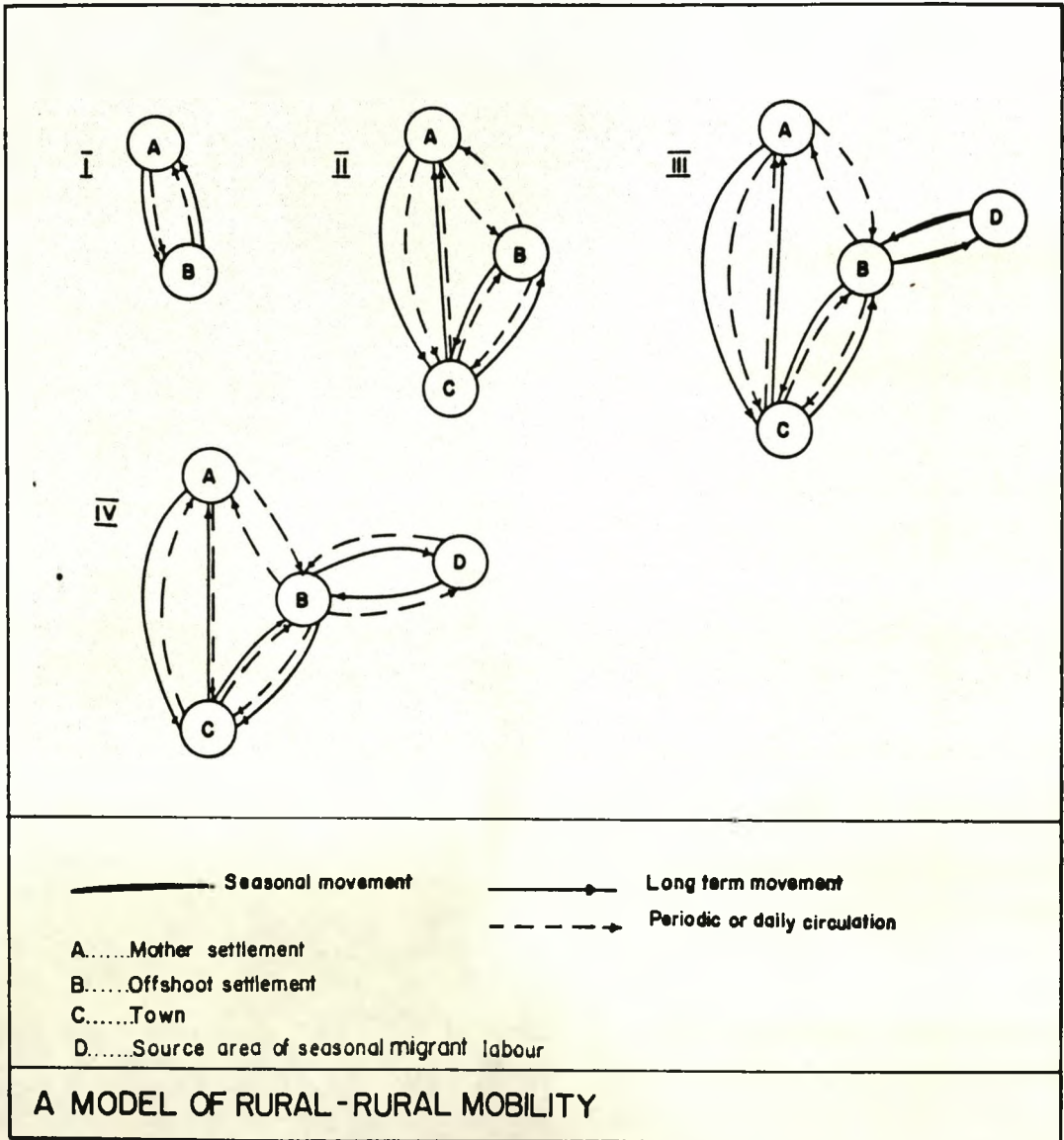


Figure VII 1

enough local men in the economically active age groups to farm effectively and migrant labourers begin to work in the village. This movement is generally one in which people from remoter less developed areas of the north of Nigeria and other parts of the Middle Belt move into an area which is relatively more developed.

A fourth stage in the model occurs when some migrant labourers return to their place of origin for much shorter visits than previously and are no longer able to help with farming there. Some families have made this change from seasonal to long-term circulation and more can be expected to do so in future. Figure VII 1, IV shows that at this stage periodic circulation links all four areas and long-term circulation links the offshoot settlement to the towns and to the area which formerly supplied seasonal labourers.

A similar step-wise model has been suggested by Adegbola (1972 and 1976a) for the northern part of Oshun Division of Oyo State. Here the local people began to move south to farm in the cocoa belt, a more developed rural area, during the 1940s and 1950s. Their place was taken by labourers from poorer areas immediately to the north, in the Ilorin emirate. More recently this area has experienced an influx of seasonal migrant labourers from Benue and Plateau States who work for the local farmers and for people

from Ilorin who have established their own permanent farms. All these groups perceive of their destinations as places of economic opportunity in comparison with the areas they had left. However Adegbola is not interested in the process whereby these people achieve a total or partial transition to the new area and the associated phenomenon of multilocality. Neither does he attempt to link this movement to other forms of daily or periodic circulation.

EARLY COLONISATION IN THE ILORIN REGION

After the establishment of the Fulani emirate in the city of Ilorin and the pacification of the surrounding area in the 1830s and 1840s the balóguns encouraged their dependents and slaves to leave the city and establish farms on the land they had been granted by the emir. This colonisation process was continued under the colonial regime as officials were anxious that townspeople underemployed or unemployed as a result of the decline of long-distance trade should farm in outlying rural areas and contribute to the tax rolls (Gavin 1977: 37).

In some cases the process of colonisation began with the establishment of temporary seasonally occupied camps on outlying farmland; around Ilorin the place name budo indicates such an origin. The study village of Bala originated in this way (see chapter III). In the non-metropolitan area temporary camps

known as ileko were established by Ilorin people in the early twentieth century (Aiyedun 1976: 36; Dosunmu 1981: 177). Today seasonally occupied huts are still found in the outlying farmland around the large independent village of Shao north of Ilorin (Ejidokun 1982: 12).

By the 1940s, as a result of population pressure and the reduction in the length of the fallow period, land close to the city was deteriorating. An eight to ten year cycle in which five to seven years were fallow and three were farmed had been replaced by one in which fallow had been reduced to four and even three years. As a result yields in some areas were half what they had been previously (Dundas 1942 a and 1942b). Colonial officials unsuccessfully tried to persuade farmers to practise green manuring, and later to apply chemical fertilisers.¹ Both these strategies failed as they involved additional labour or cost inputs for the farmer. As long as new land was available for cultivation there was no impetus to intensify agricultural methods in the densely populated area close to the city.

CURRENT COLONISATION FROM SOSOKI AND AREGUN

Current long-term rural movement is more common from the village of Sosoki, 15 kilometres west of Ilorin, than from any other rural study settlements. The village was originally founded from a compound

in the Adangba area of Okelele on the western fringe of Ilorin. It was a stepping stone to empty lands further north and west towards the site of the city of Old Oyo which had been abandoned during the Yoruba-Fulani wars. As the best farmland appears to lie to the west of the village it may be that the part of the village closest to Ilorin has been overfarmed.

In Sosoki village six of the forty households have non-resident members farming outside the village area. Three households have members farming in the hamlet of Iju (which means 'uncleared land' or 'bush' in Yoruba), 10 kilometres south of Igbetti in Oyo State. In the six month period following the survey two more families left for Iju claiming that the land there was more fertile than in Sosoki. Most of the present inhabitants of Iju are said to have come originally from Sosoki; only one person who once farmed in Iju lives in Sosoki. Thus it appears that most of the people who left for Iju eventually decided to stay there permanently.

Some Sosoki people did return to their natal village after farming elsewhere. Two Sosoki households returned from nearby villages in the six months after the survey as they feared losing their new cultivation rights in a land dispute. Neither of these households had been identified as non-resident members of Sosoki households in the survey as they had not originally intended to come back. They

were, however, able to resume cultivation rights in the village on their return. The three sons of one Sosoki resident who were farming in Lilebekan, north west of Sosoki, planned to return to the corrugated iron roofed house they had built in their father's compound.

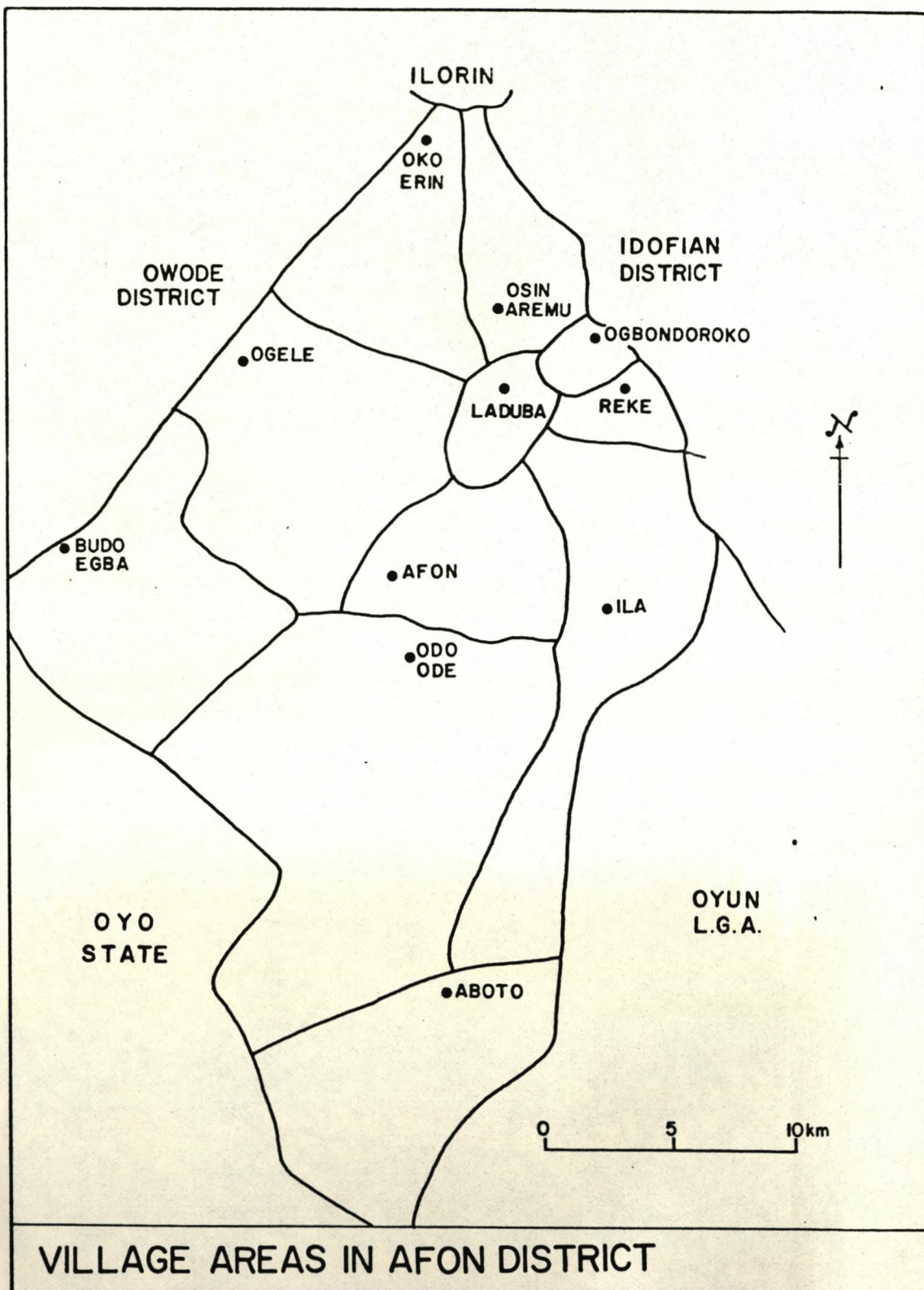
There is a considerable volume of short-distance farming movement from the village of Aregun in Ilorin LGA. Most of this movement originates from the original settlement of Aregun Oke, where eleven of the 39 households have non-resident members farming away, rather than from Aregun Isale, the adjacent offshoot settlement, where only one household out of 27 has members farming away. Five of the non-residents farm within a 25 kilometre radius on land belonging to the settlements of Agbeyangi, Igponrin, Panada and Oke Oyi. These local settlements account for 63 of the 84 most recent visits by Aregun men (75 per cent) and 70 of the 85 most recent visits by women (82 per cent), showing the inter-relationship between short and long-term movements.

Paradoxically in Aregun and Sosoki the fact that there is no land shortage may facilitate mobility as it enables the movers and their successors to maintain cultivation rights in the village of origin and return if they wish. If land is short the fear of losing existing land rights may act as a break on such movements. As farmers can keep open their

options to return and maintain their links with the home settlement by short-term circulation a move to new farmland can result in either permanent migration or long-term circulation. The acquisition of permanent land rights in nearby areas by settlers from both villages poses no problem as in both cases this land is under the jurisdiction of people belonging to the same Yoruba sub-group.

EARLY STAGES OF COLONISATION IN ODO ODE VILLAGE AREA

The process by which residence and cultivation rights are transferred from one agricultural settlement to another can be illustrated by examining the spatial distribution of the rights and obligations enjoyed by people living in the new settlements. Many new settlements were founded in village areas in the southern part of Afon District by people from the northern part of the district. Village areas were established by the colonial administration and they survive today as administrative and census units. They consist of clusters of settlements under a salaried head who is responsible for the collection of taxes. The cultivation rights in the area are usually vested in the local village head by virtue of his pre-colonial status as a local chief or 'caretaker' for an Ilorin family. Map VII 2 shows the approximate boundaries of the present village areas in Afon District, of which Odo Ode is the largest. The large size of the



VILLAGE AREAS IN AFON DISTRICT

Map VII 2

Source: IADP 1979.

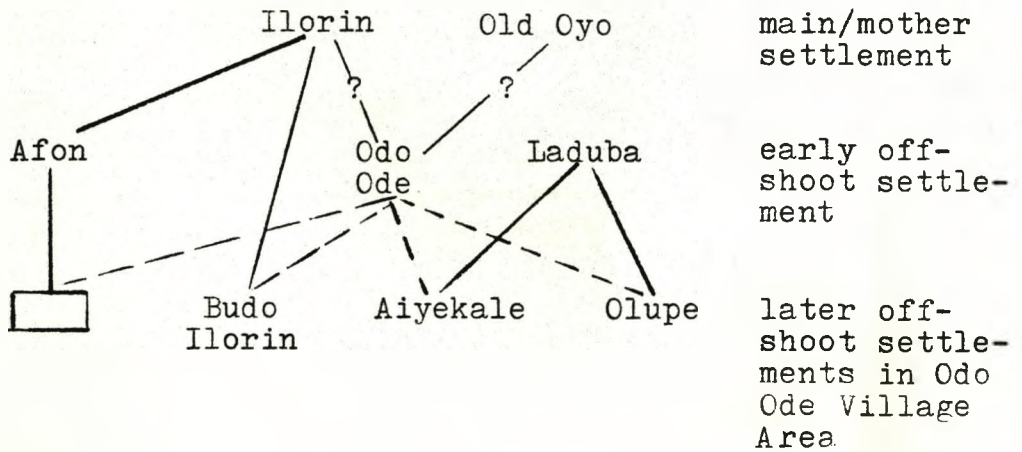
more southerly units, their general north-south orientation and the position of the main villages in the north of their respective areas reflect the movement of the population from the northern part of the area to the more sparsely populated south. In 1918 Ila Village Area had included Aboto but this was later made into an independent village area.²

The movement south from the village areas of Laduba, Ogbondoroko, Osin Aremu and Oko Erin was noted by colonial officials in 1929. By that time the once-flourishing market at Ila Oja had lost its importance to markets further south, at Aboto and at Ikotun now in Oyun LGA. The 1929 report listed eleven settlements in the Odo Ode Village Area which had been founded by people from villages closer to Ilorin.³

The movement to the new settlements often involved a period of multilocality. In 1929 the inhabitants of the new southern settlements returned frequently to their former farms where they still cultivated a little land. The colonial officers were concerned that if such people maintained two houses they should not be expected to pay taxes twice.⁴ As movement took place within an area occupied by the same Yoruba sub-group and within Northern Nigeria the eventual acquisition of permanent land rights posed no problems so long as there was land available for cultivation in the new area.

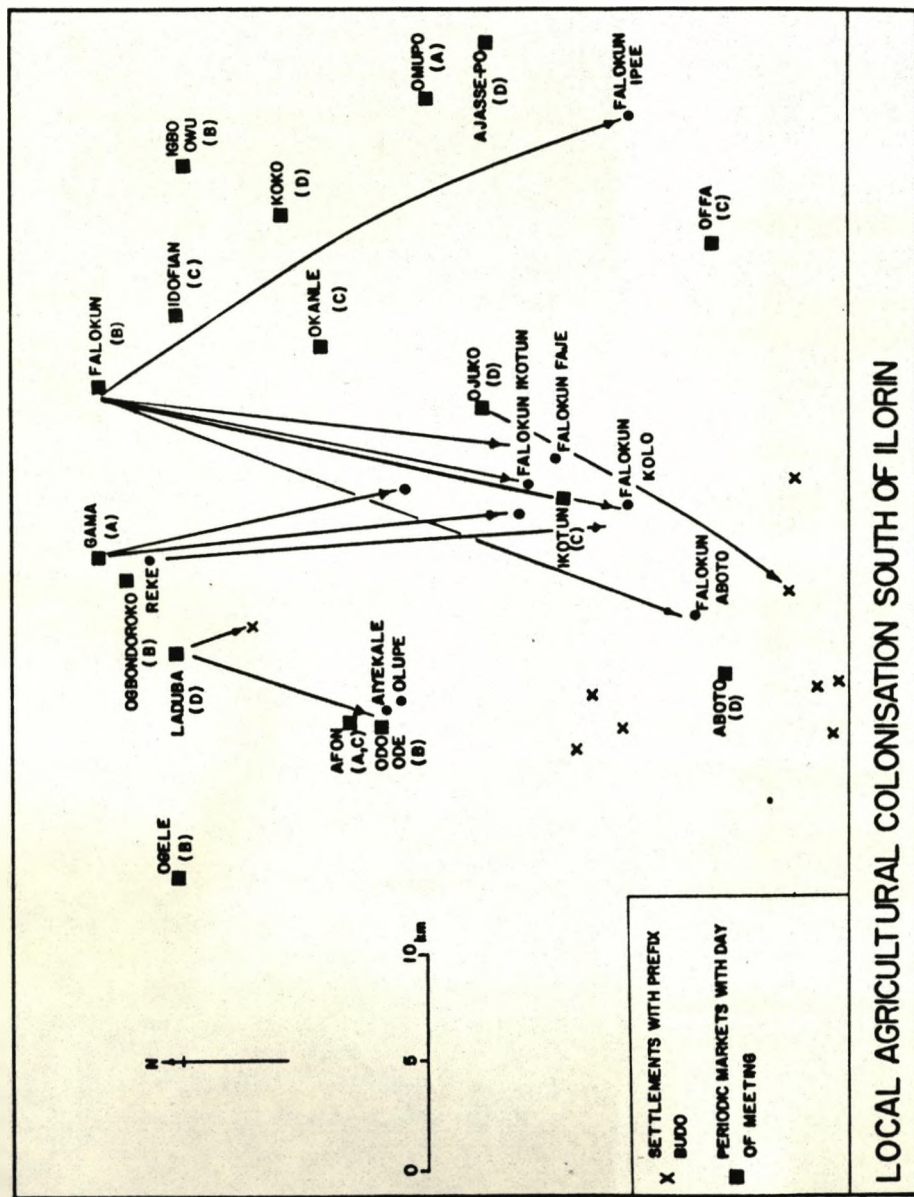
The present network of relationships linking

Figure VII 2: Part of the Settlement Network
Focusing on Odo Ode



Dotted lines indicate those settlements which asked Odo Ode for permission to settle in the village area.

Odo Ode village and some other settlements in the village area is shown in figure VII 2. Odo Ode itself can be classified as an early offshoot settlement. However, there is some dispute as to whether or not a single main or mother settlement can be identified; some villagers claim that their ancestors came from Ilorin and others claim that they came directly from Old Oyo. Laduba and Afon are also early offshoot settlements; Afon, the district headquarters, was founded by members of the Balogun Fulani family from Ilorin (Hermon-Hodge 1929: 96). Some small settlements in the area were founded directly from Ilorin, for example Budo Ilorin, 'the camp of the people from Ilorin'. Settlements in this area with the suffix budo are shown in map VII 3.



LOCAL AGRICULTURAL COLONISATION SOUTH OF ILORIN

The first stage in the model illustrated in figure VII 1 is exemplified in two hamlets in the Odo Ode Village Area. Aiyekale and Olupe are later offshoot settlements of Laduba. Olupe was founded about sixty years ago and Aiyekale, which means 'newly established' in the local Yoruba dialect, is about forty years old. The process of the transference of full residential rights to these two settlements from Laduba can still be traced. The four household heads in Aiyekale and the ten in Olupe all claim to maintain houses in Laduba although nine of them were born in the new settlements.

The first settlers in what became Olupe and Aiyekale asked the bale of Odo Ode for permission to cultivate land and agreed to pay him a nominal annual tribute, isàkólè, in recognition of the prior rights of the people of Odo Ode to the land and economically valuable trees. In this way these settlers are linked to residents in Odo Ode village itself as well as to their immediate parent settlement, as shown in figure VII 2. The present chief of Olupe, the son of the founder, collects isàkólè from five of the ten household heads, including two born in Laduba. The chief of Aiyekale collects isàkólè from the Aiyekale farmers who were born in Laduba.

At first all the settlers returned with their families to Laduba for the main Muslim festivals of Id el-Kabir and Id el-Fitr. But in 1979 only two

household heads returned to Laduba for both festivals. The Koranic teacher in Aiyekale returned with his family to Laduba for two months over Id el-Kabir and for a shorter period over Id el-Fitr.

Rights in the new settlement are acquired gradually and those in the former settlement gradually relinquished. Visits for Muslim festivals generally last for the lifetime of the pioneer settlers but residential rights in the family's settlement of origin are maintained over a longer period. The sons of people who first moved often no longer pay isàkólè and this marks their acceptance into the local community. They are no longer àléjò, strangers, for they enjoy cultivation rights on the same basis as the long-term residents of the village area.

Links between the pioneer settlement and the parent settlement are maintained by short-term circulation. Women from Olupe and Aiyekale, like women in other Yoruba-speaking areas (Hodder and Ukwu 1969: 50-51), keep in contact with their kin through visits to markets. Although they do not often visit the periodic market at Laduba itself, which is very small, ten of the fourteen women in Olupe visit Odo Ode, their nearest periodic market, every market day. Both men and women frequently return to Laduba for family festivals such as naming ceremonies, weddings and funerals. A number of children of Olupe families live in Laduba with

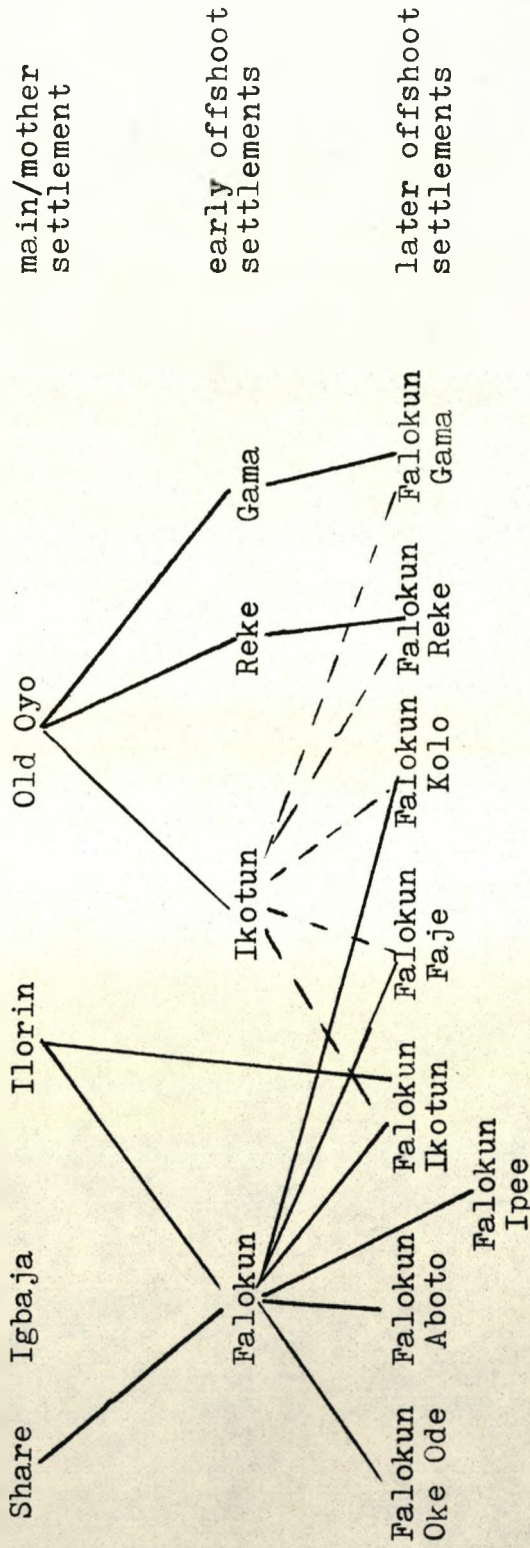
relatives so that they can attend school at the nearest primary school, at Odo Ode, is three kilometres from Olupe.

Olupe and Aiyekale are not yet fully autonomous. Because they do not have enough adult males to support a Friday mosque the men from both settlements go to the mosque in Odo Ode for the prescribed Friday prayers. Neither settlement has a fully independent bale, although each has a chief who is an intermediary between the people and the head of the higher status settlement, Odo Ode. However, some settlements which, like Aiyekale and Olupe, were founded as offshoot settlements have now become established as fully autonomous settlements with their own Friday mosque and independent bale.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DAUGHTER SETTLEMENTS FROM FALOKUN

Pioneering settlements founded earlier this century from Falokun, in Ifelodun LGA, are now fully independent settlements and the inhabitants have completed their shift of allegiance to the new settlements. The original village, founded by people from a number of different places, grew gradually throughout the later nineteenth century and was not directly affected by Ilorin's wars with Offa or Ibadan. By the second decade of the twentieth century Falokun people were looking for new lands to farm and founded six daughter settlements, shown as later offshoot

Figure VII 3: Part of the Falokun Settlement Network



Dotted lines indicate those settlements which asked Ikotun for permission to settle in the village area.

settlements in figure VII 3. One of the new settlements was founded to the north-east, near Oke Ode, and five near Offa, between twenty and forty kilometres south and south-east of the original village, as shown in map VII 3. The area near Offa was available for settlement as much of it had been abandoned during the Offa-Ilorin war in the late 1870s and 1880s.

The first settlers in the three Falokun offshoot settlements of Falokun Kolo, Falokun Faje and Falokun Ikotun had to ask permission to settle from the bale of Ikotun; in this respect their status was similar to that of the inhabitants of later offshoot settlements in the same village area such as Budo Reke, 'the camp of Reke people', and Gama Oke, 'the farm of Gama people'. The people of Falokun Ikotun claim that they had never paid isàkólè to the bale of Ikotun although they had initially acknowledged his prior right to the land. Falokun Ikotun was founded in the reign of Emir Bawa of Ilorin (1915-19). The founders of eight of the compounds originally came from Falokun and the founders of the other two from Ilorin and from Kaoju, a hamlet in the Falokun Village Area.

In the Falokun daughter settlements, unlike those studied in the Afon District, the process of separation from the parent settlement appears to be complete. It is now well over ten years since the last household left Falokun for a daughter settlement. These settlements now have their own Friday mosques,

independent bales and local improvement associations.

There is still a considerable amount of interaction between the parent village and the newer settlements. At least two children are fostered with relatives in the newer settlements. Three older women living in Falokun are daughters of men who left Falokun to settle the new farm lands and looked to their natal village for husbands for their daughters. Visits between the settlements continue and it will be a long time before all the links between Falokun and its younger offshoot settlements are severed for here, as elsewhere, daily and periodic circulation is related to long-term mobility.

STAGE TWO - OUT-MOVEMENT FROM THE DAUGHTER SETTLEMENTS

Movement to urban areas from recently established agricultural settlements can be seen as the beginning of the second stage of the mobility process. People in parent settlements such as Falokun, Igbodun and Laduba⁵ began to go to the towns in large numbers in the 1940s and 1950s. As people in the daughter settlements heard of these opportunities in the cities from their relatives and friends in the older established settlements they, too, began to leave their farms.

By the late 1940s, only thirty years after the village was first established, the inhabitants of Falokun Ikotun began to leave for Lagos. Today there

are people away in Lagos from every compound in the village and many of the non-residents are building substantial homes in the settlement. In 1945 the son of the founder of the village left for Lagos; in 1959 he retired to the village. Today one of his full brothers and two of his sons are away in the capital. Two of the other compound heads in Falokun Ikotun have also worked in Lagos and four of them now have sons working there. Thus in the space of one generation the people of Falokun Ikotun have changed from being primarily colonising farmers in a newly established rural community to people who spend most of their working lives in Lagos.

In Olupe, in Odo Ode Village Area, seven of the ten households have members living in Lagos and daughters from two households are housemaids there. The population structure of the hamlet shows a recent change comparable to that in Falokun Ikotun. The out-movement is reflected in a dearth of young adults; in a total adult population of 47 there are only two women and one man between the ages of 15 and 34.

In most settlements around Ilorin where people leave to seek work in Lagos the general opinion seems to be that such a move is a 'good thing' which contributes to the development of the individual and the home settlement. But in Olupe for the first time I came across parents who openly disapproved

of their children working in Lagos. Perhaps this reflects the fact that Olupe is an agricultural community in which the resident adult males are and always have been full-time farmers and their wives traders in the principal agricultural product, yam flour. The residents' commitment to farming is still strong and they take pride in the fact that the settlement was founded by people of their fathers' generation who left Laduba in search of better farmland. But these men and women know that they are fighting a losing battle, for their sons and daughters would rather go to Lagos than farm full-time. In such settlements circulation now occurs between three places, the farm hamlet, the parent settlement and the city. In this way what started as rural-rural movement has become an urban movement which is linked to the total mobility system in many different ways.

STAGE THREE - THE INFLUX OF MIGRANT LABOURERS

The third stage in the mobility sequence begins with the influx of migrants to replace the labour of those who have left for the towns. This occurs in well established as well as in newer settlements. People working outside the village send back money to the old people so that they can employ labourers on the farm. Alternatively, residents pay labourers with money they earned in town. Although there is no statistically significant relationship between the

employment of migrant labourers and long-distance circulation to towns from the various rural study settlements it is noteworthy that the two places with the highest rate of past and present long-term circulation, Falokun and Igbodun, also have the highest proportion of farmers reporting that they employ migrant labour.

Initially the movement of labourers into this area was clearly seasonal and in many cases it still is. A seasonal movement is defined as one associated with absence from the home base at particular times of the year which can be related to seasonal activities (Gould and Prothero 1975). In the extreme north of Nigeria where the season of rainfed agriculture is very short it is possible for people to leave for six months in the dry season without any adverse impact on the local agricultural system. Before long-distance movements to southern farms and cities became important farmers travelled locally and over long distances during the dry season as traders and craftsmen. In the early 1950s Prothero found that only 11 per cent of the males leaving the Sokoto area were away for more than six months and that there was no evidence of those moves becoming permanent (Prothero 1957 and 1959; see also Goddard 1974). As the rains begin in Ilorin about two months before they do in Sokoto (Agboola 1979: 40), migrant labourers from the north can usefully be employed during the period

of heavy labour demand at the beginning of each new farming season.

The largest group of migrant labourers in the Ilorin region is from Benue and Plateau States, mostly Tiv and Gwari. Seasonal labourers work during the wet season around Ilorin and return home in time for the yam harvest in late November or early December. They stay at home over Christmas, the main religious festival for the Christian majority, and return to Ilorin in time for the beginning of the new agricultural year with the onset of the rains in March and early April. A recent study of migrants which focused on their place of origin, Oturkpo in Benue State, noted that the seasonal migrants generally left their home area any time between January and April and returned in November or December in time to help with the harvest (Ike 1975: 47).

Labourers were interviewed in an unsystematic fashion at various times of the year in five of the study villages. As shown in table VII 1, all of the interviews except those in Aregun took place during the wet season when the migrants would normally be working in the area. In Aregun only five of the 34 men interviewed had returned home the previous year. However elsewhere the annual visit home is still important and 37 of the 44, 84 per cent for whom there is information, had been home during the previous twelve months. All but four of the

Table VII 1: Origin of Migrant Labourers in

	<u>Various Settlements</u>					
	Benue/ Plateau	West	Sokoto	other	time of year of survey	total
Romi	13	-	1	1	March	15
Sosoki	18	2	-	1	September	21
Aregun	11	10	7	6	January	34
Igbodun	8	-	-	-	October	8
Odo Ode	<u>9</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	June	<u>9</u>
	59	12	8	8		87

married men have their wives and families with them.

In the Ilorin region it is usual for local people to provide migrant labourers working in their area with a house (frequently one belonging to a family living away) and land on which to grow subsistence crops. All but two of the 78 men for whom there is information farm in the host area, and many of their wives are occupied full-time on these plots. In Sosoki, Aregun and Romi they pay a nominal tribute, isàkólè, as do other non-indigenous farmers. In Odo Ode and Igbodun they claim to pay no formal tribute although they give small gifts to members of the compound whose land they cultivate. Some of the migrants cultivate yams, which have a longer growing season than maize or guinea corn and this limits the time they can spend at home during the year.

In Odo Ode village the wives of a number of Gwari labourers have been given permission to collect palm kernels to make palm oil, as a number of them had done while they had lived in Oyo State. As the Odo Ode women do not exploit this local resource, preferring to concentrate on the making of shea butter and the collecting of locust beans, the migrant women can be seen as innovators making use of a resource neglected by local people. Their husbands, although still making most of their money as farm labourers, are planning to cultivate rice on land flooded by the Asa Dam; this too is an activity not practised by local people. In general the Gwaris are energetic farmers intent on developing local resources, whereas the focus of economic activity for many of the resident indigenes lies beyond the village and the region.

Perhaps because the labourers are living with their families and cultivating land in the Ilorin region they tend to return to the same general area year after year. Of the 60 men for whom there is information 15 have been coming to the same village for at least four years, twelve for the past three years and eleven for the past two years. One man has been coming to the same village for the past twenty years. For such people seasonal movements can be expected to last throughout much of their adult life and in this respect they are not exceptional among

people from their own area, for fifty migrants indicated that people from their home area regularly work elsewhere.

The extent to which the parents of the migrants had themselves been migrant labourers varied according to their area of origin. The fathers of only 19 of the 61 migrants from Benue and Plateau States (61 per cent) had worked away, while the fathers of seven of the eight from Sokoto had been migrants. By the early 1930s seasonal migrants from Sokoto and the French territories to the north were recorded in the Ilorin region and further south seeking farm work during the dry season.⁶ In 1952-3 Prothero recorded that 25-33 per cent of the male working population of the Sokoto area was absent during the dry season and that this figure reached 50 per cent in areas with a high population density (Prothero 1959; quoted by Goddard 1974: 260). Seasonal movements from the Middle Belt states of Benue and Plateau did not generally begin until later. In one remote clan in the Oturkpo Division of Benue State such movements began in the middle 1950s (Ike 1975: 35).

SEASONAL MOVEMENT OR LONG-TERM CIRCULATION?

A fourth stage in the rural-rural mobility model suggests that some migrant labourers eventually engage in long-term rather than seasonal circulation between their home place and the Ilorin region. An

essential part of the definition of seasonal circulation is the ability to continue an active farming role in the home area (Gould and Prothero 1975: 102). For most of the Tiv migrants a one or two month visit home at the end of the year is now the norm rather than the six month visit which was common earlier. Even a two month visit is barely long enough for them to help with the harvest and few if any of the migrants still maintain farms in their home area.

There are a number of other indications of the changing status of some migrant families in the Ilorin area. A number of men aspire to be full-time farmers rather than support themselves primarily by working as labourers. Although the original grant of cultivation rights is dependent on the men working on local farms there seems little reluctance to allow well-established migrants to farm full-time provided there are still enough migrants in the area willing to work as hired labourers.

In Falokun a Tiv family from near Makurdi in Benue State have become full-time farmers. They have a young Tiv labourer living with them and helping with the farm work. This family lives in a rented house in the middle of the village. They stayed over the previous Christmas and were included in the village survey. In Romi village one of the men who are now full-time farmers has been coming

to the area for the past twenty years and recently built himself a thatched house on the edge of the village cluster.

The people who first came to the Ilorin area as seasonal labourers are multilocal as they maintain houses in their home places. However, in other respects some of them have become more closely associated with the host area. In Igbodun, for example, some Tiv people now pay taxes at Igbodun rather than in their home area and contribute money and labour to local community projects. In one nearby village a Tiv man has married a local woman but there is no record of this happening in Igbodun village itself.

In Romi young children of people who first came to the village as farm labourers constitute half of the enrolment in the village school. They usually return to their home state for secondary education but one son of a Tiv family in Romi is now attending a local secondary school. He was eligible for admission as he had a birth certificate to show that he was born in Romi. All these children speak fluent Yoruba and have spent more time in the host area than in their places of origin.

There is considerable variety in the origin and current mobility patterns of the people who first came to the Ilorin area as seasonal migrant labourers. If an essential element in the definition of

seasonal circulation is the maintenance of a farming role in the home area as well as a social role then many of the people interviewed can be said to be engaging in long-term rather than seasonal circulation. This can be said of some members of all groups, for those from Benue and Plateau States as well as those from Sokoto and other parts of Nigeria. Their pattern of circulation from their own home area and the nature of their attachment to that area may be little different from that of indigenes of the Ilorin region who work in towns and maintain links with the home settlement to which they hope eventually to return.

MOVES TO THE COCOA BELT

In the sequential mobility model used here the colonisation of more sparsely populated, less developed areas occurred first. Later people coming from remoter areas perceived of opportunities as migrant labourers in the Ilorin region, a comparatively more developed area. However there has been a small-scale movement by local people to more developed cash crop areas further south. If the volume of this movement to the cocoa belt had been comparable to the colonising movement it would be reflected in the patterns of mobility and the marriage links of the present inhabitants of the study settlements. That few such links have been recorded indicates that this movement south has generally been less important than colonisation.

The first people who moved from the rural survey settlements (none moved from the urban study areas) left in the 1930s and more left after World War II. In the 1940s and 1950s daily labour on cocoa farms paid better than other labouring jobs and compared well with the wages of the lowest level of salaried clerks (Galletti et al. 1956: 214). But between 1950 and 1963 the balance between agricultural and non-agricultural wages changed. The amount farmers received from Western Regional Marketing Boards for export crops fell by 25 per cent while the minimum Federal Government urban wage scale trebled (Mabogunje 1970b). This differential, together with the introduction of free primary education in the Western Region in 1955, resulted in the movement of local labour from cocoa growing areas to the towns. At the same time there was an increase in the demand for farm labour to replace people who had left for the towns (Olusanya 1976).

At first men left the Ilorin region for cocoa areas on a seasonal basis for about two months between planting and harvest time in the home settlements. The northerners who came during the northern dry season provided labour for the rest of the year (Galletti et al. 1956: 207-10). Later the migrants spent the whole year looking after a cocoa farm; they usually cultivated food crops on the young cocoa farm or on land granted to them by

the landowner. A few managed to rent or purchase their own cocoa farms. However, it appears that most men, from the study settlements who went to the cocoa belt eventually returned home. The bale of Igbodun had a cocoa farm in what is now Ondo State between 1937 and 1946. Nobody from Igbodun had settled permanently on a cocoa farm although six of the 35 males currently resident in Igbodun had once worked on cocoa farms in Nigeria and two in Ghana. In Falokun only one of the four farmers who were listed as absent members of local households were cultivating cocoa. There were also a few individuals in other villages who had once worked in the cocoa belt or who were now farming there.

It appears that the volume of movement from the Ilorin study settlements to the cocoa area has declined recently. Individuals and households left for many different destinations and often eventually returned. In contrast, people who still leave to open up new farmland are more likely to join relatives and friends originally from their own home settlement and stay permanently. When seasonal movements occur among colonisers they last only for the first few years while a fully independent food farm is being established. But a migrant to a tree crop area first finds seasonal work and later perhaps is able to look after a cocoa farm while the owner is away. It is not easy for a migrant to obtain rights to cultivate

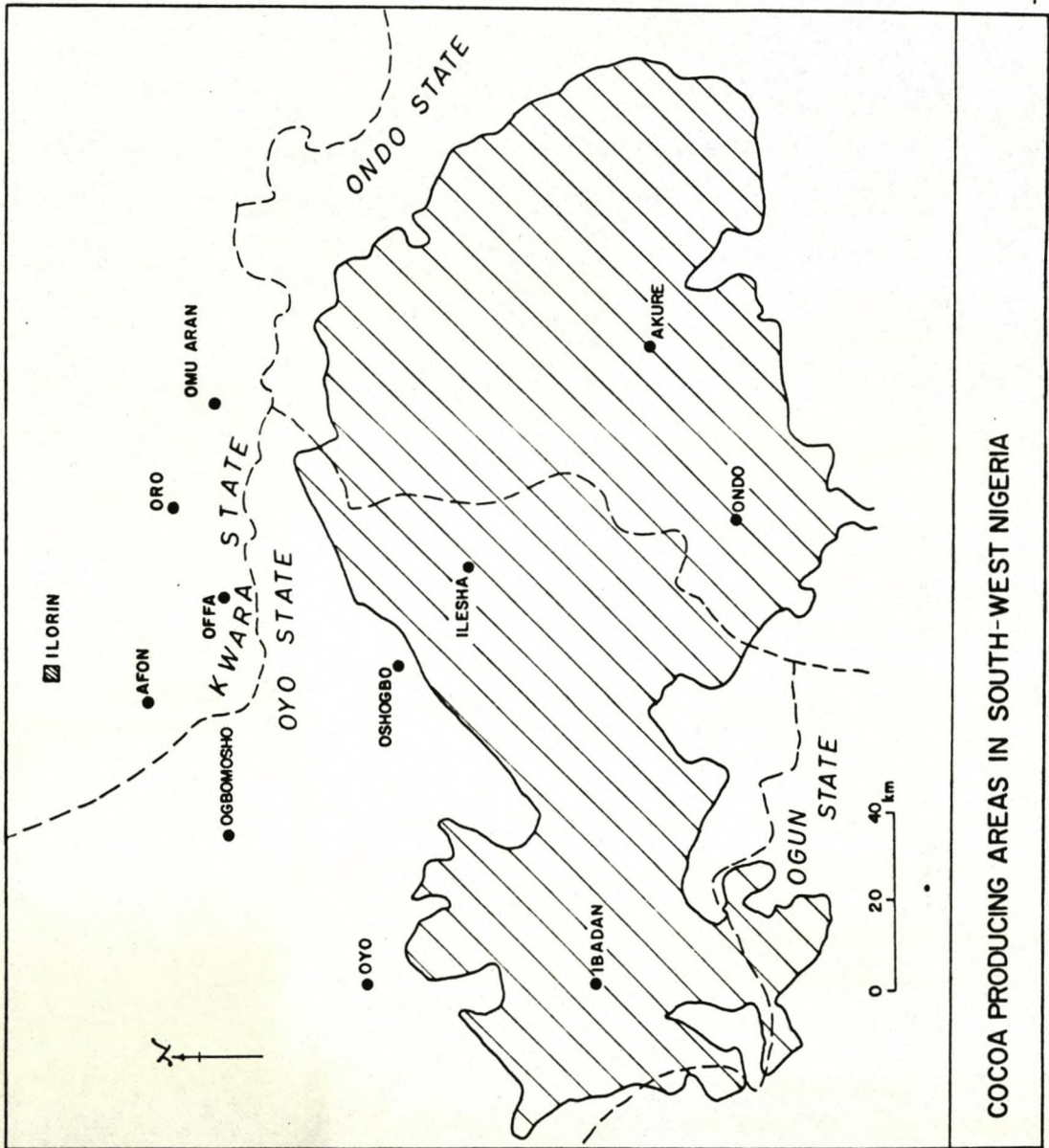
a tree crop such as cocoa which takes six or seven years to mature and goes on yielding for twenty years. For people who have never been more than caretakers of a cocoa farm the opportunity to return home in old age is certainly attractive. When they are no longer able to look after a cocoa farm they may also risk losing cultivation rights as the cocoa areas are generally in an area occupied by a different Yoruba sub-group.

But this comparison of food crop and tree crop farming does not account for the high rates of movement to the cocoa growing areas from further east in the Ilorin emirate (Berry 1975: Appendix II; Abifarin 1973; Bamdele 1973). In 1974 in twelve large settlements in Ifelodun and Irepodun, all more than fifty kilometres east of Ilorin, of the 245 people who lived away in rural areas (who constituted only 9 per cent of the total absentees, the others being in the urban areas), 208 were farming in the cocoa belt (Master Plans 1975: 19).

Part of the explanation for this movement is to be found in the history of the non-metropolitan districts and the development of trade routes by-passing the city of Ilorin. Igbodun and Falokun, study villages in the non-metropolitan area which recorded slightly more movement to the cocoa belt than the study villages in the metropolitan area, are in an intermediate position vis à vis the areas

further east and the metropolitan districts closer to Ilorin. In the nineteenth century long-distance trade routes from eastern Igbomina and Ekiti to the coast traversed what is now eastern Oyo and Ondo States which became important cocoa producing areas by the 1930s. People who travelled to Lagos to trade and work passed through this area and learned of possible rural opportunities. The area was especially attractive to Ekitis, living east of the Igbominas, because half of the Ekiti Yoruba lived south of the emirate (see chapter III).

The distance separating the Ilorin Yorubas in the metropolitan districts from the older-established cocoa-growing districts round Ibadan (as shown on map VII 4) may have deterred movement south from that area. By the 1930s cocoa production in the western part of the cocoa belt was declining. Older trees were giving lower yields and swollen shoot disease was being controlled by the massive destruction of cocoa trees. In the post-World War II period the cocoa growing areas in eastern Oyo State around Ife and in Ondo State became more important (Berry 1975: chapter III). It may be that a more significant factor in deterring movement to cocoa growing areas from the metropolitan districts was the determination of the emirate and colonial authorities that new lands within the emirate should be opened up and that movement to other areas should be limited.⁷ As



Map VII 4

Source: Nigeria 1978: 89.

suggested earlier it was only in the metropolitan areas that the emirate authorities could effectively prevent movement beyond the emirate. They had far less control over mobility in the non-metropolitan districts which included those areas from which the greatest movement to the cocoa belt took place.

CONCLUSIONS

The sequential model of mobility presented in this chapter links many forms of mobility in a total system. Whether the movement is from a more densely settled and generally better developed area to a sparsely settled and less well developed area or vice versa, rural-rural movements are closely related to those to urban areas and cannot be understood in isolation. Moves between the various rural and urban destinations are sustained by continuing daily and periodic circulation. Whether or not such movements ultimately become permanent migration or remain long-term circulation depends to a large extent on local alternative opportunities for economic advancement, on knowledge of rural and urban opportunities and the possibilities of obtaining permanent cultivation rights to annual or tree crops.

Footnotes

1. Nigerian Archives Kaduna: Northern Region of Nigeria Provincial Annual Reports 1956 (Government Printer Kaduna), Ilorin Province Annual Report by C. W. Mitchie, p 59, para. 49; CSO 26/6 12687 vol. X, Ilorin Province Annual Report, 1932, para. 107.
2. NAK: Ilorin Province 25/1 Acc. 2, Afon 1918; Ilorin Province 4 D 99/1928, Afon District Revision of 1928.
3. NAK: Ilorin Province 3/11 O/321 Afon District Tax Revision of 1929 by A. J. Knott, para. 2.
4. Ibid., paras 2, 19, 20, 27.
5. Data on Laduba from undergraduate fieldwork report, Department of Geography, University of Ilorin, 1978.
6. NAK: CSO 26/2 12687 Vol. XI, Ilorin Province Annual Report 1933, para. 18.
7. NAK: Ilorin Province 3/11 O/399 Oloru 1929; Ilorin Province 5/1 602 Revision of District Taxation Ilorin Emirate; SNP 17/2 23595 Ilorin Province Annual Report, para. 105.

CHAPTER VIII

LONG-TERM CIRCULATION TO THE TOWNS

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF URBAN AND RURAL DESTINATIONS

For the residents of study settlements in the Ilorin region, towns have always been more important than rural ones as the foci for long-term circulation. Seventy three per cent, 409 of 556, residents who had lived away had been in towns. Forty seven per cent, 268 of all movers, had lived in the Federal capital of Lagos and only 32 of the rural residents had lived in Ilorin. The dominant role of Lagos compared to Ilorin and other smaller urban settlements is also marked when the destination of the present non-residents is examined. Among the non-resident males (for whom more accurate information is available than for females) 454, 61 per cent, are in Lagos and only 76 in Ilorin.

While there are considerable contrasts in the overall rates of circulation in the various study settlements (see chapter V), the proportion of movers going to urban and rural destinations does not vary significantly between study settlements. However, the rate of completed circulation recorded from the urban study areas to other urban areas is significantly lower than it is from the rural areas ($\chi^2 = 12$, greater than .001). While it is at first

surprising that urban dwellers found rural destinations relatively more attractive than urban ones in comparison to their rural counterparts, such contrasts may reflect differences in the underlying processes of rural and urban circulation as well as the strength of the links between town compounds and the surrounding rural areas.

Patterns of long-term mobility from villages with urban compounds may also be somewhat different from those from independent villages. A significantly greater proportion of non-residents from independent villages go to Lagos than from villages with Ilorin compounds and from the urban study centres ($\chi^2 = 40$, greater than .001). This suggests that people in independent villages may be freer to respond to economic opportunities once they know about them, and at the same time to maintain their links with the home settlement than are urban residents or those in villages which have related urban compounds, where circulation occurs between a wider range of urban centres. It may be, however, that such villages, because of their Ilorin links, experience less of a need to exploit urban opportunities. These relationships will be examined more fully in the chapter on rural-urban interaction (chapter IX).

MODELS OF MOVEMENT TO TOWNS

Geographers studying permanent rural-urban movement in the more developed areas of the world have suggested a number of models of the process which might also help to explain and predict the pattern of circulation in the Ilorin area. Some observers have suggested that individual large urban settlements exert a 'pull' for migrants which is inversely proportional to the distance travelled to reach such a place and directly proportional to the size of its population (see for example Abler et al. 1971: 227-9; Harvey 1969: 110-11). Such gravity models assume the existence of 'economic man' responding freely to economic opportunities and calculating the cost of movement as proportional to linear distance. Even though these assumptions appear contrary to those of this study of population circulation the application of a simple gravity model in the Ilorin region may prompt some useful questions.

Table VIII 1 shows the number of non-resident males from all the study settlements who live in the largest Nigerian towns and the differences between these figures and those expected in a simple gravity model. All distances have been measured as from the city of Ilorin and the influence of the city itself has been omitted from these calculations. The use of more recent population figures would have made no difference to the calculations as current estimates

Table VIII 1: Male Workers Currently Away in Towns of over 50,000

	1963 population	kms from Ilorin	expected % share	actual share of rural areas	population urban areas
metropolitan Lagos	992,246	302	13.5%	85%	51%
Ibadan	627,379	161	16.6%	5%	8%
Ogbomoso	319,881	51	25.9%	1%	6%
Kano	295,432	872	1.6	.2	3%
Oshogbo	208,966	111	7.8	.6	2%
Abeokuta	187,292	233	3.3	.2	-
Pt Harcourt	197,563	729	.9	-	-
Zaria	166,170	694	1.0	.4	-
Ilesha	165,822	147	4.7	-	-
Onitsha	163,032	523	1.3	.2	-
Iwo	158,583	149	4.4	-	-
Kaduna	149,910	607	1.0	1.7	12%
Maiduguri	139,965	1472	.4	.4	-

Table VIII 1: continued

	1963 population	kms from Ilorin	expected % share	actual share of population rural areas	actual share of population urban areas
Enugu	138,457	623	.9	-	-
Ede	134,550	110	5.0%	-	-
Aba	131,003	662	.8%	-	-
Ile Ife	130,050	155	3.3%	2.6%	3%
Benin	100,694	386	1.1%	.2	1
Katsina	90,538	866	.4%	-	-
Jos	90,402	883	.4	-	2%
Sokoto	89,817	745	.4	-	2%
Calabar	76,418	805	.4	.2	1
Nsukka	76,206	440	.7	-	-
Ondo	74,343	262	1.1	-	1%

are based on a 5 per cent annual increase over 1963 figures.

The most notable feature of figure VIII 1, as expected, is the importance of Lagos as a destination for non-resident males from both urban and rural areas. According to this model 13.5 per cent of the movers might be expected to select Lagos as a destination, but 85 per cent of those from the rural areas and 51 per cent of those from Ilorin did so. The importance of Lagos as a destination for both men and women who have completed circulation is also shown clearly in a simple gravity model (Appendix III A). Even if the 1973 census figure of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million for Lagos is used (Fapohunda and Lubell 1978: 25) the attraction of Lagos would still be greater than expected for current and past non-residents.

For current non-resident males the former capital of Northern Nigeria, Kaduna, exerts a 'pull' which is somewhat greater than one would expect from a gravity model. Because of their higher level of education compared to other northern Nigerians Kwarans have generally been over-represented in formal sector employment in the north of Nigeria. Educated Kwarans face less competition for jobs here than in the south where the general level of education is higher (Peil 1976: 213). Men and women from Ilorin working in Kaduna are, like those working in other Nigerian cities, predominantly employed in the informal sector.

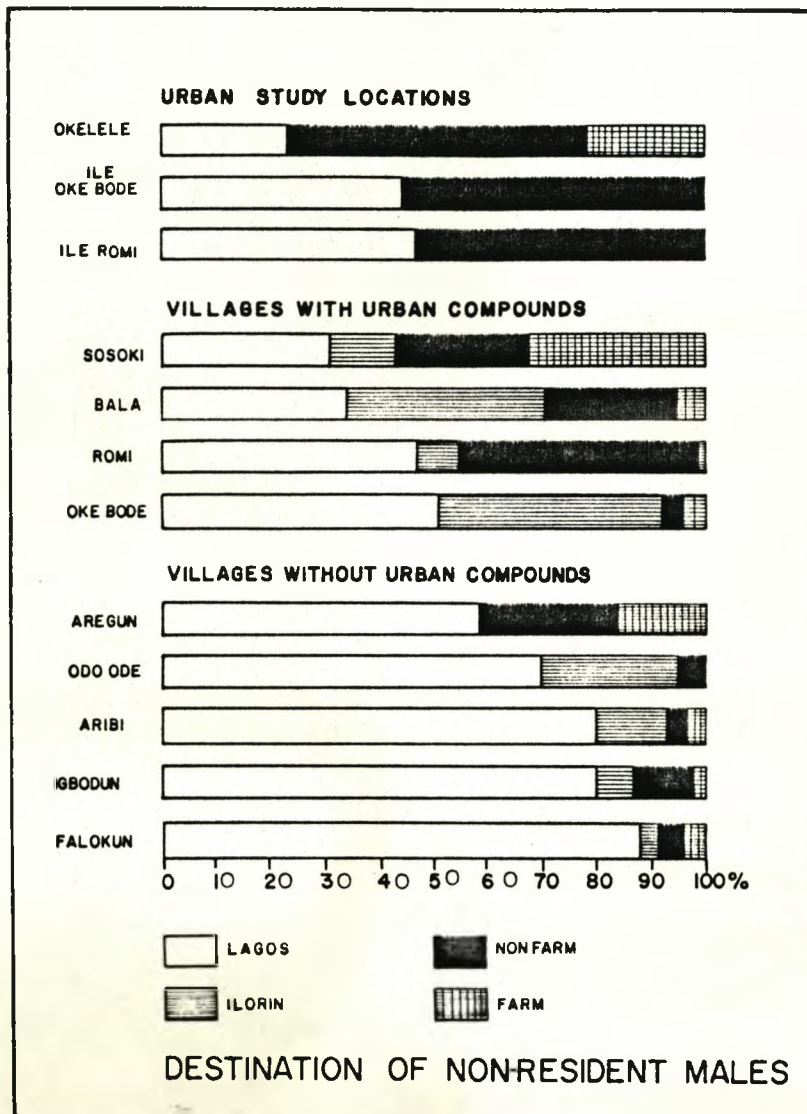


Figure VIII 1

It may be, however, that Kaduna, as a growing new town with no well established indigenous monopoly of the informal sector, provides more scope for non-indigenes than a large old-established city such as Kano.

Large Yoruba towns to the south of Ilorin do not attract many migrants from the Ilorin region. Such towns are growing more slowly than Lagos (Green 1974: 282). Entrance into the informal sector there is easier for people from the immediate hinterland who have long-term links with the town (Goddard 1965) than it is for outsiders. The larger than proportional 'pull' of Ijebu Ode for Ilorin men is due exclusively to the movement of weavers from the Okelele area of Ilorin.

According to a simple gravity model the 'pull' of Ilorin for all the rural study settlements should be greater than that of Lagos (Appendix III B) but the volume of movement to Lagos is greater from all rural settlements than it is to Ilorin. There is no relationship between the linear distance of rural settlements from Ilorin and the proportion of males from each settlement who had once lived in the city. In the face of this evidence it therefore appears that the linear distance and size of a settlement are not important explanatory variables in the understanding of circulation in the Ilorin region.

The predominance of Lagos as a destination for movers and the small number of people who move to

intermediate-sized towns or to Ilorin suggest that an 'intervening opportunity' or step-wise model is not appropriate here. Contrary to the findings of Riddell and Harvey in Sierra Leone (1972) and of Skeldon in Peru (1977), people do not move by stages from smaller to larger settlements but move at once to the main urban destination. Of the 557 men and women who had lived away from the study settlements only 47, 8 per cent, had lived in two or more places. A similar pattern was noted in Agbonda, in southern Igbomina, where only 5 of the 227 non-residents had stayed away in a place other than their present residence (Odetundun 1972: 68). It is unlikely that step-wise mobility is associated with permanent movement rather than circulation and hence would be missed in my study.

As Prothero (1976b: 361) has suggested, an area with a poorly developed central place system does not provide many intermediate destinations for step-wise movement. As we have seen in chapter II there are few alternative possible destinations for migrants in the Ilorin region besides the city of Ilorin itself. Social, educational and medical facilities are concentrated in the state capital and in the metropolitan area smaller settlements are little more than satellites of the city. In the non-metropolitan area the town of Offa, 50 kilometres from Ilorin, and the larger settlements of southern Igbomina such as Oro, Omu Aran and Ajasse Po attract only a handful of

movers from the study settlements.

THE ATTRACTION OF LAGOS

Many commentators have remarked on the role of the primate city in tropical Africa in attracting a large share of the migrants from within a particular country (Riddell 1978; Gugler and Flanagan 1980: 40). Although there are other large and long-established cities in Nigeria, Lagos as the Federal capital, industrial and commercial centre can be said to be the primate city. The population of the city is estimated to be growing at about 9.4 per cent a year (Makinwa 1982) and the urban land area grew by about 150 per cent in the decade 1970-80 (Adegbola 1982). Such a rate of growth can only be sustained by in-migration.

The 'pull' of Lagos is not only measured by its population size but by the increase in employment opportunities which migrants perceive to be associated with such a high growth rate. Its national primacy in industrial production and in employment in government and administration apparently continues. In 1963 metropolitan Lagos employed 40 per cent of the country's high-level manpower. In 1970 it had 44 per cent of the estimated employment in manufacturing industries with more than ten employees and 75 per cent of the out-put from large scale industry (Fapohunda and Lubell 1978: 5 sqq). The continuing over-concentration of

economic and government activity in Lagos (see also Adegbola 1982) is one of the reasons for the establishment of a new Federal capital at Abuja, closer to the geographical centre of the country.

For the people from the Ilorin area the greatest opportunities exist in the informal sector which employs approximately half of the workers in Lagos (Fapohunda and Lubell 1978: 6). Between 80 and 90 per cent of the non-residents from the Ilorin study settlements living in Lagos are employed in the informal sector which provides many opportunities for casual employment and for some forms of apprenticeship.

The age and sex structure of Lagos reflects the high rate of immigration into the city. The immigrants are predominantly young and the overall population will remain young so long as this movement continues. A 1972 survey revealed that only 7 per cent of the male and 6 per cent of the female migrants in Lagos were over 45 (Adegbola 1976b). The 1972 survey also showed that, in contrast to the situation in 1950, there were more women migrants than men in Lagos. Increased opportunities for employment in the formal and informal sectors for women (Adegbola 1976b; Fapohunda and Lubell 1978: 27) make it possible for women, either living alone or with their husbands, to support themselves in the city as they had done in their home area. This makes it more likely that the whole family, rather than the adult male alone,

will move to the city.

The relatively young age of Lagos migrants may also be partly due to the fact that many of them do not regard Lagos as their permanent home. Only one sixth of those migrants Barnes interviewed in Lagos in 1972 said that they intended to stay in the city all their life (Barnes 1976: 227). It has also been suggested that the population figure for Lagos released in the 1973 census, 2½ million, is an undercount because many of the migrants returned to be counted in their home area (Fapohunda and Lubell 1978: 25). Thus it would appear that a considerable proportion of the people who go to Lagos engage in long-term circulation. This can certainly be said of the people who leave from the Ilorin area.

A MODEL OF MOVEMENT TO LAGOS - THE EXAMPLE OF IGBODUN, FALOKUN AND ODO ODE

The two study villages of Igbodun and Falokun, east and south-east of Ilorin, have the highest general levels of circulation and this movement is now almost exclusively to towns, especially to Lagos. The development of this movement has certain common characteristics which can be presented as a simple descriptive model. This model may also be applicable to other nearby settlements, for example to Odo Ode. In Falokun and Igbodun the first men to leave for Lagos moved south for a few months during the dry

season but later movers stayed for longer periods and took their families with them. This circulation is sustained by the expansion of transportation and of the networks of people and information linking these villages with Lagos. Concurrently, there has been a change in the movers' perceptions of the subjective distance between the city and the home place.

In all three villages urban destinations other than Lagos have been relatively unimportant, as shown in table VIII 2. Among the present adult male residents, 69 per cent in Falokun, 58 per cent in Igbodun and 45 per cent in Odo Ode have lived in Lagos. The proportion of non-resident adult males currently in Lagos is significantly higher than among former movers ($\chi^2 = 11$, greater than .001). Table VIII 2 also shows the greater importance of non-farm destinations among current non-residents. Those who have completed circulation had spent a longer period away from these villages than those who had left other study locations; half of the men from Falokun had spent twelve years or more away and the median age on return was 41. Half of the Falokun women had spent at least ten years away.

The more recent long-term moves to predominantly urban destinations involve a good proportion of the individual mover's economically productive life, and can hardly be seen as merely incidental to their life in the village. In contrast, the first people to

Table VIII 2 : Long-term Circulation - Falokun,
Igbodun and Odo Ode

A. Total population of communities

	Resident					
	males total	number who lived away		females total	number who lived away	
Falokun	65	43	66%	110	38	36%
Igbodun	35	31	88%	57	26	48%
Odo Ode	53	24	48%	63	13	23%

Non-resident

	males	females
Falokun	160	145
Igbodun	55	32
Odo Ode	46	14+

B. Destination of those who have lived away

	Lagos	Ilorin	other urban	rural	total
<u>Falokun</u>					
females	24	2	4	11	41
males	34	1	4	10	49
<u>Igbodun</u>					
females	18	-	6	6	30
males	24	-	4	13	41
<u>Odo Ode</u>					
females	10	-	-	2	12
males	14	1	7	7	29

Figures include those who have been away more than once, so they will not necessarily agree with

3 A. There are also some missing values.

Table VIII 2 C: Residences of current non-residents

	Lagos	Ilorin	non-farm	farm	total
<u>Falokun</u>					
females	135 94%	4	1	5	145
males	141 88%	6	8	5	160
<u>Igbodun</u>					
females	27 84%	3	2	-	32
males	44 80%	4	6	1	55
<u>Odo Ode</u>					
females	12 85%	-	2	-	14
males	36 78%	7	3	-	46

work in Lagos from these and other local villages were seasonal migrants. They spent up to three months trading or engaged in casual labouring work during the dry season and maintained farms in the home settlement.

The journey to Lagos on foot took from nine to fifteen days depending on the condition of the paths and the weight of the loads carried (Odetundun 1972). The oldest man in Falokun, who is probably over 90, claimed that his father was the first person from the village to go to Lagos and that he himself trekked to Lagos five times during his youth to work at Apapa wharf. At least six of the 26 men of 60 and over now living in Falokun had trekked to Lagos in their younger days. Women also walked long distances from the village to trade. Several claimed to have taken shea butter from Falokun to Oke Oye, 40 kilometres to the north-west. Others regularly

brought palm oil from Ikirun, 80 kilometres to the south in what is now Oyo State, to sell in Ilorin and Oke Oyi.

Groups of young men from Igbodun trekked to Lagos for seasonal work long before the railway reached Offa, only 12 kilometres from the village, in 1906. These men also spent about three months away during the dry season working at Apapa wharf and returned to cultivate their farms in the wet season. Village elders recalled the names of 21 men, all now dead, who had first left for Lagos. Six men now living in the village, three of whom are over 70, said that they had walked to Lagos on several occasions. The first man to leave Lagos from Odo Ode left somewhat later, in the 1920s. He took turkeys to Lagos and brought back salt and cutlasses to sell in the village. However, it was ten years before anyone else from that village went to Lagos and by then they generally travelled by train from Gama or Ilorin.

As time went on people from these villages established a network through which other villagers heard of opportunities in Lagos. For example Kadri, the oldest man in Falokun, has three sons and a brother now living in Falokun who had all worked in Lagos. Non-resident members of this household living in Lagos include Kadri's found younger 'sons' (they may actually have been nephews). Unlike members of the earlier generation who went to the city they

have their wives and children with them. One of Kadri's grandchildren has just finished primary school in Falokun and left to live with relatives in Lagos.

In all three villages, Falokun, Igbodun and Odo Ode, the links between people in Lagos and in the village are now maintained by formal organisations as well as by a network of personal contacts. The two mini-buses which continually move between Falokun and Lagos were purchased by a committee of residents and non-residents which also pays the drivers. By using this direct transport a return visit between Lagos and Falokun can be made in one day if necessary. Messages, goods and money can be sent with the driver or with friends who are travelling between the village and the capital.

In Igbodun the village development association sponsors local projects. The Lagos people purchased cement for the building of a maternity/dispensary in the village and the local people contribute their labour. Workers in Lagos had contributed to the purchase of cement blocks for building a new mosque in Odo Ode. Thus in this and other ways the people of all three villages continue to contribute to the improvement to the quality of life in their home villages and many of them must see this contribution as one which will directly affect their own well-being when they eventually return. In this way, long-term circulation, once it becomes a way of life for a

substantial proportion of the villagers, can be perpetuated.

FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE MOVEMENT TO LAGOS

The high volume of out-movement to Lagos from Igbodun and Falokun may in part be a result of less effective control from Ilorin in the non-metropolitan area. Falokun is only two kilometres east of the boundary of Ilorin LGA and is in a linguistically mixed area (see map II 3); it has only tenuous links with a compound in the city. Igbodun is more firmly linked to Offa although in the same village area there are a number of settlements founded from villages closer to Ilorin.

There appears to have been a greater volume of out-movement, much of it circulatory, from the non-metropolitan areas as compared to the metropolitan areas of the emirate since the early years of this century. As early as 1912 a decline in the number of taxable adults around Omu Aran was attributed to the exodus of young men seeking work in Abeokuta, Ibadan and Lagos.¹ By the 1930s the movement from the southern and eastern areas of the emirate had grown considerably and while some people left for only two or three months at a time others were recorded as maintaining houses in Lagos as well as in their home areas.² Reports of population movements in the metropolitan districts stressed the agricultural colonisation of

the empty areas to the north and west of Ilorin rather than movement to southern urban centres (see chapter VII).

The non-metropolitan areas shared a sense of ethnic identity with the Yoruba-speaking peoples to the south as well as an antipathy to the control of a predominantly Yoruba-speaking emirate by the Fulanis (see chapter II). In the pre-colonial period the Igbolos, Igbominas and Ekitis developed a route from the coast through Ijebu Ode, Ikirun and Oshogbo by which they acquired fire-arms and trading goods. In this way they by-passed tolls charged by Ilorin and minimised the political and military influence of the city (Akintoye 1971: 82; Gavin 1977: 35). This route was subsequently followed by the men who trekked south in the early twentieth century from Igbodun and Falokun, and in part by the railway which went from Ibadan to Ilorin via Oshogbo.

The influence of Christianity in encouraging people to move south has been important. As we have already seen (in chapter II) Christian mission activity was discouraged by colonial officials in the metropolitan districts of the emirate but encouraged in the non-metropolitan districts. Pastors and teachers came from the south to help in evangelisation and education. The mission-sponsored schools which were instruments of evangelisation also provided skills needed for employment in lower level clerical

jobs in colonial administration.

In both Falokun and Igbodun there are long-established six-class primary schools originally founded by Christian missions. A number of children attend school in these villages while their parents are working away. In Igbodun seventeen of the forty resident males between 10 and 14 are children of non-residents. At this formative age such an experience perpetuates the ties of this younger generation to the village of origin. However, people go to school to obtain qualifications which they hope will give them access to jobs of a higher status than those available in the village. The seven students who left the Igbodun primary school in the summer of 1980 for secondary school are unlikely to return to work there although they may later choose to retire there.

The importance of education as a factor in circulation was also indicated in a survey of Ifelodun and Irepodun LGAs in 1974. Twenty seven per cent of the non-residents in twelve large settlements were students and most of them were attending boarding secondary schools away from their home place but within the two LGAs. This educational experience was probably a prelude to work in a southern town. Here too Lagos was more important as a destination for migrants than local urban centres; 61 per cent of the total absentees were working in Lagos, only 4 per cent in Ibadan and 2 per cent in Ilorin

(Master Plans 1975: 19).

The link between Christianity, educational opportunity and out-movement in Igbodun, Falokun and Odo Ode is complex. In spite of the establishment of mission schools and early mission activity Falokun and Igbodun have only two resident Christian families between them. In Odo Ode, where I was shown the remains of a church built in the 1940s, there are today no Christians. It may be that the earlier Christians had moved out permanently and that only Muslims maintained their links with home and engaged in circulation. The proselytizing efforts of the Muslims only began in the non-metropolitan areas as a belated response to the impact of Christian mission efforts.³ Certainly some of the current village leaders adopted Islam as mature adults and their motives may well have been at least partly political, given the prevailing Muslim complexion of the emirate power structure even in the non-metropolitan areas.

Evidence from the three villages studied and from other sources seems to lend credence to the hypothesis that there are marked differences in the pattern of long-term circulation between the metropolitan and non-metropolitan districts. These have existed for a long time and are perpetuated by patterns of interaction between the residents and non-residents of the various settlements.

ANOTHER TWO-STAGE MOVEMENT - AREGUN

Two stages can be identified in the process of rural-urban movement from Aregun, a village in Ilorin LGA without a related town compound. Here, as elsewhere in the Ilorin region, it is an oversimplification to posit a stable self-contained and closed village community rudely disrupted by urban movement in the years after World War II. For prior to the large-scale movement to towns from Aregun which began in the 1950s there were many short and long-term moves to other towns and rural areas within and beyond Kwara State.

Ever since the founding of Aregun villagers have been visiting members of a compound in New Oyo whose forefathers claimed to have left Old Oyo at the same time as Aregun people. Aregun village itself grew gradually as people came to farm there. At least two men living in Aregun had once lived in Jebba. Aregun is only ten kilometres from the road linking Ilorin and Jebba, which had been an important crossing point on the Niger for trading caravans in pre-colonial times. For a few years in the first decade of this century it was the capital of Northern Nigeria (Nicholson 1969: 130) and it later became a railway centre and focus for employment opportunities for people from the surrounding area.

Although a comparatively large volume of past and current circulation from Aregun has involved

Table VIII 3: Long-term Circulation in Aregun

A. Total population of the community

Resident:

males total	number who lived away		females total	number who lived away	
133	27	23%	119	25	21%

Non-resident:

males 79 females 70

B. Destination of those who have lived away

	Lagos		Ilorin	other urban	rural	total
females	11	44%	1	5	8	25
males	10	33%	4	7	9	30

Figures include those who have been away more than once.

C. Current non-residents from Aregun

	Lagos	Ilorin	non-farm	farm	total
females	46	-	22	12	70
males	47	-	20	12	79

farmers (see chapter VII), links with large towns outside Kwara State have recently gained greater importance. Although only ten men and eleven women living in the village had once lived in Lagos, table VIII 3 shows that the proportion of current non-residents in Lagos is significantly higher. Other Aregun people have lived and worked in Ilorin, Zaria, Ogbomosho and Kaduna.

The beginning of the movement from Aregun to Lagos can be dated exactly. In 1951 Alhaji

Salawu left Aregun under the patronage of the richest man in Agbeyangi, a large village half way between Aregun and the main Jebba-Ilorin road. Salawu still has a flourishing transport business in Lagos and also owns three plots of land and two houses there. Soon after he first left the village ten other men left and thus initiated enduring links between the village and the capital. These first migrants stayed for many years and were accompanied by their families rather than going as seasonal workers, as had the first movers from Igbodun and Falokun.

The year of Salawu's departure, 1951, was important for Aregun. Early in that year a motorable track was first constructed to link the village with Agbeyangi.⁴ 1951 was also the year in which the first corrugated iron roof was seen in the village, on the chief's house.

Aregun is linked to the wider world through the nearest large village, Agbeyangi. The Agbeyangi man who encouraged the first exodus from the village to Lagos employs two Aregun men to drive taxis to Ilorin. Agbeyangi is also an important destination for daily moves by Aregun people. It is the most frequent destination for Aregun women who leave the village, and 78 per cent of them visit Agbeyangi market regularly. It is the second most frequent destination for men after the village of Oke Oyi, a market and local service centre 20 kilometres to the south.

The incorporation of Agbeyangi into Aregun's mobility system is reflected in the economic and ritual importance of that village for Aregun. Agbeyangi is still associated with the ceremonies culminating in the installation of a new bale, chief, in Aregun. The first mosque in Aregun was built in 1907 by Agbeyangi people. I was told that when a missionary tried to establish Christianity in Aregun in the 1940s he was forced out by the emir's followers from Agbeyangi. At least one family left with him. Today the villagers are all nominally Muslims. Perhaps, as may have happened in Igbodun and Falokun, the few Christian converts in this predominantly Muslim area simply left the village never to return.

Many people who work away from Aregun maintain their links with the home village and are members of the flourishing development union. This union is building a large new mosque in the village (see figure III 11 A) and new classrooms for the primary school. Members also hope to build a maternity centre and dispensary next to the school. The interactions which sustain links between Aregun and Lagos are today similar to those noted in Falokun, Igbodun and Odo Ode, even though the initial sequence through which such links were established has been somewhat different.

ALTERNATIVE LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES - THE CASE OF ARIBI

In the village of Aribi, which has no Ilorin town compound, past and present rates of circulation appear to have been very low and rates of movement to the rural and farm sector negligible. As shown in table VIII 4, only 12 per cent of all resident males had lived away at any time, the smallest proportion of any study location. The village also has the lowest rate of incomplete circulation for all study locations except Bala (see table V 7). There is no evidence that out-movement might have taken the form of permanent migration rather than circulation. What appears to have occurred is that alternative economic opportunities within the village have enabled many villagers to achieve a relatively high level of prosperity without having to find work elsewhere.

In Aribi the first move to Lagos was recorded earlier than in Aregun but the number of subsequent movers to Lagos was small. The first man to leave Aribi for Lagos, Salamu Olukoba, spent seven years away; today he lives in honourable retirement in Aribi. One of Olukoba's sons is in Lagos and another is a wealthy contractor in Ilorin who maintains a good house in Aribi. A third son, Ibrahim, was the first person in the village to get any formal education, perhaps because of his father's awareness of the role of education in economic advancement.

Table VIII 4: Long-term Circulation in Aribi

A. Total population of the community

Resident

males total	number who lived away		females total	number who lived away
91	9	12%	137	8

Non-resident

males 31 females 19

There are some missing values.

B. Destination of those who have lived away.

	Lagos	Ilorin	other urban	rural	total
females	5	3	-	-	8
males	5	4	1	-	10

Including those who have been away more than once.

C. Residences of current non-residents

	Lagos	Ilorin	non-farm	farm	total
females	15	2	-	-	17
males	25	4	1	1	31

The whole village combined to finance the son's primary education in Ilorin, for in the 1950s the nearest primary school, at Oke Oyi 2 kilometres away, provided only the first two years of primary education.

After he had finished his primary education Ibrahim returned to Aribi to become a cattle trader. Today the men in Aribi who are not farmers are butchers and cattle traders. They buy cattle in Pategi and Lafiagi, where there is good dry season

grazing along the River Niger, and sell them in Offa and Ilorin. Even though many cattle are now brought south by lorry the drove road through Aribi is still in use (see Agboola 1979: 173) and there is a small but substantial building in Aribi where the drovers can stay overnight. The drove road follows the earliest route between Ilorin and Jebba which the villagers recount as having been used by the Niger Company troops marching to Ilorin in 1897 (Vandeleur 1898: 269). This was the main road north until the present road was built in the mid-1950s.⁶ The continued importance of this drove road has made a considerable contribution to the opportunity structure of the village and its present modest prosperity.

SERVANTS AND APPRENTICES IN TOWNS

The movement to towns by young people before marriage can be understood in the context of the individual mover's life cycle. Some young people go away to school, others to urban areas to work as house servants or become apprentices. In the Ilorin area it has never been considered unusual for young people to be sent to live with someone other than their natural parents and present arrangements are built on long-established practices which are designed to transmit skills or fulfill various kinship obligations (see chapter III). Such moves are circulatory although they may initiate contacts

which later result in permanent movement.

Young people living with relatives or people from the same home place may be able to acquire some skills and they may be comparatively well treated; others may be less fortunate (Peil 1975; Marris 1962: 62-3; Esther Goody 1975). In some poorer villages around Ilorin parents with few other opportunities for their own or their children's advancement have been tempted to enter into agreements with people who, in return for a small sum, take the children to Lagos where they are put to work for the highest bidder. The middle-men pocket the difference between the money paid to the parents and that paid by the employer.

About one quarter of the women who had worked away from the study settlements, 62 of the 187 for whom there is information, had been house servants. That 35 of the 62 women left from only two of the twelve study locations, one urban (Ile Romi) and the other rural (Sosoki) illustrates once again the great variety from place to place in patterns of mobility.

In Ile Romi, Ilorin, 55 per cent of all resident women had lived away, the highest proportion for any settlement; yet only 32 per cent of the men had done so. Fifteen of the twenty-two women whose occupations were recorded had been away as house servants before marriage. Perhaps the comparatively small number of people who had worked away or were currently away

indicates that the mobility network cannot provide adequate alternative opportunities for young people who wish to earn some money before marriage. The situation may be similar in Sosoki where 20 of the 22 women in the village who had lived away had been house servants. Sixteen had been in Lagos, three in Ibadan and one in Ilorin. Ten young women and two young men from that village are now working in towns as servants. This pattern of circulation reflects the low level of awareness of urban opportunities in the village as a whole, for here rural destinations and networks predominate over urban ones (see chapter VII).

In contrast to Ile Romi and Sosoki, very few people from Odo Ode, Falokun or Igbodun had worked away as servants. In Falokun only four of the 38 women and one of the 53 men who had lived away had been servants and only two young non-resident women give their current occupation as servants. Here the practice of sending young people to town as servants is regarded as 'uncivilised' and exploitive. For the training servants receive in towns can only provide for employment in small scale trade and other low status occupations; they rarely get the chance to go to school. In Falokun network links with Lagos are well developed and parents in the village can send children to stay with relatives in Lagos. They can then serve as apprentices learning new-style

crafts and skills such as photography, tailoring and motor repairing after they have completed primary school in the village.

Where old-established traditional crafts survive in the city of Ilorin apprenticeship is a recognised method of passing on these skills. In Okelele today there are a number of 'schools' where up to a dozen boys learn weaving under a master. Some boys are sent to other towns for their apprenticeship. Fourteen (24 per cent) of the indigenous resident males in the Okelele sample who had lived away had been to Ibadan or to Ijebu Ode as young men to learn weaving. There is a considerable Ilorin community in Ijebu Ode and three young non-resident males are now living there. Ijebu Ode weavers continue the Ilorin practice of weaving narrow strips on a vertical loom (Lamb and Holmes 1980: 25, 203). Weaving is also related to periodic mobility for many of the weavers go regularly to Oje market, the large sixteen-day cloth market in Ibadan, to sell cloth of their own and for other weavers in the same compound. Thus they maintain links which may in future provide opportunities for boys to be apprenticed outside Ilorin.

EVIDENCE OF CIRCULATION: HOUSE BUILDING BY URBAN WORKERS

People who are engaged in circulation or who have done so in the past often invest in their home settlements in anticipation of their eventual return. We have already seen how the residents and non-residents of Falokun, Odo Ode and Igbodun have provided amenities for the home village. Some of these, such as schools, medical services, water and electricity can best be initiated by community action through development associations.

Other improvements such as the building of houses are made on a household or individual basis. If migrants build houses in their home settlement they are not only providing themselves with a place to stay but also a sign of their status and a visible evidence of personal commitment to the home place (Gugler 1971: 409; see also Middleton 1979). Such houses provide the most positive indication of the ultimate intention of the migrant to return. Some people will say they intend to return but because they do not make any active provision for that eventuality their statement can be questioned (Odongo and Lea 1977).

One of the first and most conspicuous expenditures for a person with a cash income in the Ilorin region has often been corrugated iron sheeting for roofing. In the 1940s and 1950s colonial officials noted that

the purchase of an iron roof, a visible sign of status and prosperity, was an important motive for out-movement in the Ilorin region.⁶ The first corrugated iron roofs in the villages of Igbodun and Falokun were erected by people who had worked in Lagos. Today these two villages, which have the highest recorded rates of circulation, have no occupied houses with thatched roofs. The survival of thatch as a roofing material in the villages of Oke Bode, Romi and Sosoki may reflect the relatively small number of people who have engaged in circulation from those villages.

People who had worked in southern cities often built the first double storied houses in their home settlement. The earliest such houses, built of mud and roofed with corrugated iron, can be recognised by the characteristic inward slope of the mud walls. The only example of such a house in the study locations is in Ile Romi, Ilorin. It has a simple Brazilian style moulding round the main door and shutters rather than glass windows. Like many other houses of this type it is now in a state of disrepair. It was built in the early 1940s by a local man who made his money as a trader in Lagos.

No house with a new-style plan and completely decorated in the Brazilian style exists in the rural study settlements as this style reached its apogee in the 1940s and the early 1950s in the

Ilorin region at the time when the large-scale movement from the villages to the southern cities was just getting under way. There are a number of later plain single and double storey houses made of concrete blocks in the I-face-you-you-face-me plan in the rural areas and in Okelele. In Okelele such double storey houses have been built for rent and are mostly occupied by non-indigenes. In the rural areas such houses have generally been built by people who have lived in the south. In Igbodun two substantial single storey houses have been built by men who spent some time in Lagos; one is now the bale of the village and the other is the chief of Ile Balogun. The only double storey house in the rural area is in Igbodun. It was built by a man living in Lagos and it is locked up except when he visits the village. The best house in Odo Ode (illustrated in figure III 11 B), which is cement faced and painted, was built by a man who still lives in Lagos. In several villages, and especially in Aregun, buildings are being erected as people can afford them and the foundations are often all that indicates the ambitions of the builders.

CONCLUSIONS

Considerable evidence exists for circulation to urban destinations from the Ilorin region. This pattern of movement cannot be explained in terms

of inverse distance or gravity models neither can it be understood as a step-wise movement to progressively larger centres. The range of destinations encountered in the various study locations and especially the predominant position of Lagos can best be understood in terms of local circumstances which affect the perception of opportunity in each location. High rates of circulation to towns from the two study villages in the non-metropolitan area and to a lesser extent from Odo Ode in south-eastern Asa might be related to early mission activity and its encouragement of education, and to other factors related to the extent of political control by the Ilorin-based power structure.

Within the city, patterns of movement vary considerably. In Okelele opportunities for craft apprenticeship contribute to a lower overall level of long-term circulation by older adults. The relatively small volume of long-term circulation to the city from surrounding rural study settlements suggests the rather ambiguous role this rapidly growing state capital has for some rural people as much the the powerful attraction of the more distant capital city.

It is clear in all the settlements studied that a gradually developing network of links between the home place and urban destinations perpetuates circulation. This network can be examined as an information system which progressively involves a

greater number of people. Circulation is, by its very nature, more effective in perpetuating such links than is permanent migration.

Footnotes

1. Nigerian Archives, Kaduna: SNP 7/12 4703/1912 Omu District, Offa Division Assessment Report para. 139.
2. NAK: SNP 17/2 23595 Ilorin Prov. Annual Report 1934, para. 20.
3. Dr. Joshua T. Dosunmu, Department of History, University of Ilorin, personal communication.
4. NAK: IP 5 3513 Igponrin District Touring notes, Feb 2-3, 1951.
5. NAK: Ilorin Province Annual Report 1956, para. 62 (Government Printer, Kaduna); IP 3/15 Tou/121 Touring Notes Lanwa 1959, para. 7-8.
6. NAK: CSO 26/6 12687 vol. 13, IPAR 1940-51, Ilorin Province Annual Report 1946, para. 110.

CHAPTER IX

PATTERNS OF RURAL-URBAN INTERACTION AROUND ILORIN

THE PROBLEM

The study of the various forms of mobility which link compounds in the city of Ilorin and related rural settlements illustrates the ambiguous relationship between the city and its immediate hinterland. For the city can both generate social change and opportunities for the people in the surrounding rural area and yet preserve social structures which obstruct such change. Patterns of circulation and multilocality observed here are quite distinct from those which link these rural settlements to towns beyond the emirate. They are also different from those which have been observed around other Yoruba-speaking towns and cities south of Ilorin.

Most commentators on the history and political development of the Ilorin emirate have considered it primarily as a Yoruba polity, and Ilorin primarily as a Yoruba city (Lloyd 1971 and 1962; Krapf-Askari 1969; Bascom 1962; Hermon-Hodge 1929: 272). They have often assumed that patterns of out-farming similar to those found in Yoruba cities to the south existed in Ilorin. However, it would appear that both past and present patterns of urban-rural interaction are very complex and must take into

account both Yoruba and Fulani influences as well as more recent changes in population mobility.

The source of most of the brief published comments on patterns of farming and rural-urban interaction around the city is a 1912 colonial assessment report. The report gives a total population for the city of about 50,000 with a further 30,000 people living in the rural area and regarding the city as 'home'.¹

It also states that:

A very large portion of the Yoruba population is engaged in [farming]. They farm for the most part in the districts to the west known as Oke Imoru, this habit being to spend three to ten days on the farm according to distance from Ilorin, returning to town for three or four days. 2

This statement was reproduced verbatim by Temple in 1919 (1964 reprint: 446) and by Hermon-Hodge in 1929 (1929: 277). It has also been repeated as if it applied to the situation thirty or forty years later (Forde and Scott 1946: 186-7; Forde 1951, reprint 1969:75). Such statements suggest that out-farming such as still exists around Yoruba towns further south existed in the Ilorin area in the recent past. But the original quotation only referred to conditions to the north-west of the city, in the area today included in the Moro LGA. Other archival evidence and oral recollections give the impression that most rural settlements in the Ilorin hinterland were and are permanent bases for the farmers although a few may be occupied seasonally during the initial phase of

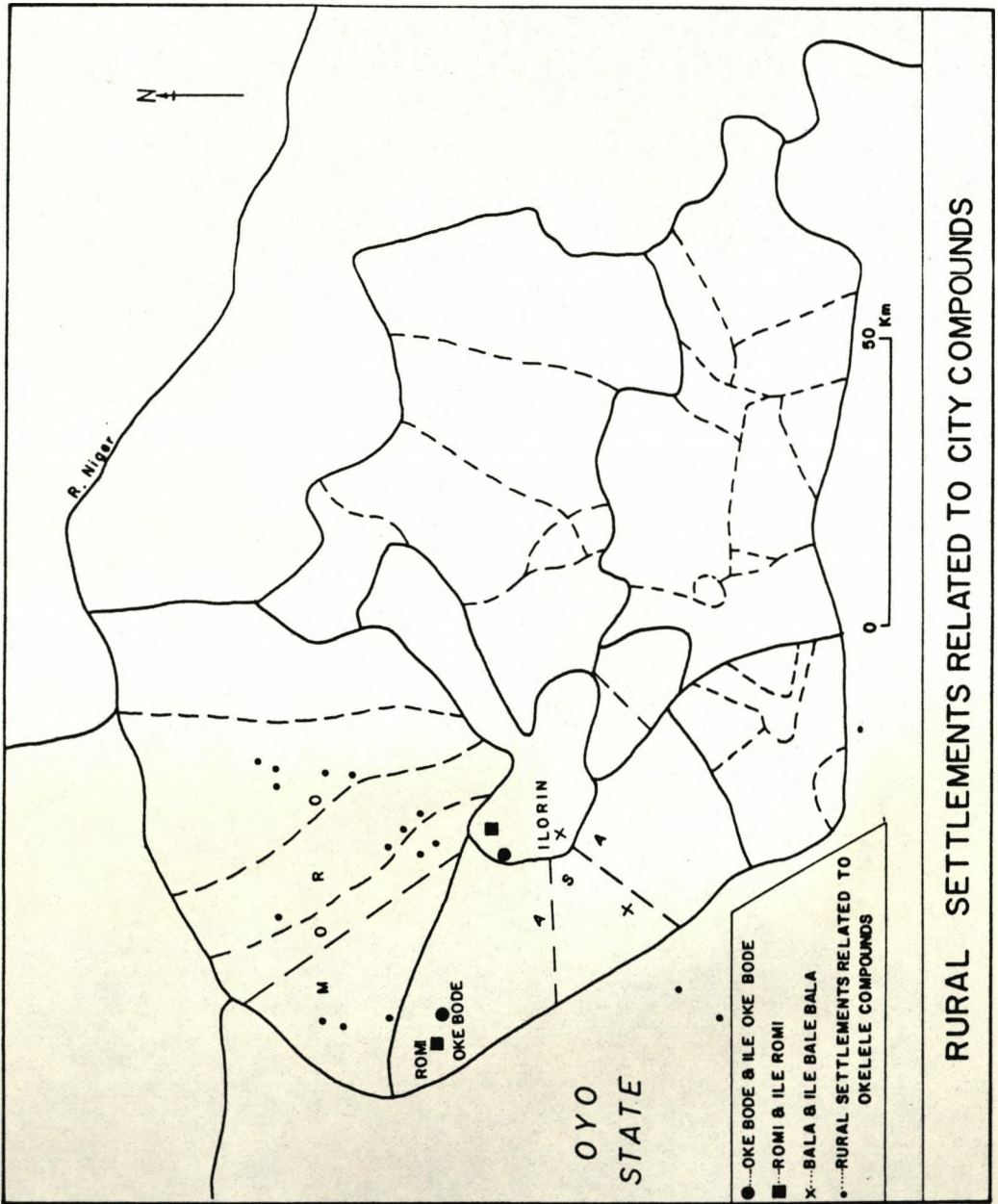
colonisation (see chapter VII).³

The pattern of out-farming from a single compound in the city of Oyo was described by Goddard in 1965. The total allegiant population of this town compound could be divided into two groups, those living permanently in the town and those spending most of the year in the distant farm settlements known as abà and cultivating outlying farms. People living in the town, ilú, cultivated land in the peri-urban area within daily walking or cycling distance of their compound but the farmers cultivating more distant land had no choice but to live with their families on their farms for most of the year. However the inhabitants of the farm hamlets thought of the town compound as their permanent residence and had rooms there which they occupied during their regular visits to the town. The interaction described by Goddard was a stable, long-established pattern, rather than a stage in rural colonisation which would eventually result in the establishment of independent settlements. This kind of out-farming has also been identified around Oshogbo in 1951 by Schwab (1965), among the Ibadans, Ilesha and Egba Yoruba by Olusanya (1969: 6, 21-22) and around Idanre by Ojo (1973).

URBAN COMPOUNDS AND RELATED RURAL SETTLEMENTS

All the urban residents studied lived in the less densely populated area of the old city of Ilorin between the closely built up centre and the open land close to the city walls (see map IV 2). All the adult males in the four compounds studied in depth and all but five of the males in the Okelele sample came from the city of Ilorin or from related rural settlements. Hence this study focuses on the movements of the Ilorin area indigenes; patterns of interaction here are very different from those in other parts of the city where there are many migrants from beyond the Ilorin region.

All but one of the urban compounds studied have one or more related rural settlements and these are situated mainly in the metropolitan districts of the emirate to the north-west of the city adjacent to the sector of the old city in which most of the compounds are found, as shown in map IX 1. The farmlands and settlements related to Yoruba towns further south are also in the rural sector adjacent to the part of town in which their urban compounds are found (Bray 1969; Goddard 1965; Peel 1979). In Ilorin the location of the farmland is clearly related to early land grants settled under the aegis of important city families. The present local government districts which extend in a radial pattern north-west of Ilorin reflect these earlier grants (see chapter II).



RURAL SETTLEMENTS RELATED TO CITY COMPOUNDS

Map IX 1

Land settled by Ilorin people gradually extended into areas west and south-west of the city later claimed by the southern protectorate. The Balogun Alanamu, who had been the most powerful of the baloguns prior to the British conquest of Ilorin, was banished to Ogbomosho in 1902 and part of the land north of that city was settled by his followers from Ilorin. Some of these settlements came under the control of the Lagos Protectorate when its boundary with Northern Nigeria was finally demarcated in 1906.⁴ Ile Aribi and Ile Olorunda in Okelele still maintain some links with settlements near Ogbomosho, at Ikoye and Ketu, as shown in map IX 1. The village of Bala and the urban compound of Ile Bale Bala, in the southern part of the city, also maintain links with settlements in the same general area which were opened up before this boundary was fixed and colonial authorities attempted to control movements between the two Protectorates (see chapter III).

CURRENT LOCAL ASSESSMENTS OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONSHIPS

One important difference between urban-rural relationships in Yoruba-speaking areas to the south of Ilorin and around Ilorin itself was revealed when household heads gave the names of non-resident members of the urban households. In no cases did an urban household head include families or individuals farming in related rural settlements unless they had

previously been living in the town compound and were farming on a short-term basis. Similar questions asked of household heads in Yoruba towns to the south would have elicited the names of many people who were born in farming settlements founded from the town compound and who regarded the town as their permanent base even though they spent nearly all the year in the rural hamlet.⁵

The contrast between Ilorin and the area to the south is also evident when Ilorin compound heads comment on the present relationship between the rural settlements and the urban compounds. Eight of the nine who stressed the importance of the rural settlement based their claim on the provision of food and the farming opportunities they provide for urban residents. Yet only one rural settlement, Bala, is generally admitted to have been originally established as a farm by people from the city compound.

If rural settlements had been founded from the larger centre, one would expect most of the compound heads to claim that the urban compounds were established before the related rural settlements. However, in six of the twenty cases they thought that this had not been the case. It is quite likely that in making these statements the compound heads were simply buttressing their arguments for the present importance of the rural settlements. Here oral recollections are used to justify and explain the present rural-urban

relationships rather than attempt a more objective reconstruction of past relationships (Robertson 1973; Stevens 1975; see also chapter III).

Some town compounds were abandoned and subsequently re-established from the rural base. For example, Ile Oke Bode was abandoned during the influenza epidemic of 1918 and re-founded from the village in 1930. A number of Okelele compound heads claimed that town compounds had been re-established by rural people on their ancestral lands in response to an appeal by the emir in the early 1960s to return to the city. Of the six compounds established in Okelele since 1960 some were certainly re-established on their former sites but others were new foundations by people from the rural hinterland taking advantage of available land on the fringes of the urban area.

Two urban compound heads claimed that their related rural settlements had been founded by people who hoped to avoid paying taxes to the new British administration. Others claimed that people left the city because they did not wish to be converted to Islam and give up their masquerades. These recollections appear to be selective as they make no reference to the lower status of some of those who moved from the city.

SOCIAL STATUS AND URBAN-RURAL LINKS

There is considerable evidence to show that many of the inhabitants of rural settlements around Ilorin were originally inferior in status to members of the related urban compounds; some of them may originally have been sent out as slaves to farm the land belonging to powerful Ilorin-based families. The colonisation of the rural hinterland under the direction of these families continued into the present century. Because of the decline in economic opportunities in the city brought about by the combined effects of world-wide depression and the demise of Ilorin as a centre of long-distance trade wealthy people in the city could no longer afford to keep retainers in town.⁶ Perhaps partly because of their inferior status rural people around Ilorin were exploited by emirate tax collectors and by 'caretakers' acting for Ilorin-based families. The memory of these depredations is kept alive today and revealed in local disputes (see chapter II and also Gavin 1977; Alade 1973; Whitaker 1970: chapter III).

The establishment of farms or plantations by town-based families depending on slave labour in the pre-colonial period and the later movement of low status urban dwellers to the rural areas is recorded around Kano and Zaria in northern Nigeria (Lovejoy 1978). This has undoubtedly contributed to existing rural inequalities in such areas (Hill 1968) as it has around Ilorin. The position of the rural

colonisers around Ilorin was and is different from that of people who left Yoruba towns further south to found new rural settlements. As this colonisation was less closely controlled by city people, the status of the rural dwellers was not markedly different from that of the majority of the people who remained in the town, and rural people kept much closer ties with the town compound than they did in Ilorin.

It is not surprising that some settlements founded from Ilorin have sought to free themselves from the Ilorin yoke. The disputes and rivalries within one of the study villages and between the village and the related urban compound reflect attempts by a group of villagers to become more independent of the city. As a result of this dispute the village head no longer stays overnight in the city compound and has long since ceased going to Ilorin for Muslim festivals as this would have meant making an act of homage to the Ojuekun family who claims superior rights over the village. Rivalry is also expressed in terms of identification with political parties. Here, as among other settlements seeking for independence from Ilorin control, UPN is popular; the rival village group supports the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) and the city compound favours the NPN (see also chapter II).

In Odo Ode and Falokun villages it is impossible to ascertain the extent and nature of previous links with the city as they are now repudiated by many

members of the community. A similar process has been observed around Ilesha where some people are seeking to upgrade the status of their farming settlement to that of an ilú, an independent town (Peel 1979). The bales of both Odo Ode and Falokun claim to have town houses which they occasionally visit but neither of them go to the town for Muslim festivals. The Odo Ode imam regularly prays for the people from Ilorin who founded the settlement. However, the chief of the hunters in the village told of the founding of the village by a group of people from Old Oyo. Oral histories collected in the village in 1912 recorded that the descendants of the founder, who had been granted land by the Igbolo (Offa) Yoruba, put themselves under the protection of successive Ilorin balóguns.⁷ The existence of these different oral histories reflects the ambiguity and complexity of the relations between the rural areas and the city. In the light of these contradictions it is illuminating to examine the residential rights held by the various rural and urban people.

RESIDENCE RIGHTS

In an attempt to define residence rights more precisely and in terms which would reflect respondents' perceptions, the heads of all rural and urban households were asked whether they had a house elsewhere. The replies reveal that residence rights of people in

the urban compounds and the related rural settlements are not reciprocal. This is revealed most clearly in a study of the two Oloje compounds of Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode and the related villages of Romi and Oke Bode.

Although everyone in the two villages is regarded as having some claims to residence rights in the city compounds in practice such rights are not equally accessible to all rural residents. Only 14 of the 21 household heads in Oke Bode for whom there is information have rooms or houses of their own in the town compound, while a further six have land there. Seventeen of the 36 household heads in Romi have houses in Ile Romi and seven have land there. Urban residents are even less likely to have residence rights in the rural settlements. Only one of the twenty household heads from Ile Oke Bode has a house in the village and only 6 of the 31 Ilorin-born heads of Ile Romi households have houses in Romi village.

Urban residents may not consider it important to exercise residence rights in a formerly dependent rural settlement even though today they exercise farming rights there when it suits them to do so. Conversely rural residents of inferior status may not be encouraged to exercise their residential rights in the city compound. Today a village or a compound head is likely to have rooms or a room in the town compound which are always regarded as belonging to him whereas other people visiting town for various

reasons sleep where they can.

In Bala village residence rights in town are distributed among several town compounds. Here 49 of the 96 households have residential rights in one of at least five different compounds in the southern part of the old city. The district head and his followers have rights in a large compound near the emir's palace where the district head lived permanently before he moved to Bala. The head of Ile Balogun in Bala has rights in the compound of Balogun Alanamu. The greatest number of Bala households claim rights in Ile Bale Bala, 'the compound of the village head of Bala', in Baboko sub-ward.

In Falokun and Odo Ode only the most important villagers claim residential rights in the city. In Odo Ode the bale, the local government councillor, the imam and one man who collects isakólè from many farmers in the village area have houses in town where their forefathers were born. In Falokun only the bale has a house in the city, in Balogun Alanamu ward.

Rights to houses and land are usually traced through the male line but occasionally rights may be claimed through females. In the village of Aregun the bale did not admit to having a town house but when President Shagari came to Ilorin in April 1981 the bale exercised residential rights in a compound through his mother's line and spent two weeks there together with many of his followers. In this

village oral histories make no reference whatever to Ilorin origins and the ceremonies associated with the accession of the new bale in early 1981 involved ceremonies at various rural settlements where the ancestors were said to have stayed on their long journey from Old Oyo. This example does suggest that some residential rights may be asserted on special occasions and further emphasises the dynamic and varied nature of the relationships between town and countryside.

FARMING FROM ILORIN COMPOUNDS

Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani towns have always had a relatively high proportion of their resident population engaged in farming, although the proportion in Ilorin was smaller than in the Yoruba towns further south (see chapter II). In the 1952/3 census 14 per cent of Ilorin's adult males were recorded as farmers while the figures for the Yoruba towns of Iseyin, Oyo, Iwo and Ede were 47 per cent, 44 per cent, 40 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. Few women in the Ilorin region engage in full-time farming (see chapters II and V). The 1922 tax returns had shown that 28 per cent of the adult males in Ilorin were farmers (Gavin 1977: 27).

The proportion of full-time farmers among the indigenous population of Ilorin has probably declined in recent years and migrants find it difficult to obtain enough land close to the city to farm full-

time. However farming is still an important subsidiary occupation for city men. Even migrants from outside the state can obtain land for farming on a short-term basis close to their houses or on the edge of town. A survey I conducted in 1977 revealed that one quarter of the sampled employees at the University of Ilorin had farms although one third of them had lived in Ilorin for less than two years. Other studies elsewhere in tropical Africa have also indicated the importance of farming as a subsidiary occupation for urban dwellers (Gugler 1975b; Skinner 1974: 51-2).

In Okelele although only 10 per cent of the males, 10 of the 98, give farming as their major occupation, at least twice that number are part-time farmers or had recently been involved in farming. The full-time farmers cultivate land close to their houses which they reach on foot, bicycle or taxi each farming day, returning to the city compounds each evening. They usually have a small shelter for their implements and for the mid-day rest on the farm, but unlike some farmers elsewhere in Yorubaland (see chapter VII and Francis 1981: 61-2) they never spend the night there. Some part-time farmers have land close to Okelele but others have farms in related villages which are worked by relatives or by migrant labourers.

Farming is also important for men in Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode, two compounds in the Oloje sub-ward. This ward recorded the highest proportion

(84 per cent) of farmers in the 1922 tax returns.⁸

Today most farmers from these compounds farm in or near the related villages rather than in the immediate peri-urban area, where much of the land has been taken over for schools and government projects. Only four of the adult males in Ile Romi are full-time farmers. However, twenty-five Ile Romi men are part-time or retired farmers going to Romi or to family land near the village once or twice a fortnight to supervise migrant labourers or do a little farm work themselves. Thus in this urban compound 29 of the 65 adult males, 45 per cent, have some current involvement in farming. A further two, both born in Ilorin, had once farmed in Romi village.

In Ile Oke Bode only 6 of the 56 adult men claim to be farmers but three of these only visit their farms in Oke Bode village once or twice a week. A further 19 have farms in or near Oke Bode village which they visit less frequently. Thus in this urban compound 25 of the males for whom we have information, 45 per cent, have some current involvement in farming. Two women also have farms on which they employ migrant labourers. Men from the two smaller urban compounds related to the study villages, Ile Sosoki and Ile Bale Bala, also employ migrant labourers to farm for them in the related villages.

The employment of migrant labourers on a piece work basis in rural Ilorin is in contrast to the

situation in Yoruba lands to the south and south-east of the emirate. Here much of the agricultural land belonging to the townspeople, and especially that in the farm hamlets, is now leased on a long-term basis to migrants. Many farm hamlets are now occupied almost exclusively by such migrants, some of whom, like the Urhobo in Ilesha, are not Yoruba speakers (Peel 1979; Francis 1981: 61-2; Olusanya 1976). Such a strategy is necessary in order to maintain perennial cocoa farms, whereas in the Ilorin region the labour needs for annual food crop cultivation are more seasonal and can adequately be met by the employment of seasonal labour even if the labourers, as we saw in chapter VII, are now staying longer and cultivating their own farms.

The employment of labourers on farms in related rural settlements in the Ilorin area means that townspeople as well as rural residents working in towns can continue to have farms there. As a result of improved transportation the perceived distance between the city and these rural settlements has declined. Today the return journey between all but the most remote villages and their related urban compounds can be made in one day by taxi or lorry. It is therefore possible for urban dwellers to combine farming with urban occupations in a way that was not possible in the past. If out-farming was ever practised around Ilorin the rationale for its continued survival no longer exists for

townspeople can now have farms in the rural areas while maintaining a permanent urban base.

VISITING PATTERNS

Townspeople do not only go to related settlements to farm; women visit rural markets and almost everyone goes to family ceremonies such as weddings, naming ceremonies and funerals which may last for several days and therefore often entail an overnight visit. These ceremonies take place in the permanent residence of the people concerned, rather than in the towns as is more common further south (Goddard 1965). In the Ilorin region it is easier to trace the visits of townspeople to related rural settlements than vice versa for one can generally identify the rural settlements visited while the rural survey records visits to Ilorin and not to the particular city compound.

The links between urban residents and those living in related rural compounds are illustrated in table IX 1. The most frequent overnight visits within the Ilorin region are to the related villages or the general area of these settlements. Map IX 2, when compared to the distribution of rural settlements related to Okelele compounds as shown in map IX 1, shows clearly that the majority of the overnight visits by both men and women are concentrated in the north-western sector in the metropolitan area and in the area north of Ogbomosho, where related rural settlements are also found.

Table IX 1: Most Recent Overnight Visits by
Ilorin Residents

Okelele - Ilorin-born residents

	in or near related villages	elsewhere in the region	elsewhere in Nigeria
males	18	14	41
females	17	6	26

Ile Romi residents

	to Romi village	within 15 km. of Romi	elsewhere in the region	elsewhere in Nigeria
males	6	13	17	10
females	15	8	29	9

Oke Bode residents

	to Oke Bode village	within 15 km.	elsewhere in the region	elsewhere in Nigeria
males	10	2	-	23
females	10	4	4	13

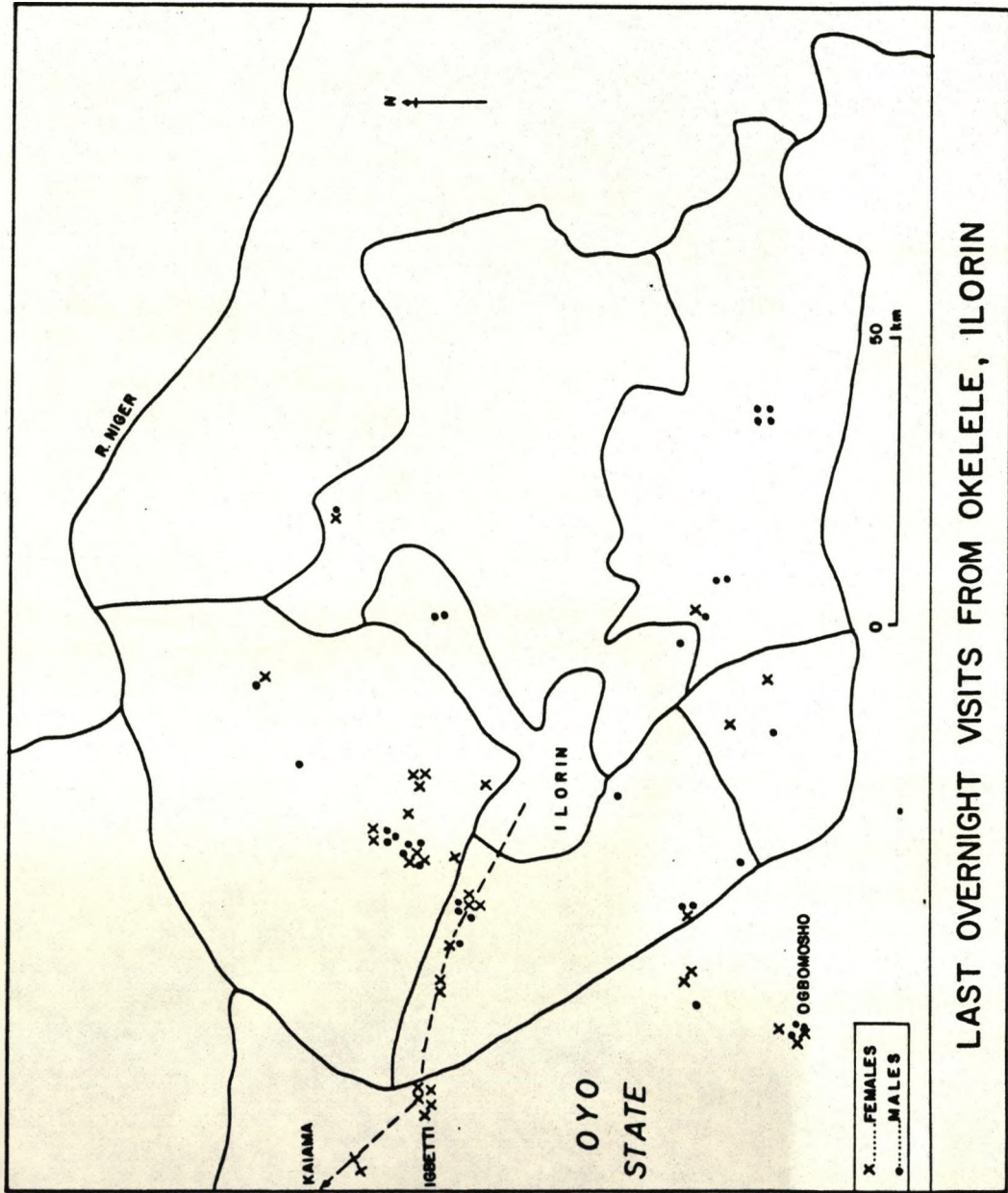
Women also visit markets in that area but for both men and women visits to these areas are mainly for family occasions. These are also the main reasons given for the visits by Ile Romi people to Otte and Fili, on the main Ogbomosho road south of Ilorin. Here it is perhaps worth noting the surprisingly high proportion of adults from Ile Romi who reported that they had spent a night away during the previous week; 41 of the 67 women, 61 per cent, and 35 of the 60 men, 58 per cent. These visits were to a

number of different destinations, not only to one place where there might have been a special festival or ceremony of concern to many Ile Romi people.

Overnight visits to other places in the Ilorin region, especially for men, are related to work or trade. These include the visits by men employed in state and local government; visits to Omu Aran and Ajasse Po in Irepodun LGA and Igponrin in Ilorin LGA as shown on map IX 2. These visits are more likely to be to larger settlements in the non-metropolitan area with a greater number of central place functions in contrast to the small villages or hamlets in the metropolitan area which are the destination of most of the other people visiting within the Ilorin region.

Overnight visits beyond the Ilorin region reflect links with kin working in towns, or in the case of men employed in transport-related activities, journeys made in connection with their jobs. A number of weavers from Okelele recorded that their last overnight visit had been to Oje cloth market in Ibadan or to Ijebu Ode to sell cloth or buy supplies for weaving. The large number of overnight visits from Ile Oke Bode to Lagos (18 of 37 visits for men and 8 of 32 visits for women) were primarily visits to people from that compound living in the capital. Twenty eight of the 62 adult non-residents of Ile Oke Bode are living in Lagos.

Town women engage in daily circulation visiting



LAST OVERNIGHT VISITS FROM OKELELE, ILORIN

Map IX 9

markets in the general area of related rural settlements where they can also meet their relatives. Okelele women visit the markets along the main road west from Ilorin, at Alapa, Onire and Bukase in Kwara State and at Igbetti, Kaiama and Soro in Oyo State. Ten women from Ile Romi visit Igbetti, the market most frequently visited by Romi village women. Thirteen women from Ile Ode Bode visit Odegiwa market, 35 kilometres from their compound along the main Igbetti road, while only three visit the larger market at Alapa which is ten kilometres closer to Ilorin. Five Ile Oke Bode women visit Paiye market, the market closest to Oke Bode village. As none of the visits of women from Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode are to the periodic markets closest to the city or to the largest ones in the vicinity, the possibility of social interaction with kin and friends from in and around related villages appears to play some role in market visiting patterns.

These daily and periodic movements are part of a pattern of kin and commercial links in a highly mobile population such as are recorded elsewhere in Nigeria. But around Ilorin such movements are also an aspect of a unique relationship between certain city compounds and related rural settlements. Periodic movements associated with Muslim festivals can also be seen as another aspect of this relationship.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

Religious festivals are occasions on which people everywhere in Nigeria travel to their home settlements. Christians and Muslims from the out-farming settlements of Yoruba towns to the south of Ilorin go to the towns for their respective festivals. The rural Moslem population of the Fulani emirates in northern Nigeria, and in Ilorin, visit the central city of the emirate for the two main Muslim festivals. In the Ilorin region, as elsewhere in Nigeria, Id el-Kabir, which commemorates the sacrifice of Ibrahim, is the most important festival of the year; of secondary importance is Id el-Fitr which marks the end of the Ramadan fast.

On these two festivals, known locally as sala, the emir of Ilorin, his chiefs and their followers ride or walk to the praying ground, or yidi, just south of the city. When the baloguns, district and village heads return from the yidi they gather in front of the palace to pay homage to the emir. In 1980 the emir accompanied President Shagari on the pilgrimage to Mecca at Id el-Kabir and two of the four senior baloguns were too ill to attend the prayers. The absence of the emir and the two baloguns was regarded as a 'disaster' by one member of a powerful Ilorin family.⁹ For today the two sala processions in Ilorin are still regarded as a visible expression of the traditional power structure of the city of

Ilorin and of the influence of the Ilorin-based institutions over the surrounding rural area (Lloyd 1962).

In 1981 the Id el-Kabir procession in Ilorin was the occasion for an open display of political rivalry, stone throwing and name calling which involved factions in the emirate power structure and in the dominant local political party, the NPN. This festival also has a political significance elsewhere in northern Nigeria. Just before Id el-Kabir in 1980 the Governor of Kano State ruled that district and village heads in the state should not go to their emirate headquarters for the sala. This ruling was ostensibly made in order to curtail conspicuous consumption and to encourage people to stay on their farms but it was widely interpreted as an attempt to limit the power of the emir.¹⁰

The social importance of Id el-Kabir focuses on the slaughtering of the rams which takes place in the compounds immediately after the prayers at the yidi. The meat is shared out among all the people who have come home for the festival and is given freely to visitors as a religious duty. Of the four rural study settlements with related Ilorin compounds the village of Bala has the highest proportion of its inhabitants visiting town compounds for Id el-Kabir. In 1978 30 of the 106 men for whom there is information, 26 per cent, and 29 of the 141 women, 20 per cent,

spent at least one night in Ilorin for this festival. The district head and all members of his compound spent at least two weeks in the town compound near the emir's palace. They were accompanied by men from Ile Onilu, the drummers' compound, and a few retainers from other compounds in Bala who had served the 80-year-old district head during his forty years in office. The bale, village head, spent a month in Ile Bale Bala over the festival. The imam, his wife, married son and their families spent six weeks in Ilorin. The few men in Bala in regular employment are at a disadvantage during such festivals for they can only visit the town over the one day public holiday.

For Bala villagers the political significance of accompanying the district head to the praying ground is at least as important as the religious significance of the festival for the prescribed prayers can just as easily be said in the village mosque. Here the festival is an occasion for face to face meetings, demonstrations of personal service and the renewal of promises of obedience such as were common in pre-literate societies (Goody 1977: 16). To have the leisure for a prolonged stay in town is also a sign of status for traditional leaders such as district, village and compound heads.

In the Oloje compounds of Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode visiting from the related villages over Id el-Kabir in 1979 was negligible and this reflects the ambiguous relationship between those compounds and their related

rural settlements. A separate survey of all visitors to the two compounds over Id el-Kabir in 1980 gives some insight into this relationship. In Ile Romi 38 of the adult visitors were born in the town compound and 40 in the village but of the latter only five still claim to live in the village. In Ile Oke Bode 37 of the visitors were born in the town compound and 30 in Oke Bode village; only seven of the 30 said they were still living in Oke Bode. Here sala visits to Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode are important for people who are living in other towns, rather than for rural dwellers as in the case of visits from Bala village. For people born in Romi and Oke Bode and working away the town compounds appear more attractive places in which to spend sala than their remote natal village. For the two villages cannot offer comparable opportunities to visit friends and relatives and enjoy urban life. Such people may also be distancing themselves from their rural origins and the memories of an inferior status vis à vis the inhabitants of the town compound.

LONG-TERM MOVEMENTS BETWEEN ILORIN AND RELATED VILLAGES

The most widespread form of long-term population movement in Nigeria today is from rural to urban areas. Rural residents living around Ilorin who frequently visit the city and who can claim family houses or residence rights there would appear to be in a

favourable position to make a long-term move to Ilorin. The reality is, however, much more complex.

Relatively few rural males had moved to Okelele; only ten of the 114 adult males in the Okelele sample were born in the related villages and of these seven were from three households recently established in the city. Compound heads in Okelele did not think that long-term movements from related settlements to town compounds were important. Seven of the fourteen compound heads stated that there was little or no long-term movement between the two sectors; five claimed that there was some movement to the town and two mentioned the seasonal movement of farmers to rural areas during the main agricultural season.

The pattern of long-term movement between the village of Bala and Ile Bale Bala, the city compound in which the largest number of villagers claim residence rights, reflects the close links and constant interaction between the two places. Five of the nine adult males in Ile Bale Bala were born in the village and four in the city. All those born in the city had spent some time in the village and several still have farms there.

A net movement from rural areas to the town compounds is evident in the two Oloje compounds of Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode. No adult males in Oke Bode village had been born in Ilorin and only one adult male in Romi had been born in the city. In

contrast, at least 9 of the 65 adult males living in Ile Oke Bode had been born in the village. The older men had been born in Oke Bode before the town compound was re-founded in 1930 and some younger men had come from the village after marriage. Nine of the 58 adult males, 14 per cent, in Ile Romi had been born in Romi village (see table V 1) and all of them had lived elsewhere before coming to the town compound. Seven of them were over 50 when they 'retired' to Ile Romi. Three of the men born in Oke Bode village had lived elsewhere before coming to the town compound. This indicates that, rather than seeing the city of Ilorin as a source of economic opportunity, these men had worked elsewhere first and then decided to 'retire' to the town compound rather than returning to their remote villages. All the movers had left the rural areas permanently in so far as none of them was recorded as non-residents by heads of rural households. This pattern accords with that of the sala visiting in which many visitors working away but born in Romi or Oke Bode villages may be preparing to return to the town rather than to their natal villages.

There is also a long-term net movement of women to town from related rural settlements. The married men moving from Romi and Oke Bode bring their rural-born wives with them. Other women move from the rural area to marry men in related urban compounds. This marriage migration reflects the appeal of the

urban areas as places where women can earn money as traders. Life may also be easier for women as they can collect water from a standpipe or well in the compound rather than walk to a water source which in the dry season may be several kilometres away. The higher status of urban men, and their greater prosperity, might also attract rural women to polygynous urban households. In Okelele at least 23 of the 28 women (of a total of 110 resident females) who were born outside Ilorin and married Ilorin-born men came from related rural settlements. There is no evidence for a corresponding movement of urban women to marry men in the rural settlements although occasionally a widow will return to her natal rural settlement after spending her married years with an Ilorin-born husband in the town.

LONG-TERM MOVEMENTS FROM RELATED VILLAGES TO THE CITIES

Overall levels of long-term mobility from the city and from related rural settlements do not appear to be significantly lower than they are from other rural areas around Ilorin in spite of the attractions of the city for residents and for those in related settlements (see table IV 4). Only 6 of the 100 non-resident adult males from Romi and 28 of the 67 from Oke Bode are living in Ilorin. Yet approximately half of the non-residents of both villages live in Lagos (see table IX 2). In this respect the two

Table IX 2: The Oke Bode and Romi Communities

A. Total Population of each community

Resident

	males total	number who lived away		females total	number who lived away
Oke Bode	45	13	29%	33	7 21%
Romi	80	28	35%	65	14 21%

Non-resident

	males	females
Oke Bode	34	34
Romi	47	44

B. Destination of those who have lived away

	Lagos	Ilorin	other urban	rural	total
<u>Oke Bode</u>					
females	6 86%	-	-	1	7
males	4 31%	2	-	7	13
<u>Romi</u>					
females	6 37%	2	6	2	16
males	14 47%	7	8	1	30

Figures include those who have been to two destinations.

C. Residence of current non-residents

	Lagos	Ilorin	non-farm	farm	total
<u>Oke Bode</u>					
females	34 53%	25	4	1	64
males	34 51%	28	4	1	67
<u>Romi</u>					
females	44 47%	6	43	1	94
males	47 47%	6	46	1	100

villages share the characteristics of other study villages in the Ilorin region which also have a higher rate of out-movement to Lagos than to the local major centre, Ilorin. However, there may be a total loss of population here due to permanent out-movement. We have already been alerted to this possibility in examining patterns of visits to Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode over Muslim festivals.

It has been suggested that because Lagos contains so many non-indigenes it is easier to become a 'Lagosian' than it is to be accepted as an indigene of other centres in Nigeria (see also Barnes 1974). The family of the present senator for Lagos originally came from Romi village but he has always been regarded as an indigene of Lagos; indeed he could not hold his present position if this was not so. The senator's grandfather left Romi for Lagos as a young man but returned in old age; the senator himself last visited Romi to pray for victory in the 1979 elections. More recently his junior sister returned to Ilorin for Id el-Kabir in 1980 but stayed in a hotel and travelled daily to the town compound; she did not visit the village at all. A number of men now living in Romi village have sons living in Lagos whom they do not think will return to the village to live, even though some of them return for Muslim festivals. It is possible that links with the senator and his family provide an effective patronage network and focus for

identity for people who leave the village permanently and go to the capital city.

In Oke Bode there is no direct evidence for people moving to Lagos before the present generation of non-residents, the eldest of whom are in their early forties. However the relative absence of people over forty in the resident and non-resident population suggests that some people in this age group may have permanently left the village. Some people who were born in Oke Bode have built houses in Ilorin but outside the related compound and this may also reflect their desire to distance themselves from their rural and possibly servile origins.

The non-residents are apparently not interested in the development of Oke Bode or Romi for neither village has a development union. Some people from Romi return for special occasions in their own cars and so clearly they can afford to contribute to the welfare of the village if they wish to do so. There is no evidence of any non-residents building houses in either village.

The remoteness of the two villages may contribute to the lack of involvement of former residents in their home places and their tendency to move away permanently. Oke Bode is the only settlement studied which cannot be reached by motor at any time of the year. In the wet season the tracks which link the Romi compounds are hazardous to all but four-wheel drive vehicles.

Neither village has a market and Oke Bode did not even have a primary school at the time of the survey. But impressionistic evidence from settlements I have visited in northern Ifelodun LGA which have high rates of circulation suggest that remoteness per se is not an adequate explanation for the neglect of the home settlement by people living away.

Part of the explanation for the apparent loss of residents from these two villages may be their status vis à vis the town compound. Villagers whose status is still regarded as inferior to that of the residents in the town compound may not wish to return to the village after working away. Villagers who return to the town compound may be of a higher status than their fellow villagers or have been away from the village long enough to remove themselves from the taint of their rural origin.

In villages over which the head of the urban compound had a close control it was perhaps easier for rural residents to make a complete break and leave permanently than for them to engage in circulation. The emirate and colonial authorities did not want people to spend longer in southern towns than was necessary to earn enough money to pay taxes in their home settlements and they may have harassed people who spent too long away.

It is useful to compare this long-term movement with that from the related urban compounds of

Ile Romi and Ile Oke Bode where a high proportion of current non-residents are also in Lagos; 21 of 44 adult males from Ile Romi and 14 of 31 from Ile Oke Bode. In terms of current and past circulation rates these two locations are in the middle range when compared to the rates of out-movement from the rural settlements (table V 4). A greater number of present male residents in Ile Oke Bode had lived in Lagos, 11 compared to three from Ile Romi. In the latter compound 18 women had lived in Lagos, mostly before marriage as house servants. There is no evidence of loss due to migration from these two compounds. The attractions of life in Ilorin and the enjoyment of full residential rights there encourage those who have worked away to retire to their home compound.

THE VILLAGE OF BALA - ALTERNATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

The high status of Bala village and the economic opportunities associated with this status show how, unlike Romi and Oke Bode, a relationship with the city may be beneficial to rural residents. In this case the crucial element is the presence of the district head and the district headquarters in the village. The facilities in the village, the court, school and dispensary provide employment possibilities for unskilled and skilled employment within the village. Bala has more central place functions than any other rural settlement studied (see chapter III).

Of the 18 rural males in the survey employed in the formal sector, 11 live in Bala. Other non-farm employment includes driving (3), tailoring (4) and bicycle repairing (1). There are also eight drummers who serve the district head and accompany him to Ilorin for the Muslim festivals; most of these men come from Ile Onilu, 'the drummers' compound'. Although there is no significant overall difference in the ratio of farm to non-farm employment in the nine rural settlements, Bala has the smallest proportion of adult males giving farming as their main occupation, 71 of 113 (63 per cent). It is notable that Romi has the largest proportion of farmers, 76 of 80, 95 per cent, which may be an indication of the paucity of alternative opportunities within that village.

In view of these opportunities within the large village of Bala it is perhaps not surprising that there is a low rate of current and past circulation from the village. The proportion of non-resident to resident men is the lowest of all the villages and the proportion of men who have lived away is the second lowest after Aribi, a village also notable for the alternative opportunities available to the residents (see chapter VIII). The village also has the smallest proportion of women who had once lived away. Some past and current non-residents had lived in Lagos, some in Ilorin and others in Borno State, in Ilesha and Ogbomosho. There is no

indication of permanent out-movement.

When one considers the local opportunities available for farmers at the farm centre which provides subsidised fertiliser and tractor hire, and services such as the full six-class primary school and the dispensary which can be used by all the resident population, it is clear that this settlement provides for more of the needs of the local people than other rural study settlements. This perhaps deters out-movement. Accessibility to the city of Ilorin and the close relationship between many rural residents and people in related urban compounds is also beneficial in providing access to trading opportunities and a base from which to make use of urban services. Ilorin is only 19 kilometres away and the village is only 5 kilometres from the main Ibadan-Ogbomosho-Ilorin road. Mini-buses, some of them owned and operated by the Bala farmers cooperative, make return journeys between the village and Ilorin many times a day. Clearly here the links between the village and city compounds, and the role of the village as a district headquarters are important in providing alternative opportunities for local rural residents.

CONCLUSIONS

Interaction between villages and related Ilorin compounds is still very important for both rural and urban people in spite of the attraction of other cities as the destination for both short and long-term mobility. There have, however, been some recent changes in the patterns of local interaction. The employment of migrant labourers and the improvement in transportation enables permanent urban residents to be actively involved in farming in a way that was not possible in the past. This has also raised the status of some rural settlements vis à vis urban compounds, although the memory of the inferior status of some rural settlements is still a factor in urban-rural interaction.

For some villages, such as Bala, the link with Ilorin has been advantageous for the majority of the population and recently this link has facilitated the provision of amenities and local employment. However for other related settlements the relationship has often been exploitive and rural people have tried to repudiate it. This is made easier by the fact that the power of the Ilorin-based families is declining. For example landholders no longer have the power to require farmers to whom they have granted cultivation rights to work on their land or go to Ilorin to pay homage to the emir at sala. Other rural residents have sought to escape from urban domination

and the stigma of low status by permanently leaving their natal settlements rather than by engaging in long-term circulation.

Even in villages with a close and more egalitarian relationship with the town, the city compounds are not regarded as the permanent home base for the rural population. Hence the population of the city of Ilorin cannot be considered to include an allegiant rural population in the sense meant by the British observer in 1912, and as more recent observers have noted in Yoruba towns further south. The present complexity of urban-rural interaction around Ilorin owes much to the unique mixture of Yoruba and Fulani strands in the history of the city as well as to the dynamic processes of population mobility which are operating today throughout Nigeria.

Footnotes

1. Nigerian Archives, Kaduna: Ilorin Prof. Ilorin Town Assessment Report, 1912, 900/13.
2. Ibid., 900/25.
3. NAK: SNP 7/13 5552/1912 Ilorin Province, N. W. District Assessment Report, para. 13; see also chapter VIII.
4. NAK: Ilorin Province 4 270/1918 paras 5, 6, 8.
5. I am grateful to students in a University of Ilorin rural geography course for discussions on these and related points.

Footnotes continued

6. NAK: Ilorin Province, 5 D 3640 Ilorin Town 1928; CSO 26/2 12687 vol. 6, Ilorin Prov. Annual Report 1929; Paiye Revised Assessments 1917-27, report 1922, para. 7 a.
7. NAK: IP 4 814/1912 Land Tenure in Afon District, case 20.
8. NAK: Ilorin Prof. 1177/149/1922, Ilorin Town Assessment Report, 1922.
9. Personal communication from Ann O'Hear.
10. New Nigerian, October 23, 1980, p 1.

CHAPTER X

THE MEANING OF MULTILOCALITY

THE CONTEXT OF MULTILOCALITY

Multilocality can be said to occur when individuals maintain residence and other rights, such as those to land for cultivation, in more than one place. These rights must be maintained for some time and involve social ties in more than one place. The length of time it takes to establish such multilocality depends on the context of the move; in the Ilorin region three months is generally long enough to establish another residential base but the great majority of those who leave their home base to work elsewhere spend a year or more away.

Residential rights in a newly established house may also be extended to kin from the home place who come to seek for work. In the context of the extended family siblings, parents, children and age mates may assume that they have the right to live in each other's houses. We have seen how patterns of fostering, particularly those which involve parents living away and sending their children to stay with grandparents in the home settlement, can strengthen the links between kin and between place of origin and place of work. Such children can be said to be multilocal. In the Ilorin region women also maintain rights in

their natal compound and if these are strong enough they may also be classified as multilocality. In contrast, the ideal Western nuclear family is a sharply defined residential and sentimental unit in which the rights of the husband and wife focus on a single place and children above marriagable age may not have automatic residence rights.

In the Ilorin region a unique form of multilocality is associated with the relationship between certain urban compounds and related rural settlements. The relationship between these two sectors is not as clear cut as it is in Yoruba towns further south where the town compounds are commonly regarded as the permanent bases for people who live in the rural hamlets. Around Ilorin some rural and urban residents are multilocal and enjoy reciprocal residential rights. These rights may be more common among people with a high status; they are heritable and often have endured over several generations.

It is difficult to establish a time limit within which dual residence can be said to constitute multilocality, but there are clearly cases where the stay is too short to establish enduring social links. In Nigeria itinerant craftsmen, teachers and preachers enjoy houseroom and hospitality in a household so long as they provide a service, in much the same way as did school teachers among the scattered population of eighteenth and nineteenth century rural north

America. A tailor in the Ilorin area, for example, may only stay in a village a few days while he makes clothes for a wedding or other special occasion, while an imam or Arabic teacher may spent far longer in a settlement before moving on. Thus multilocality depends on the social context; on social and kin links and on the maintenance of rights over the period of absence. The context cannot be extended to embrace people who make short-term moves on an irregular basis. For example, in the European or north American context one can hardly think of a travelling salesman who occasionally visits the same commercial hotel, or of a family who regularly stay at the same hotel in Blackpool for their annual holiday as multi-local. For when they are not actually staying in these places their ties with them are very tenuous and not usually strengthened by kinship. However; in the Western context a man who maintains a mistress and provides separate living quarters for her might justly claim to be multilocal.

MULTILOCALITY AS A FORM OF ATTACHMENT TO PEOPLE AND PLACES

Multilocality presupposes a strong attachment to more than one place and to people in more than one place. Only when we ask about the significance and meaning of the home place or the various other places where an individual has rights and obligations

can we begin to understand the deeper dimensions of multilocality. This is essentially a geographical task for, as Relph has pointed out:

Geographers wish to understand not only why a place is a factual event in human consciousness, but what beliefs people hold about place. (1976: 3)

He later quotes Gabriel Marcel: 'An individual is not distinct from that place, he is that place' (Relph 1976: 43). It is my aim here to examine the extent to which individuals are associated with place and to suggest some of the implications of this association for the inhabitants of the city of Ilorin and the surrounding rural area.

Many scholars have examined the links between the migrants' home and work place (see chapter I). Such links are easily identifiable as they often take the form of organisations which promote the interests of the migrants in their home place and in their work place. But there would be no point in having such formal links if there was no attachment to the home place in the first instance. It is all too often assumed that such attachments exist, without asking about their meaning.

People in central Kwara State, like most people in Nigeria, continue to use the memory of past events to validate their group history and to strengthen their group identity. Ethical precepts are often expressed in terms of behaviour appropriate to

members of the group rather than in universalistic terms and this framework has survived the mobility experience. When migrants return to their home communities to fulfil those rights and obligations which are theirs by virtue of their membership in that group they are acting out this past-in-the-present within a network of kin.

The migrants are often seen by the home people, either in the rural area or in the indigenous areas of Ilorin, as representatives of the wider world and as being in touch with a consumer economy with superior access to education and amenities such as health care, education, piped water and electricity. There is a tendency for both the migrants and the home people, as well as social researchers, to stress this aspect of the return experience, rather than the sentimental and symbolic meaning of the home place.

IDENTITY AND SPACE

People identify with place at many different scales ranging from an individual room or building, to a village, town or nation. For the native English speaker and the West African English speaker the words: 'I am going home' can refer to a return to their own residence within a settlement or to the movement from one country to another depending on the context within which the statement is made (Middleton 1979). Evans-Pritchard noted a similar use of the word 'home',

cieng, among the Nuer (1940: 135). At each of the various levels there are certain rights and privileges associated with membership of a household, family, a larger community and a political entity.

The Yoruba word ilé, loosely translated as 'home', reflects the different levels on which this identity is experienced. Ilé can refer to one's place of origin, as Oyo Ile, Old Oyo, the headquarters of the old Yoruba kingdom of Oyo which is regarded as the original home of the western Yoruba people. The term ilé also refers to the compound, the residential group sharing a common origin and settled contiguously, and to the individual house within the compound.

The individual dwelling unit sheltering the nuclear family has been the basis of much of the Western analysis of the symbolic importance of 'home' and loyalty to place. In highly individualistic phenomenological thought the house is seen as a 'sacred' space, a refuge from the world, or as a 'defensible' space against the alien world beyond (Eliade, trans. 1959: Newman 1972). Bachelard examined the house as an analogy for the mind: 'The house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind' (1958, trans. 1969: 6). Commentators borrowing ideas from ethological studies of animal behaviour have interpreted the dwelling of the nuclear family as the centre of a territory and they have not considered the possibility

of the simultaneous existence of more than one territory (such as exists in multilocality) or of a unit larger than the nuclear family (Porteous 1976).

Lord Raglan (1964) saw the house as a temple. He followed Frazer in attempting to prove a diffusionist theory by gathering evidence from eclectic sources and paying no regard to the context within which the examples occurred. In so doing he failed to distinguish between a house as the residence of a small intimate nuclear family and the house as the residence of an extended family in which individualism and the concept of privacy played little part. This is a crucial distinction for in the African context only rarely does a house constitute a single separate dwelling and connote a two-generation nuclear family. In Nigeria even detached houses for the elite are built large enough to accommodate an extended family and they usually do.

Indigenous housing styles in the Ilorin region range from large walled compounds to individual one or two roomed houses. Because of the warm climate and the general low standard of housing much activity which in a temperate climate would take place indoors takes place outside; food preparation and cooking, eating and leisure activities take place in the context of a constantly mobile group out of doors in a semi-public space (see chapter III). Therefore it is not realistic to think of the

individual house, an interior space protecting the nuclear family and providing the focus for its activities, as being the primary unit which has spatial meaning to each person (see Gould 1982).

THE COMPOUND AS A SOCIAL GROUP AND SOURCE OF IDENTITY

If you ask someone in Ilorin or a nearby village where he lives he will nearly always give the name of an ilé or compound as well as that of a larger settlement. This compound is a social group which may or may not be visibly identifiable as a single physical unit. It varies greatly in size from several hundred people - Ile Kongbari and Ile Zarumi in Okelele each have over two hundred permanent residents - to a nuclear family such as live in Ile Elerigbe, Okelele. The members of a compound participate in each others marriage ceremonies, naming ceremonies and burials and help each other in time of need. Compounds are usually exogamous units but this rule may not be followed in larger compounds.

Co-operation within a compound is strengthened by an awareness of a common origin, an origin which also serves to distinguish the members from people in another compound. In the village of Aregun the people of Ile Agada claim that their compound was established about sixty years ago by people who came from Yaru, in Ifelodun LGA. In Aribi village some people who claim that their ancestors fled from Old Oyo, still

maintain links with compounds in the new city of Oyo whose members left Old Oyo at the same time.

Ile Alawonla, a large compound on the outer fringe of Okelele, is locally recognised as being unusual because its members do not claim a common origin. The present inhabitants of this compound claim to have come from Ile Ife, Old Oyo, Ogbomosho and Offa. They are all regarded as permanent residents and as Okelele people and they co-operate in similar ways as do members in other compounds. Unlike most other Okelele compounds, however, its members do not claim to have a related village or villages. Given the history of Ilorin it is possible that these people were originally slaves or fugitives who settled under a sympathetic head man on the edge of the town. Gavin (1977) has stressed the heterogeneous origins of the inhabitants of many Ilorin compounds which comprised fugitives from war or slaves, and doubtless many town compounds are of mixed origin even if their present oral traditions belie this origin.

The names of the compounds also remind people of their common identity and shared past. A compound in Aregun once known as Ile Alata, the compound of the pepper sellers, later became known as Ile Oniwe, the house of the book readers, as it was the residence of the first person in the village who learned to read the Koran. Compound

names also refer to the ethnic origin of the people, for example Ile Tapa, the compound of Nupe people, in Aregun. The largest compound in Aribi is now known as Ile Apata, the compound of the butchers, but it was formerly known as Ile Alagbaa, the house of the chief of the masqueraders. It changed its name about ten years ago when the Egungun masquerade costumes were burnt because of the influence of Islam in the village.

Egungun masquerades are still performed in many villages in the Ilorin area by groups of men from various compounds. The masqueraders are believed to represent returning ancestors who must be worshipped and respected. The help of the ancestors is regarded as crucial for the continued prosperity of the community and many villagers still believe that if the festival does not take place a great disaster will occur. When such festivals take place today they are the occasion for people who work away to return to their home settlement.

Membership in a particular ilé may confer status on an individual whether or not he or she is a permanent resident of the settlement. Only members of the compound known as Ile Bale or Ile Mogaji (the Fulani name for the village head) can become a village chief. On the death of the bale of Aregun early in 1981 his senior wife acted as chief until a new bale was chosen from the compound by the

village council. The council members also act as advisers to the bale. In Aribi, for example, the council consists of the head of the nearby hamlet of Oke Odo Aribi, the heads of Ile Apata and Ile Olulo, the two largest compounds in the village, the imam and an aged alhaji (one who had been on the holy pilgrimage, the hajj). In the old city of Ilorin there are also bales and councils with similar functions.

Long absence from the settlement does not preclude a person from being selected as a bale or acting on the council. Indeed such a person may be favoured as he (very rarely she) is considered to have greater knowledge of the outside world and the improvements which might contribute to the well-being of the settlement. Three of the nine heads of the survey villages had worked away. The head of Odo Ode spent 25 years in Ogbomosho before being called back to the village and the village head of Falokun had also been called back from Iseyin, in north-western Oyo State. The village head of Falokun had also lived away. These three villages had the largest proportion of non-residents and the liveliest links between migrants and the home village of the nine rural study settlements.

For the men of each compound the mosque or praying area associated with each compound is an important focal point for here the prescribed

prayers are said five times a day. In Bala the five compounds in the old village each have a mosque and the main mosque of the village is associated with the district head's compound, Ile Daudu, where members of that compound gather for daily prayers and where all the male adults of Bala meet for jum^cat prayers every Friday (see map III 4).

THE HOME SETTLEMENT

For most Nigerians the ties to the home settlement of origin are perhaps the strongest of all. Community organisations attest to the strength of such loyalties among people who have moved to other parts of Nigeria and beyond. The most important rights for any individual in the Ilorin area, those to a house and to land, are associated with a particular settlement. Even where land rights are heritable through individuals the village head is the arbiter of land disputes and the person to whom new settlers wishing to cultivate land must appeal. Compound heads and heads of households in rural areas and some urban areas have rights over land which they can allot to members of the group but their role is generally less important than that of the village head.

Oral history validates the identity of the village as a single unit subsuming the different origins of the various compounds and stressing the

role of the village head as guardian of the people and the village land. The history of the village can often be related to specific sites in the village or village area. The founder of Odo Ode was said to have killed a dangerous wild beast and established the village on that site. A shrine, which is believed to mark the exact spot on which the beast was killed, is situated outside the compound of Garba, the head of the hunters, who is responsible on behalf of the villagers to Ogun, the God of Iron. Offerings are regularly made at this shrine and every July the villagers hold a festival there to commemorate the founding of the village. The founding of a village on the site where a dangerous beast was killed is a recurrent theme in Yoruba oral history.¹

The claims of the village head of Sosoki to a very large area of Onire District are buttressed by an etymological interpretation of the origin of the village. The village is said to have derived its name from the Yoruba budo bábá kan soso, 'a camp inhabited by a single person', a reference to the hut in which the founder of the village was supposed to have stayed when he went on hunting expeditions from Ilorin.² This example illustrates the importance of an etymology, albeit often fictional, in establishing the identity of a particular place (Oduyoye 1970). To name a place is to call it your own, and to be able to explain how a place

came to be named establishes that claim even more clearly.

People identify with a group with a common history as much as with a place, for as Vansina (1965: 100) wrote, time is seen in terms of social structure, or group movements and relationships and of a succession of leaders who have acted on behalf of the group. For example, the hamlet of Aiyekale in Odo Ode Village Area was first established about forty years ago but about twenty years ago it moved about three hundred metres to its present site so as to be nearer Odo Ode village. Most people now living in Aiyekale claim that the settlement has always been on the same site. For they think of the settlement primarily as a social group, as people occupying buildings which have a certain relationship to each other and to other buildings in the settlement such as the mosque. When the site moved the topological relationship between the constituent parts and its inhabitants remained constant.

Even in comparatively recent settlements there are certain places which have acquired a symbolic significance for members of the community. Shrines mark the spot where the village was founded, as in Odo Ode, or may be associated with the worship of a Yoruba deity, as the Orisa shrine in Falokun and the Sango shrine in Aribi. They are usually

associated with ritual observances performed by the group in association with rites of passage and they often maintain their importance in spite of the growing role of Islam.

In the study area there are a number of sites associated with Islamic observances. Independent settlements have a mosque where men gather for weekly jum^cat prayers led by the imam; older women may also attend but they are segregated from the men. The imam also leads the prayers at Id el-Kabir and Id el-Fitr at the yidi, praying ground. The yidi is situated close to the settlement or settlements that it serves. In a small place it may consist of an open unmarked area which is not immediately noticeable to a stranger as a 'sacred' space. In the city there is a single large yidi on the southern edge of Ilorin which serves all the inhabitants at festival times.

For men jum^cat prayers are the focal point of the week and they will try to return from a journey in time for them. In contrast to the practice in some rural Muslim settlements further south, men from outlying settlements do not usually go to Ilorin for the jum^cat service. Only twelve men from Romi, Oke Bode, Igbodun and Aribi admitted to having visited Ilorin for the last jum^cat oloyin or 'honey Friday' service held every month. A greater number of men

from more closely related rural settlements undoubtedly visit the town for that occasion. One old man, an alhaji from Romi village, times his weekly visit to the town compound in Oloje to coincide with the jum^cat prayers so that he can see as many people as possible and keep abreast of local affairs.

For women a village periodic market acts as a focus for social as well as commercial interaction. Each community controls market activities and the decision to found a new market is made by village elders. The site of a market is sometimes marked by a shrine and it may be considered unlucky to cross the market place after dark because it is regarded as a 'sacred' place. Village elders and market women combine to defend the interests of the market as these are seen as being of vital concern to the whole community. In Kwara State some new urban and rural markets have been built with amenities such as lock-up stalls, electric light and piped water. But as these have often been sited some distance from the former market place people have refused to move to the new site and this has occasioned conflict between the local government authority and local people. For the market is more than a place in which to buy and sell and trading is more than a commercial impersonal exchange.

ETHNIC DISTINCTIVENESS AND THE SENSE OF PLACE

Most Yoruba people in the study area identify ultimately with Old Oyo or with Ile Ife as well as with their current home places. However, the Fulani elite and their Yoruba allies, who still occupy positions of power and influence as landholders, advisers to the emir and as district heads in the metropolitan districts, identify with the city of Ilorin as the seat of the emirate and the immediate source of their power. Beyond Ilorin they trace their origins to the city of Sokoto and stress their links with other Fulani emirates in northern Nigeria.

The nature of such loyalties can best be examined in the study village of Bala which is a district head-quarters. The district head has lived in Bala for over forty years and is the emir's representative in the district. However he frequently returns to his family house in Ilorin which he regards as his permanent home base. There are a number of people in Bala who regard themselves primarily as followers of the district head and only secondarily as residents of Bala and as part of the village community, even if they have lived there for all or most of their lives.

The limited available evidence from sources outside Kwara State seems to indicate that identity among the Hausa and Fulani is not related primarily to a particular settlement, but to an emirate.

Olofson referred to a Hausa 'born in Musawa, Katsina who like most Hausa considered any town in the emirate of his birth as good as home' (1975: 155). The scale and type of circulation in the northern emirates has been rather different from that in Ilorin for the main movement was seasonal, embraced many different destinations and did not necessarily entail a return to a single fixed home base. Among the elite it was common to have a number of residences in various towns and travel widely, especially during the dry season. Baba, a woman from an elite slave-owning family, accompanied her husband, a malam who had schools in various northern towns, on his journeys. Their house in Kano was their headquarters by virtue of being in the central town of the emirate. Baba's parents had several houses in different towns where the rural population could find refuge in time of war and where crops could be stored (Smith 1955: 46-7).

In the metropolitan area of Ilorin the Yoruba commoners and the Fulani elite speak the same Yoruba dialect today. This is quite distinct from the dialect spoken by the Ibolu, Ekiti and Igbomina Yoruba of the non-metropolitan areas of the emirate (see chapter II). People living away from their home settlements will speak to other people from the same area in the local dialect and will be able to identify the home area of other Yoruba

by the accent or dialect they use. In this way in an alien situation dialect can be used to identify and strengthen ties with people from the home area.

MULTILOCALITY AND RITES OF PASSAGE

Rites of passage are important events in an individual's life which are carried out in particular places with the active co-operation of members of the community who by their presence attest to the individual's membership in that community. Such rites of passage are especially important for people who are not permanently resident in the home place. They can also be used to gauge the extent and nature of particular kinds of multilocality. In Yoruba towns south of Ilorin most people in the out-farming hamlets return to the town compounds to perform some of these rites, especially marriages and funerals; in the Ilorin area most people in rural settlements related to town compounds celebrate all the rites of passage in the rural area.

In some of the survey villages when a child is born the afterbirth, ibi, is buried near the compound as a symbol of the parents' hope that the child will grow up as a valuable member of the group and will always remember the home place. This custom is not unknown in other Yoruba-speaking areas and among the Ibo. Some migrant adults express their attachment to their home place by talking

of the ibi as calling them back later in life. In at least three of the study villages and in two city compounds the ibi of a child born away from home is often sent back for burial in order to ensure the child's continued link with the home place. However I was also told that a child's first drink should be of water brought from another compound in order to ensure that in later life he or she would always find a welcome beyond the confines of the natal compound.

A woman who has been living away from home will sometimes return to her husband's compound for the birth of her child, especially if earlier children have died in infancy as this event may be regarded as being related in some way to the fact that the birth took place away from home. A woman rarely goes back to her natal compound to give birth as her children are always members of her husband's lineage.

A child's naming ceremony usually takes place on the eighth day after birth and the act of naming acknowledges the child as a member of the group. This ceremony is performed in front of a small group of close relatives early in the morning before the men go to the farm or to their place of work. It is not considered important for the ceremony to take place in the home place for it can be performed satisfactorily before the child's immediate family who may well be living together in the

work place. Only in the past few years has the morning ceremony been enlarged and an evening gathering after work become common. The size of such gatherings is an important indication of the status of the child's parents and hence it may be thought important for the ceremony to take place in the home area. Where parents are of a high status the occasion may even be delayed beyond the eighth day after birth so that a larger number of people can attend. The naming ceremony of the child of one Ilorin state assemblyman did not take place until a month after the birth and then it was performed in the house in the town compound, rather than in the official quarters provided for the assemblyman. I was told that if the ceremony had taken place in the official quarters people would not have regarded it as being properly conducted and even out-of-town visitors expected the ceremony to take place in the home compound.

Facial scarification may also be an important identification mark and these scars, known as ila, are generally made when the child is about three months old. Although the Koran forbids any kind of bodily mutilation and Christians frown on the practice, face marks are common today among adults in the Ilorin region. They are, however, less common among young children.

Scholars have long recognised facial scars

as clues to the origins and past movements of people. Facial scars are of great antiquity in the Ilorin area and those which appear on the stone images found at Esie, in Irepodun LGA 50 kilometres east of Ilorin, have been studied in the hope that they may reveal something about the age and origin of the figures (Stevens 1978: 61-4). Some people from settlements in Asa and Moro LGAs which have few links with Ilorin have three or four deep horizontal cuts on the cheek which are similar to those of Oyo Yorubas living to the south and south-west of the emirate. The people of one hamlet in Asa said that they had the same facial marks as people in Ikoyi, near Ogbomosho, because their ancestors had stayed for some time in Ikoyi on their way from Old Oyo. Ibolos, from the area around Offa, can sometimes be identified by clusters of very short, superficial parallel cuts on the upper part of the cheek close to the nose.

People living in the same compound often have the same marks but it is not always possible to identify people on this basis for the rules governing the use of facial marks are complex. A child is not always given the same marks as the father. If a man is especially fond of a particular wife, or if she has born a child after many barren years, the child may be given the marks of the mother's house. In spite of this there are many facial

marks recognised by local people which may help them to recognise people from the same area or lineage when they are away from home.

In Yoruba society marriage is almost universal and marks the arrival of full adulthood. It is rare for people to marry outside their particular Yoruba sub-group and thus the home places of the man and wife are rarely so far apart that the marriage cannot be attended by the wife's kin. More marriages occur around Christmas and the New Year than at any other time of year because these two public holidays give people time to travel home. The feast of Id el-Kabir is also favoured for Muslim weddings. In Muslim communities, such as those in the study area, a mosque ceremony is performed only for learned men and their close relatives or for wealthy people, but the exchange of kola nuts and the signing of the register should always take place in front of a specially assembled group. It is regarded as right and proper for the ceremony to take place in the husband's home place with the active participation of all community members for the marriage involves them as well as the two who are to marry. If the marriage is not performed in the home settlement people often assume that the people in the community do not approve of the marriage and will not give their active support to the young couple.

In communities where traditional beliefs are

still important the orisa shrine may be consulted before a marriage. In the old-established settlement of Shao, ten kilometres north of Ilorin, the osun priestess plays an important part in the annual mass wedding of the sons of the village which takes place every October. All those who are to be married must be purified in the River Oshun. Many people who work away from Shao make their annual visit home at the time of the mass wedding. Marriages celebrated at this time are often followed by ceremonies in the church or in the mosque.

Women usually maintain links throughout their life with their natal compound and visit it frequently after marriage for family festivals, even if they are living a long distance away. Throughout their lives they maintain the right to live in that compound and some women who have been widowed or divorced, or who had become very wealthy in their own right, are buried in their natal compound rather than that of their husband.

Even if people spend most of their economically active life away from their home area many of them expect to retire there. They certainly anticipate being buried in the home place and if they die away from home the body is taken home for burial. This must be done quickly for according to Muslim custom the body must be buried within twenty-four hours of death. Compound membership is important here

for Muslim burials often take place on compound land. In Christian communities the burial is in a cemetery set aside for this purpose, and some large Christian compounds have their own small church and burial ground. When traditional beliefs were strong a compound head or elder was often buried within the compound, maybe within the family house itself, but this is rare today.

TAXATION, THE CENSUS AND MULTILOCALITY

The kinds of identity with place so far discussed relate to relatively long-established rights and obligations. But there are other kinds of spatial referents in the study of multilocality which have emerged since the imposition of colonial rule. The earliest of these was taxation, the collection of which was one of the prime aims of the local colonial administration. Some population movements as early as the first decade of the twentieth century were said to have been the results of attempts to avoid the payment of tax. Some people in the non-metropolitan districts moved to Lagos Protectorate from Northern Nigeria because the tax rate was lower in the south. For example, in 1932 the poll tax in Omu-Isanlu and Ajasse Po in southern Igbomina was 10/- and 10/6 respectively, whereas in Lagos it was only 6/- (Dosunmu 1980: 112).

At first it was not difficult to tax most

people where they lived permanently for, though they made frequent journeys for trading or other work, they returned to their home villages for extended periods of time. Such short-term movements were encouraged by the colonial authorities as they enabled the male tax payer to pay his tax in cash; women were and are exempt from the flat rate community or poll tax. As there were no suitable cash crops which could be grown in the Ilorin area such out-movement was the only way in which people could acquire cash to pay their taxes.

When absences for work became longer the problem of where to pay taxes became more acute. As district and village heads were expected to produce the assessed tax payment they wanted people working away to pay their taxes in the home area in order to maintain these targets. In Kwara State village and district heads are still commended for collecting their local taxes promptly and they sometimes manage to collect more than the amount for which their area has been assessed! A person cannot be taxed twice; if he can produce a current tax receipt from one local area he is not required to pay in another.

Today many people who are recognised as members of their home communities spend most of their economically active life working away. They are required by law to pay taxes in the place in

which they work. However, representatives from many settlements in the Ilorin area travel to Lagos to collect taxes from people working there. Such people frequently feel that they are only sojourners in their work place and they want their taxes to benefit their home areas.

The conduct of Nigerian censuses is complicated by the fact that they are the basis for proportional representation and for the disbursement of Federal monies to the localities. This has been responsible for the phenomenon dubbed 'census migration' by Udo (1970), the movement of large numbers of people from their work place to their place of origin so that they can be counted there. Such a movement accounts for some local distortions in the 1963 census in the Ilorin region, for example the exaggerated size of the population in Odo Ode Village Area in Afon District south of the city.

POLITICS, ELECTIONS, EMPLOYMENT AND MULTILOCALITY

In contrast to the de facto rule for the census, the regulations for voting in local and Federal elections allow, indeed encourage, people to register and vote in their home settlements. In the October 1976 registration for the local government elections all indigenes of Kwara State were encouraged to register and many travelled long distances to do so (Kwara State 1977c: 4-5).

During the national election of August 1979 there was a mass movement of people back to their home areas to vote, a 'voters migration'. It is difficult to measure the extent of this movement but it did give rise to local accusations that wealthy candidates had paid for people to come home to vote for them or had provided transportation for them.³

Many people needed no prompting to return home to vote, for allegiance to a particular political party is often seen as part and parcel of allegiance to a particular community. O'Connell, in discussing politics in Nigeria between 1950 and 1960, identified political parties as 'parties of communal integration' (1965: 165; see also Sklar and Whitaker 1964: 621). This statement is still valid in the Ilorin area today. Since the reintroduction of political parties in September 1979 there has been a tendency for the population of a particular settlement to vote almost en masse for one party and for existing local disputes to be reflected in patterns of party membership (see chapters III and IX). Community leaders also 'de-camp' to a rival party if it looks as if that party is going to win the election and thus be in a position to reward loyal areas with amenities such as roads, electricity, educational and medical facilities.⁴

Candidates in the 1976 local government elections had to prove that they were 'natives'

of the ward in which they wished to contest the election and they had to be on the register of electors of that ward. They could prove that they had been residents in the ward for two full years previous to the election by producing their local tax receipts for that time (Kwara State 1977c: Appendix H). In theory this would disqualify anyone who had lived away from his or her 'native' settlement during the past two years for the law required that taxes be paid where the person worked.

The problem of how to decide who was an indigene of the rural area around Ilorin became more crucial after the local government reform of 1976 in which the Ilorin Division was split up into three separate local governments, Ilorin, Asa and Moro. Employment and representation in these new local governments was based on the individual's status as an 'indigene' of that area. The pattern of multilocality which affected some rural residents and residents of related urban compounds complicated the determination of this status. In 1976 one village elected a councillor who lived most of the time in the related town compound. When the councillor stood for a seat on the state legislature for the rural constituency he gave the town compound as his permanent address. In both elections this state of affairs must have been known to the people who nominated him and to election officials. Here the majority of the electors

accepted, or were persuaded to accept, the leadership of a powerful member of a related town compound and he received 97 per cent of the votes cast.

In other parts of the metropolitan district the status of 'native' or 'indigene' was a matter of fierce dispute and some rural people claimed that district and village heads had been imposed on them by alien Ilorin-based families (see chapter II).

Others asked:

What is wrong in appointing a member of the Balogun Gambari family as district head of Oloru District [in Moro LGA], whose people and village heads are mainly from Balogun Gambari Ward in Ilorin? 5

This group also claimed that:

Of over 200 towns, villages and hamlets in Ilorin, Asa and Moro local government areas only nine of them were not founded by direct migrants from Ilorin. The inhabitants of all the rest are Ilorin people and each of the families in these areas has a family compound in Ilorin. 6

One local government official employed by Asa LGA defended his position as an indigene of Asa on the grounds that he had been born in Apata Compound in Bala, from where he had taken his surname. But he wrote later in the same letter that he had 'every right politically, socially and legally to claim Ilorin on the grounds that [his] parents hailed from Ilorin'.⁷ The same councillor, defending a local government appointee in Moro whom some people claimed was not an indigene of that area claimed that all the inhabitants of Asa and Moro 'are

purely dualists, that is they have two homes, one in Ilorin and the other at Asa and Moro'.⁸ He was claiming, once again, to have it both ways.

MULTILOCALITY AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION

The association of rights and privileges of education with a person's state and local government of origin is especially important as education is still widely sought after as the only sure avenue to wealth and status in Nigeria. Such an identity is important in post-primary education for at this level expenses per pupil are greater and there is a competition for scarce places which does not exist in the free national system of primary education.

In Kwara State the state and local governments offer scholarships to qualified indigenes who wish to continue their education beyond the primary level. As Kwara State has not yet completely phased out boarding facilities and many rural people do not live within easy access of secondary schools, few parents can afford fees without some form of scholarship. The state government does not forbid non-indigenes from attending any schools and qualified students are admitted to locally sponsored or community schools as well as to state schools (see chapter VII).

The question of who is or who is not an indigene is less controversial in Kwara State than it is in some of the UPN controlled states to the south

where secondary education is free and available to all who have completed primary school; most students attend day rather than boarding schools. Some educationally disadvantaged states in the north of Nigeria are anxious to reserve all places in post-primary schools for indigenes. In Kano State non-indigenes have been ejected from some secondary schools and state teachers colleges even though they had been attending for a number of years and were about to take their final examinations.⁹

In practice proof that an individual is an indigene of a certain area depends on his or her ability to obtain a certificate to that effect from the relevant local government authority and this is often done with the help of a well-known local sponsor. There have been complaints in several states about aspiring students presenting forged evidence of their state of origin in order to be eligible for scholarships or for places in secondary and post-secondary institutions which are based on state or local government of origin.¹⁰ The establishment of secondary schools for the children of university staff or army officers in Nigeria has been defended on the grounds that the children of such people, who are not indigenes of the area in which they are working, might otherwise find it difficult to obtain access to local schools.¹¹ Such schools often provide a superior education

for the sons and daughters of the elite.

As scholarships for post-secondary education and universities are based on state and local government origin parents who have lived away from their settlement of origin for a long period have a strong motive for maintaining links with their home area. Children may not be accepted as indigenes of the place in which their parents work even though they were born there. This provides an added incentive to send children back to the home settlement for primary education for they can then register for the secondary school entrance examination through that school. It is in this context that regional differences in the provision of educational facilities, such as exist within the Ilorin region (see chapter II), are important in affecting patterns of population circulation and multilocality. For it can be argued that the existence of good schools and their support by local development associations perpetuates circulation and multilocality.

MULTILOCALITY AND ACCESS TO LAND

Rights of cultivation are a function of continued membership in the community of origin which can be maintained by a non-resident. Most farmers in Nigeria are independent cultivators and are better able to maintain their farming rights should they leave the home settlement than were tenant farmers

and landless labourers leaving nineteenth century European villages to become the nucleus of the urban proletariat.

Since the promulgation of the Land Decree by the Military Government on 28 March 1979 an individual's identity with a particular state or local government, as well as with a local community, has been potentially important in ascertaining land rights. According to the Decree all urban land is to be under the control of the state in which the land lies and all rural land is to be controlled by the local government authorities. The text of the Decree, which was subsequently incorporated into the constitution for the civilian government established in September 1979, does not specifically mention the rights of indigenous cultivators. However, General Obasanjo went to considerable lengths to assure them that the Land Decree was designed to protect their rights.¹²

In the Ilorin area as a result of the Decree some farmers who were not recognised as indigenes of the area in which they were cultivating stopped paying isàkólè to the village heads on whose land they had acquired cultivation rights. They did so on the grounds that the land was now vested in state and local governments and local people had no right to exact even a nominal fee from strangers cultivating the land. Soon after the passage of the Decree

the Military Governor of Oyo State made speeches in Oshogbo and Ilesha claiming that isakóle could no longer be demanded of non-indigenous cultivators (Francis 1981: 270). But some non-indigenous farmers may still have some reason to feel insecure. In Ondo State within two months of the passing of the Land Decree the state government was planning to register all non-indigenous cultivators in the state. They claimed that such cultivators no longer had any obligations to pay representatives of the communities on whose land they were farming and that they should contribute to the coffers of the state government which ultimately controlled the land rights.¹³

In Kwara State before the passage of the Land Decree the position had been somewhat different than that in the former Western Region for land tenure was still governed by the Northern Nigerian Land Law which forbade the outright sale of land. These laws also stated that any member of an ethnic group indigenous to Northern Nigeria had the right to cultivate land anywhere in the states which formerly comprised Northern Nigeria (Hailey 1938: 772; Nigeria 1965, ch. 59, Land Tenure). This helped to protect the rights of the present non-indigenous cultivators in the area around Ilorin, most of whom came from within Kwara State or from Plateau and Benue States, formerly part of Northern Nigeria. Hence in Kwara State isakóle payments were usually nominal, a token

of the superior rights of local people, whereas in Oyo and Ondo States they came to be a considerable burden on the tenant farmers and often represented an economic rent.

It remains to be seen whether the Land Decree can achieve its stated aim of making agricultural land available to any Nigerian who needs it in any part of the country. As shown in chapter VII, whether farmers in a new area are ultimately permanent migrants or engage in long-term circulation depends in some measure on whether or not they are able to obtain permanent secure land rights in the new area.

The Land Decree by formally shifting the ultimate responsibility for cultivation rights from the local community to the local government also adds a new dimension to the dilemma of a migrant who wishes to maintain land rights in the home area. In future the maintenance of informal contacts with the settlement of origin may not be sufficient to guarantee such land rights and it is possible to foresee situations in which the definition of 'indigene' used by the local government may not coincide with that used by the local community.

As Francis points out (1981: 306) the local and state governments are given considerable powers by the Land Decree to expropriate blocks of land up to 5,000 hectares in area and assign them to individuals for large scale development. The

authorities need only pay compensation to farmers for improvements such as buildings and for standing crops and economic trees. This arrangement provides an impetus for the wealthy and powerful who have been living away from their home area to maintain a power base there, and yet another opportunity for the members of the elite to increase their wealth.

RESIDENCE RIGHTS AND HOUSING POLICIES

Residence rights, like rights to land for cultivation, are most easily assured in the settlement of origin. Many migrants build houses or repair and improve existing ones in their home areas both as indications of their intention to return and as signs of status. It is not easy for non-indigenes to build houses in the towns in which they work and find land on which they can cultivate a few staple crops after retirement.

The colonial policy of establishing sabon garis, separate areas for migrants in Nigerian towns, was originally intended to minimise conflict between migrants and local people and to ensure that the migrants could be properly represented through their own power structure in accordance with the policy of indirect rule. However this policy also fostered the feeling of separateness among the migrants and ultimately impeded the emergence of a full sense of Nigerian nationality. It also limited the freedom

of migrants to buy their own houses and hence establish a permanent base in the towns (Osoba 1969).

Employees in the high levels in local, State and Federal government and in large private enterprises are generally supplied with furnished accommodation as one of their conditions of employment. The original impetus for the provision of such housing was the example of the colonial officials who needed furnished accommodation while they were living temporarily in Nigeria and who frequently moved between postings. Later the absence of high quality housing considered suitable for members of the Nigerian elite and of a housing mortgage market perpetuated a system which was clearly in the interests of this group. Today the Federal mortgage loan system is getting off to a slow start; it appears to favour people who are powerful enough to influence the officials who administer the scheme and who wish to build houses in their home areas. For the mass of the urban workers in the formal as well as the informal sector of the economy the best way to plan for a secure retirement is to build a house in one's home settlement and maintain a claim to land there on which to grow subsistence crops.

MIGRANTS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HOME SETTLEMENT

It is important to ask whether long-term migrants' links with their place of origin are such that they perpetuate multilocality and circulation. Migrants commonly combine to provide their home areas with various amenities which make the settlements pleasanter and easier places in which to live (see chapter VIII). In the Ilorin area some community associations provide schools, medical services and electricity. A few are wealthy enough to provide piped water or to surface roads in the settlement.

Community organisations have made their own assessment of what constitutes 'development' and in this have been influenced by their experiences in towns. They have favoured amenities which, while they provide for a more healthy and less arduous life, are not primarily wealth and employment generating. They have generally not invested in industry and agriculture which contribute to the productivity of the economy as a whole. While in practice the choice between the two strategies is less stark and more complex than this simple dichotomy would suggest it is clearly rather a different situation from that which faced the first industrialising and urbanising nations. These nations did not have the examples of the life-styles and expectations of wealthier countries and a ready-made system of government-sponsored health and education facilities into

which money from the export of raw materials could be channelled (Crouzet 1972).

The establishment of productive employment-generating enterprises in the home settlements would encourage migrants to return and discourage local people from leaving. However, because most of the migrants have given up farming and associate it with poverty and hard physical labour, few if any attempts have been made by local people to improve agriculture in settlements around Ilorin with a high rate of out-movement. Agricultural production is either totally neglected or largely in the hands of paid labourers (see chapter VII).

In Oro, 50 kilometres east of Ilorin, which is probably the richest settlement of its size in Kwara State, development associations largely based in Lagos have helped to provide a wide range of amenities; schools, hospitals, electricity, piped water and tarred roads. They have also established a bicycle industry and a saw mill which are sources of employment and local wealth.¹⁴ In Buari, a small settlement eight kilometres north of Ajasse Po in southern Igbomina, a single wealthy business man has established a watch making industry and built a large estate of comfortable houses for the employees. But such examples are the exception and they generally occur when the rate of out-movement has reached a level which it would be

extremely difficult to reverse. Thus it would appear that the unintentional result of most development projects financed by non-residents has been to perpetuate circulation rather than to contribute to the home settlements in ways which would help them to become stable and self-sustaining communities with a solid base in local employment.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND MULTILOCALITY

In view of the many and varied ties between migrants and their home places, many of which are reinforced by current Nigerian legislation, it is not surprising that the distinction between home place and the place of birth is officially recognised. Every individual's home town or village and his or her place of birth will be clearly identified on a national identity card which will soon be issued to every Nigerian.¹⁵ Such information is already available on passports and student identity cards.

Multilocality has profound implications for the sense of national identity in Nigeria. Local identities are strengthened as people who engage in circulation see the home area as the major source of their rights as Nigerian citizens. Both Nigerian and non-Nigerian observers of the national scene have commented on the growing strength of people's

identity with their state and local government of origin and the extent to which these loyalties are replacing those based on ethnic identity and supplementing those based on the home settlement. Mabogunje (1977: 39) wrote of the growing identification with the 'home town' as a 'tendency which recent events such as the creation of states and the overall electoral and political processes have greatly reinforced.' Agitation for the creation of new states has increased rather than diminished since the establishment of civilian rule in Nigeria in 1979. Local government units, which can be created within states without reference to Federal authorities, have also proliferated. The doubling of the number of local government areas in Kwara State in August 1981 has had the effect of focusing the attention of non-residents on a far smaller area than before as the possible source for future advancement and political and economic involvement.

Among university students, whom one might expect to have a stronger national identity than others in the country, Beckett and O'Connell identified a strong feeling of local identity. Over half of their sample claimed that the home community identity was stronger than their Nigerian identity (1978: 69). Otite (1979: 234) commented that the main obstacle to permanent movement within Nigeria was that while migrants were recognised as Nigerians they

were not recognised as citizens of the local area to which they moved and therefore could not enjoy equal rights with local people.

The problems encountered by Nigerians living outside their states of origin are often graphically portrayed in the newspapers. One correspondent, no doubt in a moment of hyperbole, wrote of such people as 'alienised Nigerians', 'a dis-enfranchised people, people deprived of their rights, power and privileges of free citizens of the country. They are Nigeria's "suffermen". They are stateless.'¹⁶

The situation in Nigeria is not unique in Africa. Wherever there have been colonial polities cobbled together as independent nation states incorporating within their boundaries many different ethnic groups and political traditions the schisms and conflicts inherent in separatism and localism have continued. The role of circulation and multilocality in the perpetuation of such localism has been noted by a number of scholars. Hart wrote that the Frafra of Ghana were unwilling to give up their Frafra identity for a wider Ghanaian identity because being a Frafra, whether one was living in the area of origin in northern Ghana or working in Accra, was inextricably linked to rites of passage, to religious beliefs and to status (Hart 1971: 34-5). In Kenya the rural links maintained by workers in Nairobi have been seen as a response to economic uncertainty

but more importantly as a response by non-Kikuyu living in a Kikuyu city. Such people need to make certain that they invest in a home area where their rights and privileges as Kenyan citizens are more secure (Leys 1975: 176, 180-1; Ross and Weisner 1977; see also Elkan 1976).

THE FUTURE OF MULTILOCALITY AND CIRCULATION

Most Nigerians have a strong sense of identity with a particular home place even if they spend most of their economically active life elsewhere. For poorer workers and those in the informal sector the home area is an insurance against illness, old age and unemployment. But it is also more than this: it is a guarantee of their rights as Nigerian citizens. Loyalty to the home area is actively fostered by an elite whose members have established local power bases and who support the values and government regulations which encourage less well-off Nigerians to continue to identify with the home area and recognise the authority of the locally-based members of the elite.

The evidence from the Ilorin region suggests that circulation and multilocality is a way of life for a substantial minority of the population and that its continued existence is supported by a large number of institutions and interest groups in Nigeria. Yet the patterns of interaction with the home areas

also suggest that people want to maintain these links for sentimental and social reasons. Circulation and multilocality appear to be an equilibrium between rural and urban residence for many Nigerians rather than a brief transitional phase in the movement to permanent urban residence.

Footnotes

1. Personal communication from Robin Law.
2. Ilorin Upper Area Court CVF 10/74.
3. Nigerian Herald, January 23, 1980, p. 2.
4. Ibid.
5. Daily Sketch, December 11, 1977, p. 3.
6. Daily Sketch, December 5, 1977, p. 5.
7. Nigerian Herald, December 22, 1977, p. 2.
8. Nigerian Herald, February 1, 1980, p. 2.
9. Nigerian Herald, November 5, 1980, p. 9; 21 May, 1981, p. 7.
10. Nigerian Herald, June 4, 1980, p. 1.
11. Nigerian Herald, May 21, 1981, p. 7.
12. Nigerian Herald, April 1, 1979, p. 1; full text of Decree, Nigerian Herald, March 30, 1979, p. 1.
13. New Nigerian, June 20, 1978, p. 16.
14. Nigerian Herald, November 29, 1979, p. 6 sqq.
15. Daily Times, November 5, 1980, p. 7.
16. Nigerian Herald, May 21, 1981, p. 7.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

THE IMPORTANCE OF CIRCULATION AND MULTILOCALITY

This research in the Ilorin region has provided a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the importance of circulation and multilocality such as is not available for any other area in tropical Africa. Although many mobility studies in Nigeria acknowledge that much of the movement the authors call migration is in fact circulation, the underlying assumptions and data collecting methods of these studied do not allow for the adequate recognition of this phenomena. No other studies yet published or, so far as I know, in progress in Nigeria have been designed specifically to identify circulation and multilocality. Some studies (Adepoju 1974; Odimuko and Riddell 1979) have sought to establish the value and purposes of remittances sent to the home area by urban-based migrants but no detailed studies have been made of the impact of circulation on particular home settlements.

The two major problems of Nigeria, unplanned urban growth and rural decline, are clearly related to circulation and multilocality. For most of the people engaged in circulation work in the

overcrowded towns and maintain links with their rural home settlements. The limited material resources of these migrants must be used to maintain commitments in two places. People engaging in circulation and multilocality spend an enormous amount of time, energy and money travelling between the home place and the work place. They tolerate inconveniences of a city such as Lagos without feeling able to make many positive contributions to the general improvement of the quality of urban life. Much of their time is devoted to the home-based improvement associations and to interaction with people living in the city who come from the home area. They often pay their taxes to the home area rather than to the cities in which they live for most of their economically active lives. This compounds the problems for urban governments attempting to provide essential amenities for the relatively poor residents.

This study of rural settlements and part of the indigenous urban area of the city of Ilorin indicates that a little under one third of the people who now live there engage in long-term circulation and nearly half of the people who are considered as members of the study communities are non-residents. Therefore our interpretation of the impact of long-term mobility in these areas must be assessed in terms which allow the identification of circulation.

The questions we ask determine the way we go about answering them, and it begins to look as if these questions are very different in Nigeria from those which are asked in studies of long-term mobility in developed countries: both the methods and theories of study must be revised.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CIRCULATION

A new view of long-term mobility in Nigeria can be obtained by looking at these movements as circulation and by examining them as a system which links all movements, for long and short distances, regardless of the time spent away or the destination. The mobility system consists of people who move from place to place; the direction of these movements may change as the movers interact with others and learn of new opportunities and new places in which they might realise them.

Although mobility may initially be understood in terms of the decisions made by local people whether to move or not to move, these decisions need not be seen as isolated from the events in the wider society. Feedback, in the form of information reaching the home areas reflects the movers' interpretations of opportunities in the new setting, and these will be affected by the general state of the economy and such things as political events.

The mobility system is reflexive and its constituent parts (the people who make up the system) can be viewed in the regional and national, as well as the local setting. The linking of local decisions with the wider setting within the recursive social system overcomes the problems of explanation inherent in the two major views of population mobility. The view rooted in neo-classical orthodoxy interprets long-term mobility in purely behavioural terms as involving the economically rational decision of individual movers, while the neo-Marxist approach tends to view individuals as puppets in the hands of external forces.

The concept of a community of residents and non-residents who share a common interest in a home settlement is used in the Ilorin study for the first time as a way of identifying the place from which circulation can be traced and the people involved. As the surveys record the movements of all adult members of the community, and not just the movements of men or heads of households, it is possible to identify differences in the patterns of movement of both men and women and to correct the current neglect of women who are so often regarded merely as passive movers following their husbands. Mobility can be understood in the context of the extended family and of a widely spaced network of people and places. Individuals within this

network may be more likely to move at certain stages in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

Too often reports on mobility research stress the disfunctions of long-term mobility, movement between rural and urban sectors and between different types of employment, and neglect the interaction between home and work place which is the essence of circulation. Among the study population links with kin, both in the home place and in the area of destination, mean that the experience of long-term circulation is one of continuity rather than discontinuity. Most people who leave for long periods to find work in the city, or land to farm, join relatives or friends from in or near the home settlement and return there frequently for ceremonies and festivals. People who remain more firmly anchored in the home base often combine visits to long-term movers with trading or other work in the informal sector. For many long-term movers, both women and men, the mobility experience is an extension of what they already know rather than something totally new.

PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH AND SUGGESTIONS FOR NEW DIRECTIONS

The themes and approaches developed in the course of the study of circulation and multilocality in the Ilorin region can be used in the further study of the phenomena in that area and in other

parts of Nigeria. Because of the complexity of the data necessary for the adequate identification of circulation and multilocality, micro-studies, such as were carried out in the Ilorin project, are more valuable than large-scale sample surveys. Such small-scale studies enable the researcher to identify the context within which the mobility takes place, for this can vary considerably from place to place. Each mobility system focusing on a particular rural settlement or part of an urban area is also a means of transmitting information about opportunities. If sample data is collected from a very large number of places the feeling of context is lost and all one is left with is statistical data which can only be treated in aggregate and which conveys no feeling of place and its meaning for local people.

It is important to extend the geographical coverage of circulation studies beyond Ilorin. There is virtually no information about mobility in the rest of the Middle Belt outside Ilorin. In southwestern Nigeria there is considerable information about long-term mobility but the extent of circulation has not been investigated. Mobility studies in Sokoto have specifically identified seasonal movement but this data could be brought up to date, for it covers the early 1950s (Prothero 1957, 1959 and 1976a) and the early 1970s (Goddard 1974).

The brief study of migrant labour in the Ilorin region suggests that some movement from Sokoto which was once seasonal may now be becoming long-term as movers are staying away from home longer.

In order to understand the nature and context of circulation more detailed data on such things as life-cycle moves are needed. Information in the Ilorin survey about past long distance movement was collected in the course of a total survey of all adult residents and it did not provide the time necessary to obtain the most accurate responses. Most respondents were able to say where they had lived and approximately for how long. But it would have been useful to know exactly when movements took place in relation to the individual's life cycle and to the movements of other people from the same settlement. This kind of information can be obtained in structured interviews in which the researcher uses key events in the respondent's life, such as the time of marriage(s) and the death of parents to help him or her build up a picture of life-time mobility and its relationship to the developmental cycle.

Unfortunately such interviewing techniques require that the interviewers have a higher general level of education and more intensive training than most of those in the Ilorin project. Although there are serious problems associated with the

analysis of detailed life history data (Gould 1976: 13-14) even a small number of such interviews, in each settlement could be used to construct matrices to exemplify 'typical' mobility patterns. In the Ilorin region I interviewed a few important and/or highly mobile individuals but I did not have time to develop a format for the kind of systematic interviewing described above.

Data on circulation can also be collected in a series of surveys which trace the movement of members of a particular community over a number of years. Because of the difficulty of tracing individuals from survey to survey and the complex household organisation and building structures, even for these surveys the interviewers would need to know the settlement and leading community members well. It would not be sufficient for interviewers to visit these settlements only at the regular intervals necessary for the periodic surveys.

During the period between these surveys the interviewers could be engaged in collecting detailed life-histories, and in recording short-term movements and those which occurred within the immediate area of the settlement. Such short-distance visits (which were deliberately omitted in the original Ilorin survey) would identify distances travelled and time taken going to work on the farm, collecting wood or water or going to primary schools. This

information could be used for planning the improvement in the quality of rural life and thus perhaps contributing towards reversing the flow of migrants from the rural areas.

Water-related diseases such as guinea worm, schistosomiasis and onchocerciasis have spread alarmingly in Kwara State in the past decade and population mobility is thought to be an important element in their diffusion. In the study of water related diseases all forms of mobility, long-term and short-term, need to be recorded in order to trace sources of infection and of transmission. The conceptualisation of the mobility system has been a useful contribution to a project on the study of water-related disease which has been initiated jointly by this author and faculty members in the University of Ilorin Faculty of Health Sciences. Under the author's direction one student has prepared a paper tracing the sources of infection of guinea worm in a cluster of small settlements in Moro LGA (Ejidokun 1982). This information is being used in health education and vector control planning.

CIRCULATION, MULTILOCALITY AND PUBLIC POLICY

Policy makers cannot ignore the role of circulation and multilocality in the problems of rural decline and unplanned urban growth in Nigeria. Researchers should identify for planners the impact of circulatory movements on the home place and the work place. Community organisations could be vital in helping to solve urban problems and in reversing the decline in agricultural production in areas with a high rate of out-movement. Short-term moves between the home settlement and the places where non-residents work provide information channels which could be utilised in development programmes to reverse the flow of people from rural areas and smaller towns and to encourage some of the migrants to return home. If considerable variations exist between neighbouring settlements in the rate of out-movement, perhaps the kind of alternative opportunities which have limited out-movement in certain settlements can be duplicated in others. The high rates of out-movement from the city of Ilorin study areas indicate that high rates of circulation are also experienced in medium-sized cities.

The research in the Ilorin area was carried out during a time of comparative prosperity and optimism about Nigeria's future. Even people who were unemployed or only marginally employed were

unwilling to return as this would seem like an admission of defeat at a time when people still believed that many employment opportunities existed in the cities. People who thought they could profitably invest some of their capital in a rural-based venture or in a medium sized city were often afraid of returning for fear of being regarded as having failed in the city.

Large-scale movement to cities such as Lagos has certainly contributed to urban congestion, overcrowding and underemployment, and strained existing services. In the last few years people from in and around Ilorin who live in Lagos have reported a growing awareness of the practical problems of living in the metropolis and this has led to an increase in the number of children sent home for schooling. Problems of housing and access to services such as electricity and piped water are also experienced in Ilorin as a result of the rapid growth of the city.

In the fiscal year 1974/5 oil revenues provided 84.4 per cent of the Federal Government revenue and the proportion has grown since then.¹ However, by the latter part of 1981 the impact of the oil surplus and declining oil prices was having a serious effect on the Nigerian economy. People in the informal sector, such as migrants from the Ilorin area, were not at first directly affected by the decline in

demand for workers and goods on various government-sponsored projects but soon people such as traders, drivers and small-scale craftsmen and repairers began to feel the pinch.

Follow-up research in the study locales in the Ilorin region would reveal the extent of any return from the cities or a possible slowing-down in the rate of out-movement. These changes might also be associated with some re-definition of people as residents or non-residents when individuals who had been severing their links with their home communities sought to re-assert them. On a national level it would also be helpful to examine the role of circulation in mitigating political unrest in the cities by providing an 'escape valve' for people who have maintained their rural links (Gutkind 1973; Mortimore 1982).

Patterns of multilocality may vary considerably from place to place in Nigeria, especially if the distances migrants travel from their home place to work are greater than they are in the Ilorin region. Nobody has yet considered the implications of multilocality for Federal, state and local government housing policy. It is important to ask how many of the people applying for mortgages to build houses or for houses in the low-cost housing schemes are actually going to live in those houses permanently and work in the immediate locality.

The social and financial cost of the under-utilisation of relatively high quality housing built by non-residents must be significant in a country in which the overall standards of housing are still low.

We know very little about how patterns of multilocality and circulation vary in Nigeria and in a period of considerable national change and growing international interest in Nigerian affairs these phenomena ought to be examined in more detail. For the character of long-distance mobility, as circulation rather than migration, is clearly very different in Nigeria from that of Western countries on which the current models of mobility are based. Balanced national development may be very difficult to achieve while so many people who claim to be full members of various rural and urban settlements do not actually live and work there during their economically active years. It is vitally important to recognise the role of circulation and multilocality in national life in Nigeria if policies directed towards redressing the neglect of rural areas are to succeed, and the vast unplanned growth of the Lagos metropolis and other large cities curbed and the quality of urban life improved.

Footnotes

1. Africa Report, 6 December 1982, p. 3147.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRES

KWARA MOBILITY SURVEY - HOUSEHOLD DATA

Settlement..... Date.....

Compound..... Household number.....

List all resident members of the household of 15

and over:

Name	age	sex	relation- ship	occupation	birth place	religion
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

List all resident children:

Name	age	sex	mother's name	birthplace
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

Appendix 1 continued

Household data

	staying at	last came home	how long since first left
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

Notes on family away - reasons for going, links with home settlement etc.

Appendix 1 continued

ADULT FEMALE

Date.....

Settlement..... Compound.....

Name of household head.....Household number...

1. Name

A. Ageyears

B Marital status i. married ii. divorced
iii. single iv.C. Occupation i.
ii.D. Birthplace town/village.....
inLGA,state
approximately kms awayE. If you were not born in this settlement,
when did you last visit your birthplace?
i. go daily ii. within last week
iii. within 2 weeks iv. within last month
v. within 4 months vi. within last year
vii. within last 2 years
viii. longer

2. A. How long have you lived in this settlement?

i. all your life ii. all adult life
iii. came years ago

B. If you have lived in other places, give details:

I. Settlement.....inLGA,
.....State, approx. kms away
number of years you lived there.....
from the year 19.. to 19..

Appendix I continued

Adult female continued

2. B. I. occupation while living there.....
- II. Settlement.....in.....LGA,
.....State, approx.kms away
number of years you lived there.....
from the year 19.. to 19..
occupation while living there.....
3. A. When did you last pay a visit outside this
settlement?
- i. yesterday/today ii. within last week
iii. within last 2 weeks iv. within last month
v. within last 4 months vi. within last year
vii. within last 2 years viii. longer
- B. Where did you go?
Settlement....., in.....LGA,
.....State, approx.kms away.
- C. Why did you go?
- i. to buy iii. to sell
iii. to visit friends iv. to visit relatives
v. other.....
4. A. When was your next most recent visit before that?
- i. yesterday/today ii. within last week
iii. within last 2 weeks iv. within last month
v. within last 4 months vi. within last year
vii. within last 2 years viii. longer

Appendix 1 continued

Adult female continued

4. B. Where did you go?

Settlement.....,in.....LGA,
.....state, approx. ...kms away.

C. Why did you go?

i. to buy ii. to sell

iii. visit friends iv. visit relatives

v. other.....

5. A. Did you spend a night away on either occasion?

i. yes, first visit

ii. yes, second visit

iii. no

If the answer is yes, go on to question 6.

B. When did you last spend a night away?

ii. within last week iii. within last 2 weeks

iv. within last month v. within last 4 months

vi. within last year vii. within last 2 years

viii. longer

C. Where did you go?

Settlement.....,inLGA,
.....state, approx.kms away

D. Why did you spend the night away?

i. to buy ii. to sell

iii. visit friends iv. visit relatives

v. other.....

If any of the above visits were to Ilorin, go to question

7.

Appendix I continued

Adult female continued

6. A. When did you last go to Ilorin?
- ii. within last week iii. within last 2 weeks
 iv. within last month v. within last 4 months
 vi. within last year vii. within last 2 years
 viii. longer
- B. Why did you go?
- i. to buy ii. to sell
 iii. to visit friends iv. visit relatives
 v. other.....
7. If it is not yet clear which towns is visited most often ask whether Ilorin or Lagos are most often visited. Ilorin Lagos
8. A. Which local market do you visit most frequently?

- B. How often do you go to this market?
- i. daily ii. every market day
 iii. every other market day iv. every month
 v. less frequently
- C. Why do you go to this market?
- i. to buy ii. to sell
 iii. other.....
- 9 A. Do you visit any other market regularly?
- i. yes ii. no
- B. If the answer is yes, which market?

Appendix I continued

Adult female continued

9. C. How often do you go to this market?
- ii. every market day
 - iii. every other market day
 - iv. every month
 - v. less frequently
- D. Why do you go to this market?
- i. to buy
 - ii. to sell
 - iii. other.....
10. A. Do you every visit any other market?
- i. yes
 - ii. no
- B. If the answer is yes, which market?
-
- C. How often do you go to this market?
- ii. every market day
 - iii. every other market day
 - iv. every month
 - v. less frequently
- D. Why do you go to this market?
- i. to buy
 - ii. to sell
 - iii. other.....
11. A. Where did you spend last Id el-Kabir/Christmas?
- i. here
 - ii. if elsewhere, give details.....
- B. If you left the settlement, how many days did you stay away?
- C. With whom did you stay?

Appendix I continued

Adult female continued

12. A. Where did you spend last Id el-Fitr/Easter?

i. here

ii. if elsewhere, give details.....

B. If you left the settlement, how many days

did you stay away?

C. With whom did you stay?

Who answered these questions?

i. the person they concerned

ii. a close relative, give details.....

name of interviewer.....

Appendix 1 continued

ADULT MALE

Date.....:

Settlement Compound

Name of household head..... Household number....

Name

1. A. Ageyears

B. Marital status i. married ii. divorced
iii. single iv.C. Occupation i.
ii.D. Birthplace town/village
inLGA,state
approximatelykms away.

2. A. How long have you lived in this settlement?

i. all your life ii. all adult life
iii. came years ago

B. If you have lived in other places, give details:

I. Settlement.....in.....LGA,
.....State, approx.kms away
number of years you lived there.....
from the year 19.. to 19..

occupation while living there.....

II. Settlement.....in.....LGA,
.....State, approx.kms away
number of years you lived there.....
from the year 19.. to 19..

occupation while living there.....

Appendix 1 continued

Adult Male Continued

3. A. When did you last pay a visit outside this settlement?

- i. yesterday/today ii. within last week
- iii. within last 2 weeks iv. within last month
- v. within last 4 months vi. within last year
- vii. within last 2 years viii. longer

B. Where did you go?

Settlement....., inLGA,
.....State, approx. kms away

C. Why did you go?

- i. to buy ii. to sell
- iii. to visit friends iv. to visit relatives
- v. other.....

4. A. When was your next most recent visit before that?

- i. yesterday/today ii. within last week
- iii. within last 2 weeks iv. within last month
- v. within last 4 months vi. within last year
- vii. within last 2 years viii. longer

B. Where did you go?

Settlement....., inLGA,
.....State, approx.kms away

C. Why did you go?

- i. to buy ii. to sell
- iii. to visit friends iv. to visit relatives
- v. other.....

Appendix 1 continued

Adult male continued

5. A. Did you spend a night away on either occasion?

- i. yes, first visit
- ii. yes, second visit
- iii. no

If the answer is yes, go on to question 6.

B. When did you last spend a night away?

- ii. within last week
- iii. within last 2 weeks
- iv. within last month
- v. within last 4 months
- vi. within last year
- vii. within last 2 years
- viii. longer

C. Where did you go?

Settlement....., inLGA,
.....State, approx.kms away

D. Why did you spend the night away?

- i. to buy
- ii. to sell
- iii. to visit friends
- iv. to visit relatives
- v. other.....

If any of the above visits were to Ilorin, go to question 7.

6. A. When did you last go to Ilorin?

- ii. within last week
- iii. within last 2 weeks
- iv. within last month
- v. within last 4 months
- vi. within last year
- vii. within last 2 years
- viii. longer

Appendix 1 continued

Adult male continued

6. B. Why did you go to Ilorin?
- i. to buy
 - ii. to sell
 - iii. to visit friends
 - iv. to visit relatives
 - v. other
7. If it is not clear which town is visited most often ask whether Ilorin or Lagos are most often visited. Ilorin Lagos
8. A. Where did you spend last Id el-Kabir/Christmas?
- i. here
 - ii. if elsewhere, give details.....
- B. If you left the settlement, how many days did you stay away? days
- C. With whom did you stay?
9. A. Where did you spend last Id el-Fitr/Easter?
- i. here
 - ii. elsewhere, give details.....
- B. If you left the settlement, how many days did you stay away? days
- C. With whom did you stay?
10. A. Did you attend mosque last jum^cat oloyin?
- i. yes
 - ii. no
- B. If the answer is yes, where was the mosque?
- i. here
 - ii. if elsewhere, give details.....

Appendix 1 continued

Adult male continued

11. A. Do you pay isakóle?

- i. yes
- ii. no

B. If you pay, to whom do you pay?

C. How much, and how often do you pay?

.....

12. A. Does anyone pay you isakóle?

- i. yes
- ii. no

B. If so, who pays you?

C. How much, and how often do they pay?

.....

13. A. Do you employ migrant labourers?

- i. yes
- ii. no

B. If yes, where do they come from?

Who answered these questions?

- i. the person they concerned
- ii. a close relative, give details.....

name of interviewer

APPENDIX II

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS

INFORMAL SECTOR

1. Primary Occupations

Farming - cocoa farming
 cattle keeping
 agricultural labourer

Hunting

Fishing

2. Trading

The following categories are appropriate to women's activities and often involve some prior preparation or collection

uncooked food	yams
cooked food	yam flour
locust beans	<u>gari</u> (cassava flour)
palm oil	fish (smoked or dried)
<u>èkó</u>	tobacco (incl. grinding)
shea butter	cheese/milk
soap	firewood
local medicines	kola nuts

3. Small-scale 'traditional' crafts

Male - goldsmith	Female - pottery
blacksmith	spinning
tanning/leatherwork	dyeing
embroidery	

Both sexes - weaving - males using horizontal loom
 females using vertical loom

Appendix II continued

4. Small-scale 'traditional' services

Male - acrobat	Female - butcher
drummer	'forecaster'
singer	singer
water carrier	water carrier
house servant	house servant
<u>imam</u> /Arabist	hair plaiting
<u>alfa</u> /herbalist	

5. Small-scale 'modern' services and manufacturing

mechanic	tailor
technician	photographer
radio repairer	carpenter
'iron bender'	corn miller
plumber	baker
painter	barber
bricklayer	driver/tout

All these occupations, except for tailoring, are exclusively male.

6. Students

FORMAL SECTOR

7. Industries and services

factory worker	'government worker'
sawmill worker	'civil servant'
wharf labourer	teacher
	police
	nurse/ward attendant
	clerk

Appendix II continued.

7. Industries and services cont.

'Government worker' and 'civil servant' may include the lowest levels of local and state government employment.

Contractor - a general local term for someone running virtually any kind of independent business reasonably successfully - a term of respect and status!

8. Other

Appendix III: Gravity Models

A. Adults who have lived away from the study settlements

	1963 population	kms from Ilorin	expected % share	actual share of rural areas	actual share of urban areas
Lagos	992,246	302	18%	90%	73%
Ibadan	629,379	161	21%	6%	20%
Ogbomosh	319,881	51	35%	3%	2%
Kano	295,432	872	2%	-	3%
Oshogbo	208,966	111	10%	1%	-
Abeokuta	187,292	233	4%	1%	-
Pt Harcourt	179,563	729	1%	-	-
Zaria	166,170	694	1%	-	-
Ilesha	165,822	147	6%	-	1

Appendix III: Gravity Models

B. 'Pull' of Ilorin and Lagos for rural settlements
at various distances from Ilorin

Highest acceptable recent population figures
for both cities.

'Pull' of Ilorin for settlement 54 kilometres from
the city (Romi, the most distant rural study
settlement) using Ilorin population of 400,000
= 7407

'Pull' of Lagos, 302 + 54 = 356 kilometres and
population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million = 7022

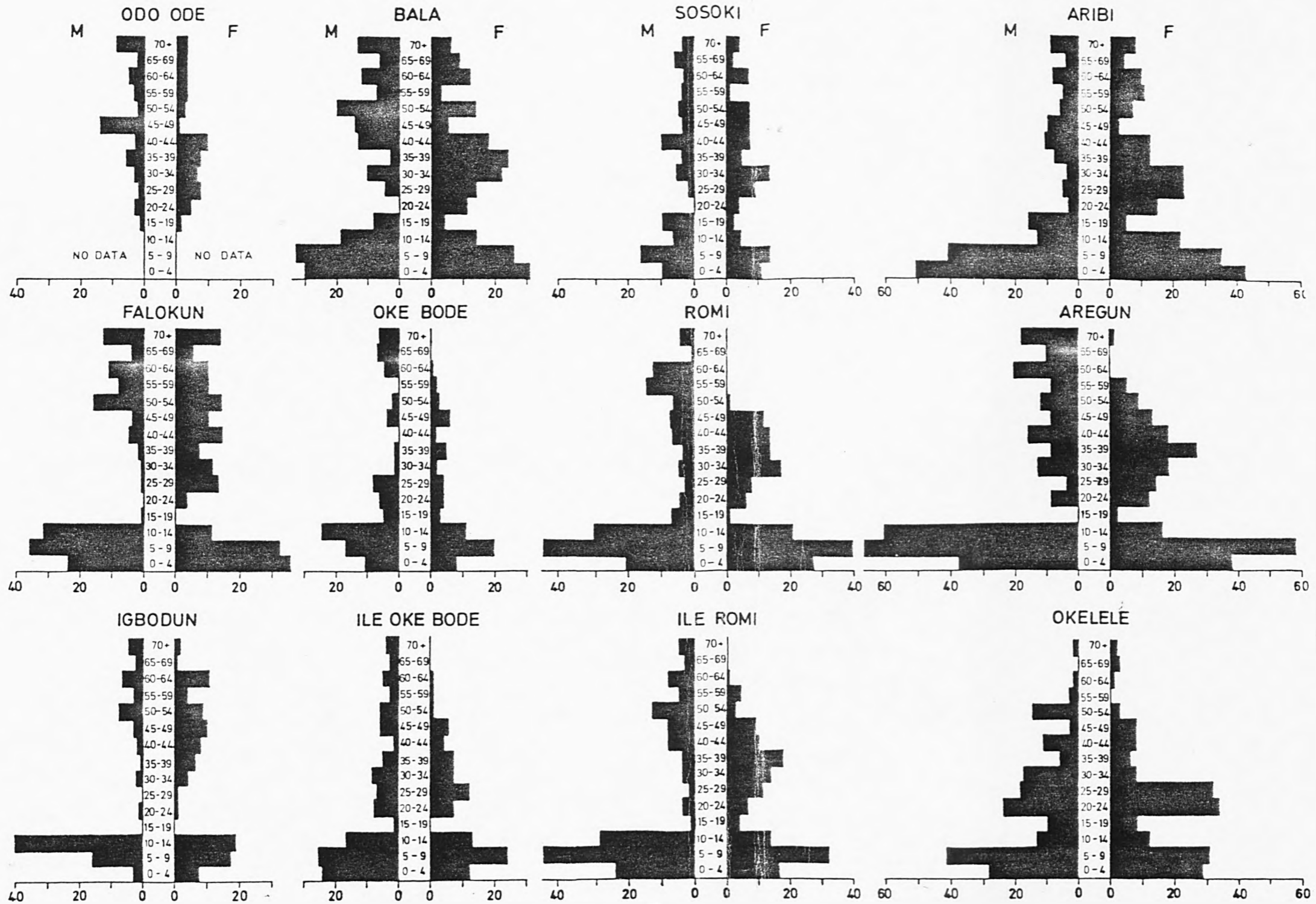


Figure V 3 Resident Population of each Settlement