

Structure of an African city:
study of Ibadan, Nigeria. *city structure and morphology*

by Stephan L. Murphy
Bachelor of Architecture
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ABSTRACT

The study of Ibadan, Nigeria was conducted to analyze how Colonization has altered, or not altered the structure of the traditional African city form of this Yoruba town. The study encompasses structural city form elements of Ibadan in terms of housing, open space and markets, public facilities, infrastructure, and natural resources. In order to assess the structure of a city, whether it be a western or non-western model, there has to be an investigation of how the people use and enjoy (recreation and social interchange) the city. These elements are a good identifiers as to the effectiveness of city planning methods, and best qualified through the analysis of urban plans.

The study is intended to render a series of conceptual city planning development strategies that could be the foundation for further investigation regarding how this large African city could expand in the future, while retaining some of its traditional integrity. Such a study of traditional African city form conflicting with Colonial forces can have broader applications than in Africa alone, and can be utilized where any indigenous form (regardless of geographic location) is met with an introduced methodology.

The information presented in this study does not reflect contemporary conditions in Ibadan due to limited access to data, and should be viewed as an analysis of the planimetric form based on urban design principles. Development concepts are reflective of conditions between 1972 and the early 1980's and could be reapplied using the same techniques outlined herein to reflect the contemporary state of the city.

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To my “inspiration,” all work is done with an end result in mind... The manifestation of thought. With no end result in mind, work remains work, and not preparation for action.

“without struggle, there is no progress”

— Frederick Douglass

To the future brothers and sisters to follow at MIT, keep focused and all you wish for will come your way.

One Love,

Stephan L. Murphy

PREFACE

Preface



The intent of this thesis research is to investigate how Colonization has affected city design principles and physical morphology of African cities. The case study to be presented is of Ibadan, Nigeria, the second largest city in Nigeria (approximately 90-miles from Lagos). The rationale for choosing Ibadan was that it exists as a partially traditional African city, with strong Colonial urban patterns. The analysis will be made through investigation of its structural elements encompassing housing, public facilities, open space and markets, infrastructure, and education and religion. These elements will be analyzed regarding their relevance to the physical form and morphology of Ibadan, and not on their individual merit.

The product of this investigation will be a set of urban analysis diagrams (analytical diagrams of formal space relationships) as well as conceptual development strategies (Conceptual ideas for future development based on planimetric study) that could be implemented upon further investigation of physical and political constraints. This analysis is intended to identify and promote the development of good African city form as it pertains this particular case. The analysis presented is exclusively based on the planimetric study of the urban form of Ibadan, and are presented as ideas of principle, not based on political or economic conditions in Ibadan or Nigeria. It is understood that a city cannot truly be assessed without taking into account important issues such as ambiance, scale or political and economic conditions. Unfortunately, due to funding restrictions and travel conditions in the region, I was unable to make a trip to the city to ascertain such information. So the work presented is based on the perceptions of the urban design principles to affect positive change in the physical plan of the city of Ibadan. It is my hope that someday I will be able to visit the city that I have analyzed herein, and see the city firsthand.

This study of Ibadan does not represent the contemporary state of the city due to limited access to information regarding the current plan and conditions in Ibadan. The base map presented in the study is reflective of conditions in the city in the 1970's and 1980's, so it should be understood that this analysis would potentially have to be reassessed pending the integration of such recent activity in the city. However, the same analytic strategy could be reapplied to reflect contemporary conditions during this gap of data (1980's-1998).

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1 Chapter 1: BACKGROUND

1.1-1 Physical environment

Geographic location

The geographic base of this analysis lies on the continent of Africa which is located between 35°N and 40°S latitudes, and 20°W and 50°E longitudes (*Figure 1*). Africa has a total land area of 11,710,500 square miles (30,330,000 sq. km.). In comparison, North America (9,363,00 sq. mi.) and South America (6,874,600 sq. mi.) combine for a land area of 16,237,600 square miles (<http://www.yn.la.ca.us/cec/cecsst/cecsst.125.txt>).

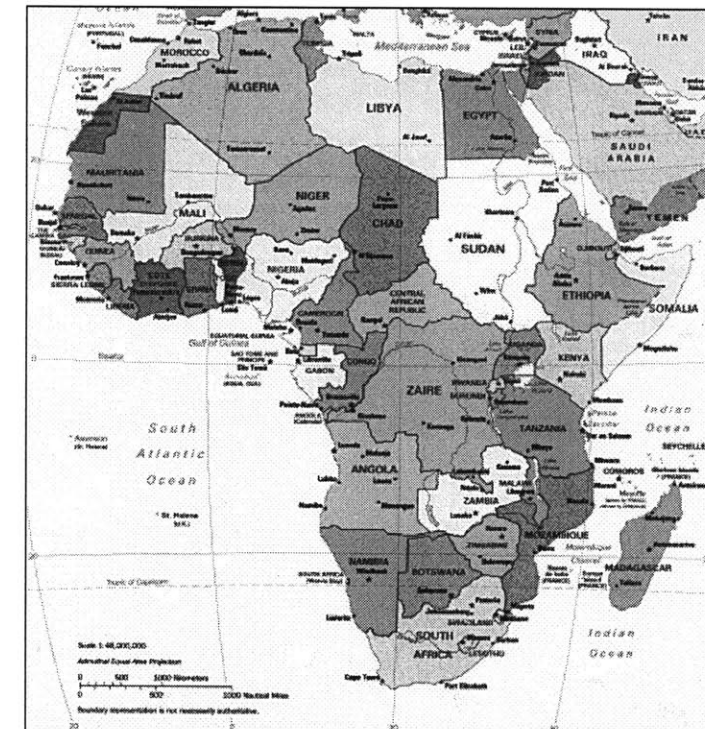
Africa is one of the most populous continents in the world, registering a total population of 601,000,000 (1987 est.), with an annual growth rate of 2.8% per annum. Densities on the continent of Africa stand at 15.1 persons per square kilometer. Comparably, Asia and Europe measure at 62.0 persons per square kilometer and 65.0 persons per square kilometer respectively (<http://www.yn.la.ca.us/cec/cecsst/cecsst.125.txt>).

The physical landscape of Africa ranges from tropical rain forest to arid desert conditions, with both mountainous and plateau regions. Africa has a very diverse landscape and holds a prominent ecological position in the stability of global equilibrium because of its tropical rain forests and rich soils. The soil of the entire continent is rich in precious metals and stones, including quarries of diamonds and gold.

Nigeria

Nigeria is located between 4°N and 14°N latitudes, 2.5°E and 14.5°E longitudes in the western region of

Figure 1. Africa



source: (<http://www.library.nwu.edu/africana/map/>)

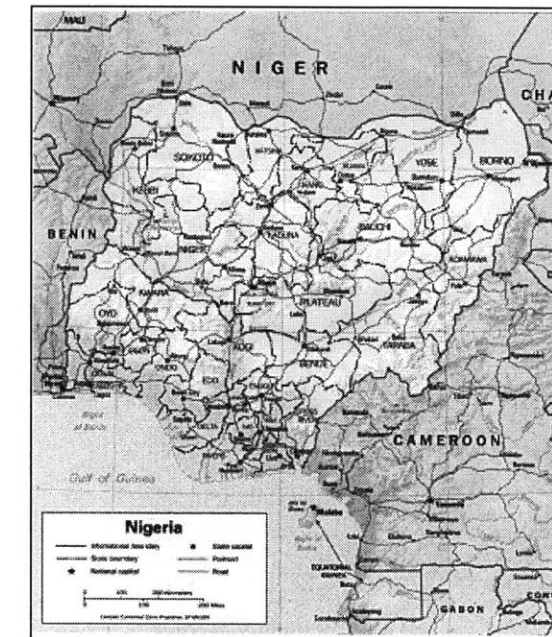
Africa (Figure 2). The country is physically bound by the Gulf of Guinea as the coastal edge, lying between Benin and Cameroon with a total land area of 356,670 square miles (923,770 sq. km.).

Statistical data estimates Nigeria's population at 103,912,489 (July 1996 est.), establishing it as the most populous country in Africa. Nigeria has an estimated population growth rate of 3.05% per annum (<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/ni.htm>), placing it amongst the world leaders in this category. The birth rate of Nigeria stands at 42.89 births per thousand, with the death rate at 12.71 deaths per thousand. Demographically, Nigeria is a slightly male-dominated society with a ratio of 1.03 males-to-females.

The official name of the country is the Federal Republic of Nigeria, but is more commonly referred to as Nigeria (Figure 3). The nation was originally divided into twelve states (1967), expanded to nineteen states (1976), and eventually divided into thirty states (Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Enugu, Imo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Lagos, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, and Yobe) with one territory, the capital at Abuja Territory which was moved from Lagos on December 12, 1991 (<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/nsolo/factbook/ni.htm>. "note" pg.3).

Nigeria enjoyed a boom following the second World War, and consistent with the rise in oil prices during the 1970's, expanded their income due to foreign exchange. Government officials in all Nigeria saw an opportunity for economic growth and began to improve its infrastructure and social amenities, which contributed to the quality of life in its urban centers. Nigeria's urban areas represent less than 10% of the total land area, but hold approximately 35% of the population. The urban growth rate is between 5%-6.5% per annum, which is essentially double the rural growth rate (Taylor,1993). Ibadan, the second largest city in Nigeria (Lagos being the largest), has grown from a population of 627,379 people in 1963 to over 5.6 million in 1990 (Taylor, 1993). This seemingly drastic increase in population was in response to improved medical facilities (1920's and 1930's) that attacked the high infant mortality rate in the early part of the 20th century. The rise in population was not as steady as these figures may appear to indicate, as will be

Figure 2. Nigeria



source: (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/libs/pcl/map_collections/africa/nigeria.gif/)

Figure 3. Nigerian states



source: Neue Bundeslandergerenzen ab. 27. August 1991

discussed further within this chapter.

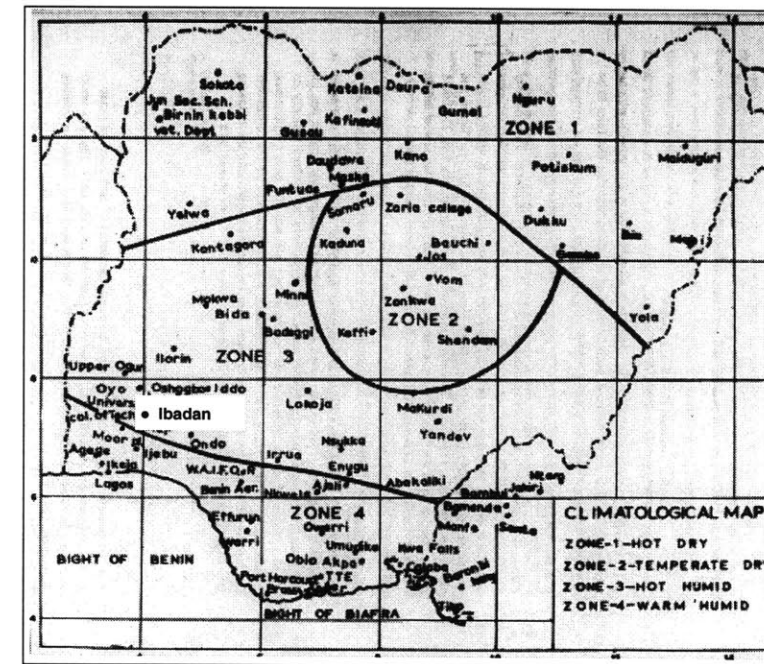
Regional Ibadan ■■

The city of Ibadan lies in the Western Nigerian State of Oyo, approximately 90 miles northeast of Lagos. Located at 7°-26'N (Latitude) and 3°-54'E (Longitude), Ibadan lies in the Hot Humid region of Nigeria at an elevation 892 feet (227 meters) above sea level. As defined by the International Development Agency (IDA), Nigeria is divided into four climatic zones (Agarwal, Komolafe, 1983) defined as Hot Dry, Temperate Dry, Hot Humid and Warm Humid (Figure 4). The tropical climate of Ibadan enjoys two distinct seasons, the Wet Season and the Dry Season which occur from April-October and November-March respectively. The mean daily maximum temperature ranges from 86°-95°F, with mean daily minimum temperatures ranging from 68°-77° F. Humidity in Ibadan is very high, ranging from 70%-80% in the Dry Season to 80%-90% in the Wet Season, with winds emanating from the southwest consistently throughout the year. Rainfall within the region is typically 48.3 inches per annum (1228.0 mm) reflective of a tropical region.

Physical Landscape ■■

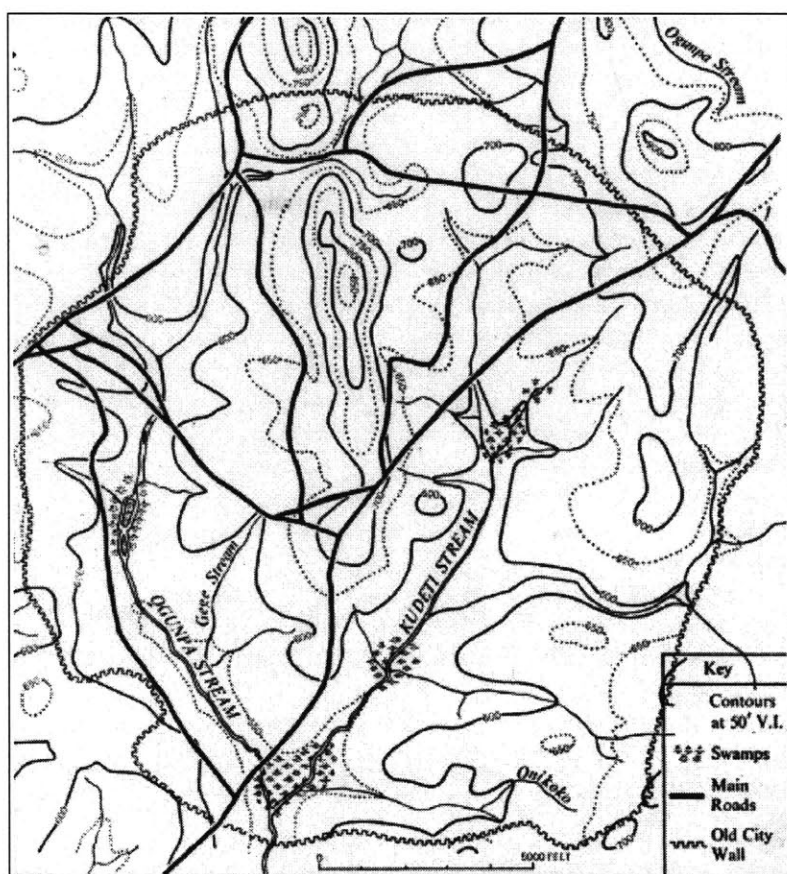
The environmental character of Nigeria is one that is equatorial (hot and humid) toward the south, more tropical (lush vegetation) toward the center, and drier (arid) to the north. Lowlands in the south transform into rolling

Figure 4. Climatology



source: Nigerian climate zones & building design guidelines.

Figure 5. Topography*



*Topography within original walled-city plan of Ibadan (1829-early 1900's). Figure shows original fortification and land forms within it.

source: *The city of Ibadan*. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967. pg. 36).

hills and plateaus with a mixture of mountainous regions and flat plains. The city of Ibadan itself is essentially composed of hills (“Oke,” Yoruba word for hill) and valleys (“Isale,” Yoruba word for valley) creating an undulating landscape.

There are three main physical regions within Ibadan, the Central Ridge, Surrounding Hills and the River Valley Plains (*Figure 5*). The Central Ridge is an elongated north-south quartzite formation of hills that originates at Mokola and traverses the landscape through Aremo on to Shapati. The highest point on this central ridge, which is covered with teak vegetation, is located at Aremo reaching a elevation of 892 feet (272 meters) above sea level and 200 feet (61 meters) above the surrounding landscape (Olalekan, 1972).

A very intensive system of rivers and streams lie within the old walled-city plan of Ibadan, with the two major water bodies being the Ogunpa Stream and Kudeti Stream. While along the northern and southern edges of the city, hills ranging from 500-900 feet above sea level run northwest and northeast dividing the city into two parts. This very diverse physical configuration of Ibadan lends itself to great views of the contextual environment as well as providing as very defensible space that would prove to be important later on in the historical morphology of the city.

1.1-2 History

The Yorubas ■■

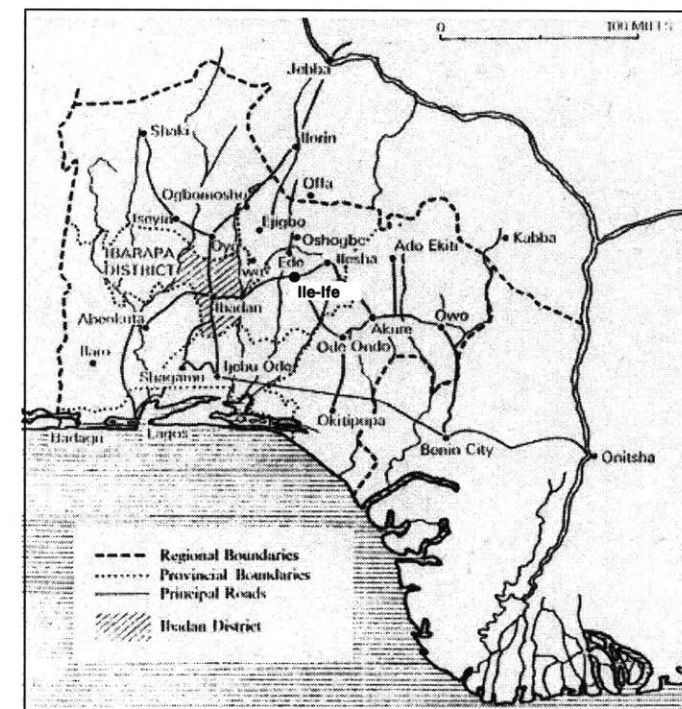
The place of origin and the spiritual seat for the Yoruba¹ people is said to be located in Ile-Ife² just outside the informal boundary of the Oyo Empire (see figure 7), and referred to as their cradle and spiritual home (Figure 6). The Yoruba people are the principle inhabitants of the southern portion of Nigeria, with settlements in; Ilorin, Ogbomoso, Osogbo, Ado, Ekiti, Ilesha, Ondo, Owo, Iseyin, Akure, Iwo, Abeokuta, Ilaro, Ijebu-Odf, Ijebu-Igbo, Sagamu, Oyo and Ife. In addition, there are 300,000 Yoruba in Benin (formerly Dahomey), Nigeria's western neighbor (Olalekan, 1972).

The Yorubas represent a great deal of the 15,320,509 persons (1972) in all of Nigeria, and the city of Ibadan accounted for 1,050,000 persons in 1972. Ibadan Yorubas represent only 7% of all Yorubas, but on the other hand, Yorubas account for 95% of the population in Ibadan (Olalekan, 1972). As reflected by these statistics, Ibadan is very much a Yoruba settlement of both indigenous and immigrant (immigrating Yorubas from Lagos and other Nigerian cities as well as foreigners) contingents.

The original Yorubas came to Ile-Ife (ca. 7th-10th century) with their imperialistic ideals of conquest and the expansion of their empire, and began to spread to adjacent settlements with thoughts of conquest. It was at Ile-Ife that all Yoruba settlements began, obtaining their formative and conceptual foundations for developing towns. As a testament to the imperialistic nature of the Yorubas, when Oyo was founded, many of the villages and hamlets within a fifteen mile radius were overrun and absorbed within the new settlement.

Traditional Yoruba townships existed as institutions of divine kingship, functioning as the seat of the Oba³

Figure 6. Ile-Ife



source: Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967

¹ For more information on the Yoruba people, refer to *Custom & Politics in urban Africa*. Abner Chohen 1969.

² Ile-Ife was founded between the 7th and 10th century A.D. For further information refer to Mabogunje, 1962.

³ For more information on the Oba, refer to Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

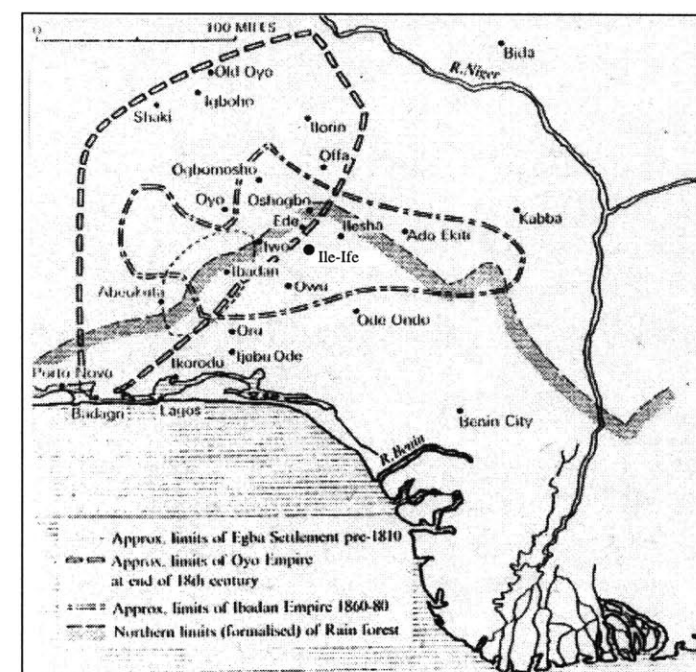
(the king or “crowned head” of a town), and his chiefs and their retainers (Olalekan, 1972). The Oba is the spiritual ruler of Yoruba towns and exercises his rule over the activities within the town and its environs. The strong administrative substructure in Yoruba towns greatly contributed to the progression and success of the imperial presence of the Yorubas throughout Nigeria.

Oyo Empire ■■

The Oyo Empire is held in the highest regard among the Yoruba people as an example of the height of political organization of the Yorubas (*Figure 7*). Traditionally, Oyo has been the source of spiritual inspiration and the locus of administrative guidance and power for all Yorubas. This powerful status of the Oyo Empire would be compromised and ultimately seized by Ibadan via a series of wars throughout the years with the assistance of an outside force, the British.

The state of Oyo (Oyo is both a Kingdom and a city) was the home of the Alafin⁴, the ruler of the entire Oyo Empire, who was anointed with the power of controlling most of the other Yoruba kingdoms to the east, west and south. The Alafin (who ruled the kingdom) was a very powerful position in the 18th century and throughout most of the 19th century, a position that demanded tribute and respect from all other Yoruba kingdoms. This intra-kingdom tribute was one of the contributing factors to the consistent nature of all Yoruba towns, in the sense that the Alafin would send an Ajele (resident representative) to oversee the affairs of the town under his control. He would also send messengers to report on the well-being of the residents to maintain a stable community.

Figure 7. Oyo Empire



source: *The city of Ibadan*. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe. 1967.

⁴ For more information on the Alafin, refer to Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

Expanding the Oyo Empire ■■

Trade was an important element in the success of the Oyo empire and was a major concern of the Alafin. To ensure longevity by the Oyo Empire, the Alafin sought two levels of trade, local trade and regional trade. Local trade consisted of transactions between the inhabitants of a town and its environs, dealing in everyday commodities. The extent of the regional trade scheme encompassed some provincial trade with Eruwa, Ijaiye, Iseyin, Saki, Iwo, Ogbomoso, Oyo and Ilorin occurring in the marketplace. Trade within the markets usually involved people from the same kingdom, however there was some trading between kingdoms.

Oyo (Old Oyo) grew to become such a dominant force in Yoruba land, dominating neighboring kingdoms and respecting only Benin as its only equal in size and spiritual power in all of Nigeria. The preoccupation of trade by the Alafin greatly contributed to the size and prominence of Oyo in Yoruba land by controlling trade routes from the Savannah to the sea, as well as the presence of its formidable armed cavalry. These factors easily established the Oyo Empire as the most dominant military, administrative and commercial power at the end of the 18th century and into the 19th century, a time when Ibadan was merely a small village.

The Oyo Empire would prove to be unstable and subsequently undergo several transformations in the latter part of the 19th century. Internal fighting amongst the Yorubas toward the end of the 19th century, accompanied by external attacks by the Fulani Jihad (Jihad meaning "Holy war"), would lead to the compromise and eventual collapse of the Oyo Empire as the administrative center of Yoruba land. A new capital (present Oyo) was constructed approximately thirty-five miles north of Old Oyo, but much of the power was passed to the newly founded town of Ibadan and wrested from the traditional center of Oyo (Old Oyo and present-day Oyo).

Beginnings of Ibadan ■■

The beginnings of Ibadan can be traced back as far as the early 19th century when it was an Egba (the indigenous people) village. However, this small village would be transformed into the new power in the Oyo Empire by the turn of the 19th century. Today Ibadan is recognized as a "city-village," comprised of some 300 hamlets and villages, and is commonly described as the largest native city in the world (Olalekan, 1972).

In the pre-colonial era, Yoruba land consisted of a great number of kingdoms both large and small. The larger kingdoms were those of Oyo, Ife, Ijebu, Ijesha, and Iwo, while the smaller kingdoms consisted of Egba and Ekiti. These Yoruba kingdoms fought amongst themselves with such passion that the ultimate re-configuration of their makeup was inevitable. By the early 1820's the southern contingent of Yoruba country was involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade with the major proponent being the Ijebu, who had access to coastal waters. Ijebu served as the middleman in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and soon began to encourage other bordering kingdoms, specifically the Ife (Ile-Ife) to get involved with the trade. The immediate consequence to these actions was the Owu War which was fought between the Ife and their Ijebu allies against the Owu who were against the trade. However, the Owu War was only one war in a long series of civil wars that would eventually prove to be the source of power for modern day Ibadan.

These civil wars were the impetus that promoted the founding of Ibadan as it is known today. Ibadan was originally an Egba town that was destroyed in the fighting between rival kingdoms over issues, with the prominent issue being that of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The town was originally called Egba Odan because it was located next to a grove, but the name was changed to Ebadan, and later changed to Ibadan for the sake of simplification (Olalekan, 1972).

British Colonization ■■

British influence has greatly impacted the structure and morphology of Nigerian cities, in particular that of Ibadan. The English influence was felt in a large way when the British invaded Lagos in 1851, and arrived in Ibadan in 1853. Imposing their imperialistic ways and methodologies about city design, the British altered the sociology and physical environment in Ibadan to a great degree. Originally driven by the goal to use Ibadan as an administrative center, and as a means to expand their import/export market, the British used early friendly exchanges of trade as the preamble for conquest.

The first penetration of the British in Ibadan was by the missionaries headed by Reverend and Mrs. David Hinder of the Anglican Church who introduced Christianity to the people of Ibadan in 1853 (Olalekan, pg. 119). There would a larger influx of Europeans to come in the history of this young city, who would be interested in religious conversion as well as establishing educational institutions on both the elementary and higher learning levels. Not only would the British impact the religious and educational arenas, they would also have a great impact on the physical structure of the city with their space-oriented housing and construction of recreation facilities throughout the city. Due to the dense nature of the original city core, there was little buildable area available, so the British sought large development parcels on the periphery of the city to construct their new facilities. This dynamic would prove to be a strong segregating practice that would manifest itself in the accessibility of these modern facilities, as well as creating ethnic and social divides within Ibadan as will be discussed later.

The military prowess of the British was a much desired quality by the Nigerians. To initiate the progression of their military strength, the Nigerian powers-that-be in Ibadan sought to establish trade with the British to acquire guns and munitions. This concept was best expressed by the introduction of a railroad line from Lagos (port city) at the end of the 19th century that dramatically increased Ibadan's accessibilities to foreign goods and services. This access to the port at Lagos through the railroad would forever alter the structure of Ibadan and help transform it into a modern

economic and militaristic power in all of Nigeria. This intervention in 1901 would help establish Ibadan as the new center of military operations and the prominent Yoruba city both economically and politically.

The British also had an impact on the administrative advancement of Ibadan by constructing state government offices as well as building numerous public facilities and establishing Ibadan as a provincial headquarters. In conjunction with this administrative program, the British also constructed a network of recreational facilities and playing fields to be enjoyed by all. There were however problems of accessibility to these facilities, considering that the majority of these uses were provided on the periphery of the Core requiring people to walk great distances to arrive at these arenas. So, inherently these new facilities were semipublic meaning that they were public and available to those who were in close proximity to them. As we will explore later, this is more of an issue than may seem apparent at first glance.

The most powerful contribution that the British made to the common good of the people of Ibadan was through the nurturing of the educational atmosphere. The British would establish the first elementary school (1853 at Kudeti) in the city, as well as constructing several institutions of higher learning and various teaching facilities in the region. These allocations would make a substantial moral contribution to the advancement of the city and its people. The city of Ibadan would be transformed into an international destination for scholars from all over the world to come and further their education, greatly impacting the demography of this young developing country.

1.1-3 Wars

Military Preoccupation and Civil War ■■

The purpose of this section is not to describe all wars throughout the history of Nigeria, but to provide insight into those wars that immediately impacted the structure and development of the city of Ibadan, both explicitly and implicitly. These descriptions are focused on allied forces and the settlement patterns of the conquering and the conquered people, not on the military strategies and details themselves.

Due to the militaristic foundations of Ibadan, the city lacked the traditional spiritual head of other Yoruba kingdoms. Thus there was a constant struggle for power within the city as well as a preoccupation with amoebae-like expansion of the city through military conquest. These conflicts in practice were at the heart of the power struggle in Ibadan and served as a catalyst for civil war throughout the city's history.

Conquest ■■

Military conquest and the demise of the Oyo Empire were at the heart of Ibadan's rise in Yoruba land. Oyo refugees who joined the struggle to fight as allies to the Ife and Ijebu, who were in favor of promoting the trans-Atlantic trade of their own people, helped to defeat the Owu. This defeat of the Owu in the late 1820's partly contributed to the demise of the southern region of Yoruba country, and contributed to the opportunity for the rise of Ibadan. This newly assembled allied force of the Oyo soldiers, the Ife and Ijebu targeted all Egba towns, in particular

Egba Gbagura.

After the conquest of the targeted Egba villages, the armies did not disband immediately, they came to settle at what would become Ibadan in 1829 (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). The future location of Ibadan was originally one of these targeted Egba villages that was still somewhat habitable after the marauding army had run through it. The conquering Ijebu settled at nearby Isale Ijebu to the southeast (closest to their county) while the conquered Egba settled at Iyeosa.

Ibadan had been established as a town, and now began the application of their conquering methodology. In the 1850's lead by Ibikunle⁵, Ibadan made several expeditions into Ekiti to attack the Fulani who were a Muslim settlement occupying a city within the Yoruba Empire. The occupation of a Yoruba settlement provided Ibadan with the blessing of the Alafin to expel the interloper, the Fulani. So, in the 1850's Ibikunle lead several expeditions into Ekiti and finally expunged the enemy and brought Ekiti under Ibadan's control. Following the conquest of Ekiti, Ibadan now had several Yoruba towns under her control and could now begin actively building an empire.

The protocol for conquest by saw an Ajele (resident representative) left behind in conquered towns to ensure continued loyalty and annual contributions to Ibadan by the town. Now in the mid-1800's, Ibadan had grown to a point that the only rival town in Yoruba country was the town of Ijaye. Again, with the support of the Alafin, Ibadan assembled a formidable army to attack Ijaye which was defeated in 1862. This defeat of the Ijaye meant that Ibadan was the leading and most powerful town in Oyo Country. The military machine was in full motion.

The Egba and Ijebu in Abeokuta feared the increasing power of Ibadan and sought means to check there

⁵ *Ibikunle was the Balogun of Ibadan from 1851-1862. For more information on Ibikunle, refer to Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe. 1967.*

advancement, calling Ibadan's power "a threat to their own safety" (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). Considering the fact that Ibadan's power was based on military prowess, Egba and the Ijebu at Abeokuta decided to block the passage of munitions from Lagos to Ibadan via the railroad line. These actions were very successful in stifling the power and expansion of Ibadan both economically and militarily, and would last the duration of the last part of the 19th century. However, this action was not enough to check the ambitions of Ibadan, they would establish an alternate trade route facilitated by the British in 1872 to reconnect them with the port in Lagos.

Military conquest continued in the 1870's as Ibadan pursued several expeditions into Ekiti once again, this time to attack the Ijesha who were the last obstacle to their total domination of Yoruba country. Now that Ibadan had attained the dominating role within the Yoruba Empire, they felt they could now dispense with their affiliation with the Alafin. He was now expendable. At this point, Ibadan and Oyo would exchange roles as far as the administrative power in Yoruba land. Instead of the Alafin holding the decision-making power in the political direction of the Yorubas, the focus now shifted to Ibadan as the center.

The devolution of the Alafin's power reinforced fears that the only way peace could be restored to their empire was through the defeat of Ibadan. Following the defeat of Ibadan, the city was to become a neutral site administered by the Alafin, Ijebu and Egba, but this defeat would never materialize. The final straw of arrogance by Ibadan was when they sought to establish connections with Porto Novo (whose inhabitants had a history of unfriendly terms with the Egba) to acquire ammunition. Subsequently, the Egba, soon followed by Ijebu, declared war on Ibadan in 1877 (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

War would now extend past targeted towns for absorption and extend to aiding allies being attacked by outside forces. Offa and Ile-Ife, who had become allies of Ibadan, were being attacked by the Ilorin Fulani and the inhabitants of Ile-Ife respectively. With the obligation of defending allies, Ibadan found itself fighting on five fronts at one time: *first*, against the Egba. *second*, against the Ijebu. *third*, against the Ekiti and Ijesha at Kiriji. *fourth*, against

the Ilorin Fulani at Offa. *fifth*, at Ile-Ife (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). The dilution of military forces put a great strain on the strength of Ibadan both economically and emotionally. To compensate for the cost of war, many households sold family members into slavery, and freemen pawned themselves in order to meet the expense of war (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). Internal Yoruba fighting in the region made no progress, and approached a stalemate. The only resolve was provided by an outside intermediary, the British. The proliferation of war in the region was exemplary of the struggle to restore stability in the Oyo Empire through a singular power.

British intervention ■■

Intervention by the British government in 1886 was required to end the stalemate in the region. In addition, the introduction of the British was in hopes of increasing Ibadan's trade relationships between Lagos and the world at large, and also empowered Ibadan with lordship over many Oyo towns creating a sense of calmness in the region. This involvement led to a series of treaty-making talks between Ibadan and the British culminating in the Agreement of 1893. The talks and Agreement brought a peace to Yoruba land, but with the diffusion of civil tensions came the introduction of a new master in the form of the British government. Within three years of the Agreement, the British seized much of the regional power that was previously held by traditional rulers. This nontraditional rule was a great compromise in the very rich history of Yoruba culture, a governing presence that would not physically removed for years to come.

2 Chapter 2: CITY STRUCTURE



2.1-1 The City of Ibadan

Formation of Ibadan ■■

The city of Ibadan rapidly assumed the status of being the largest city in Yoruba land with early population studies placing numbers at 120,000 persons estimated in 1891, a status that was attained just sixty-two years following the founding of the city. Population figures that would rise to 175,000 persons in 1911 with a growth rate of 1.9% per annum (Olalekan, 1972), but would be curtailed by epidemics in the following years. The Influenza epidemic in 1918 caused a drop in the population by 2%, placing the population count at 136,705 persons in 1921. Periodic epidemics of dysentery and smallpox curtailed population growth during the early part of the 20th century, but Ibadan would recover and its population would once again boom between 1921-1931.

During these years, the annual growth rate would reach 11% per annum, and place the population count at an estimated 387,133 persons in 1931 (Olalekan, 1972). The growth in population came in response to improved health care facilities that decreased the infant mortality rate in the region. This resumed model of steady growth in Ibadan would continue during middle part of the 20th century, with a boom from 1957-1966, that helped place the population count in 1993 at 5,668,977 persons (Taylor, 1993). Until the 1950's Ibadan was the largest city in Nigeria, and was regarded as the "Black Metropolis," the largest city in "Black Africa" (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967), until the advancement of Lagos in the region.

These development years of Nigeria also reached into the physical configuration of the Colonized state itself. On January 1, 1914, various regions of Nigeria that were under British influence were amalgamated and became the

Colony of Nigeria, with Lagos being the capital (Seriki, Pulleyblank, 1977). Nigeria would remain under direct control of the British until its independence on October 1, 1960. Upon this independence, Nigeria would be re-configured, and Ibadan would be made into a republic in 1963.

When Nigeria was divided into twelve states in 1967, Ibadan was made the capital of the western state. This western state was divided into five provinces, with Ibadan itself being divided into two divisions, Oshun and Ibadan Divisions (Olalekan, 1972). The status placed upon Ibadan as a capital city, established the city as a focal point in the region. This regional importance attained by Ibadan existed long before designations made by the colonizing British during the 20th century. Ibadan's prominence in the region can in fact be traced further back in the history of Nigeria, evidenced by the fact that in 1865 Ibadan was easily the most important and largest Yoruba city in Nigeria until the rise of Lagos (Olalekan, 1972).

Settling at Ibadan ■■

Locating the appropriate site for the settlement at Ibadan was based largely on an arbitrary selection among several suitable sites (Olalekan, 1972) in adjacent areas. The beginning of Ibadan was inauspicious and saw the first site, chosen as a safe-haven for refugees fighting against the Fulani in 1829, destroyed during wartime earlier that year. Following this destruction, another site was established near the present location of Ibadan in the same year.

Ibadan began as a traditional Yoruba town with a fortifying wall (with four gates) surrounding the city measuring ten-miles in circumference and enclosing the initial settlement of sixteen square-miles in 1851 (see Figure 8). The original population within this walled city was estimated between 60,000-100,000 persons in 1851 (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967), and incorporated some small farms within the original fortification. However, the majority of farming took place on larger farms outside the city walls, extending at times thirty-miles from the city. These formidable walls of Ibadan, that measured approximately 10 feet high, were visible as late as 1913 when portions of the wall were still visible (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967) from great distances outside the city.

The city of today consists of three districts, the Core (*Oja Iba, Oke Ogunmola, Oke Mapo, Oke Akere, Oke Are, Bere, Oke Dada, Oke Akintayo, Oke Labosinde, Oke Tubosun and Oke Bioku*), the older Eastern and inner Western Districts (*Agbeni⁶, Ayeye, Alekuso, Oke Foko, Isale Osi, Isale Ijebu, Gbenla, Popoyemola, Olugbode, Oke Aiyegun, Oke Eleta, Oke Oluokun, Elekuro, Oke Aje, Adeoyo and Aladorin*) and the older Mid-Western Districts (*Amunigun, Agbokojo, Idikan, Oke Seni and Olorisa Oko*).

The Core ■■

The “village-city” of Ibadan has a unique dual structure with two city centers at Mapo and Gbagi that comprise its core (see figure 22). These two regions of the Core possess two very distinct configurations, with the demography at Mapo mainly consisting of the original line of Yorubas that established the city, while the immigrants and literate elite occupied the center at Gbagi which is more commercial in nature.

Mapo (civic center)

The original focus of Ibadan was centered at Mapo as the civic center of the town, with the prominent Iba Market around Mapo Hall (Town Hall of the original town). This primarily residential district of Ibadan began as a settlement on the hilltops, then spread down the hillside toward flood-zones of streams and rivers. The physical character of the area surrounding Mapo consists mainly of a densely-packed residential settlement of indigenous people, but has some mixing of uses and is not strictly residential (Figure 10). The driving force behind the configuration and density of the Core was to facilitate frequent visiting of family members and friends as is the tradition in Yoruba towns. Residents of these towns sacrificed open space in favor of living in close proximity to loved ones. The physical character of Mapo center in the early years was of one and two story structures of mud-brick vernacular. Buildings in this center would traditionally have thatch roofs, but later with the advent of the British, these roof forms would be replaced with corrugated metal decking.

Slum housing in the lower-income Core has become frequent, reaching out at points touching the fringes of Gbagi to the west (Gbagi is not actually part of the Core, but is discussed in this context because of its impacts on the Core). In addition, because of the dense nature of the Mapo center, roads are sparse and inadequate in that region. The construction of street improvements would almost for certain mean the destruction of existing housing in efforts to aerate the plan of this region.

The area around Mapo, with the Town Hall, central Mosque, City Council, second-largest post office in Ibadan, and important markets, was the city center until the development of Gbagi center in 1901. The two centers have distinct characteristics, with Mapo being the more traditional center and Gbagi the more commercial center.

⁶ the most densely-populated settlement.

Figure 10. Mapo Center



source: The City of Ibadan. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

Figure 11. Gbagi Center



source: The City of Ibadan. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

Gbagi (commercial center)

The center at Gbagi, originally called Gbagimole, is dramatically different from Mapo due to its commercial focus (*Figure 11*). Developed concurrently with the advent of the railroad system in 1901, Gbagi was established to attract commerce to the region. Traders came from various locations to trade at this newly established economic center, a sharp contrast to the largely residential context of Mapo. The major market at Gbagi is Dugbe Market, an outdoor traditional Yoruba trade center. The market area is complete with several banks, insurance companies, foreign consulate, police station and the Inland revenue Department (Olalekan, 1972).

The physical character of this new region is of 2-3 story buildings, with some buildings rising to 10 stories (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). Trading at Gbagi has assumed a nontraditional Yoruba form, where trading has become internalized, taking place in formal trade centers indoors. This change in tradition and symbol of economic power that internalized commerce, is best represented by the symbolic form of the Cocoa House (at Gbagi), which is one of the tallest buildings in Nigeria to this date.

The center at Gbagi expresses some duality in itself, with each of its ends having a different social atmosphere. At one end (the eastern edge facing Mapo), African shops dominate the field selling an assortment of petty wares, while on its western edge adjacent to the railroad station, are the hardware stores, and light industrial uses. Further still to the west, are more textile stores, and larger department stores (Kingsway, stores of the United Trading Company, The Co-Operative Society and Leventis). This area is also inundated with banks, insurance houses, the railroad yard and wholesale stores. The strong retail and commercial presence defined Gbagi Business District (GBD) as a financial and social district in Ibadan. Social activities are a prominent element here where one can indulge in social activities such as dance clubs, cinemas, libraries, British Council buildings and cultural centers, which are a great attraction for the youth of Ibadan. This distinct character of Mapo and Gbagi has created an explicit divide among the residents and immigrants to Ibadan (*Figure 12*), a dynamic that is exacerbated by a

Chapter 2: City structure

Map of Ibadan

Scanned map of Ibadan from:
"Map of Ibadan" by the Nigerian
Mapping Company LTD.



scale:
0 500m 1000m 2000m



Figure 12

range of hills (rising 700 feet high) that run north-south bisecting the city.

2.1-2 Infrastructure

Natural Resources (Rivers, Hills and Valleys) ■■

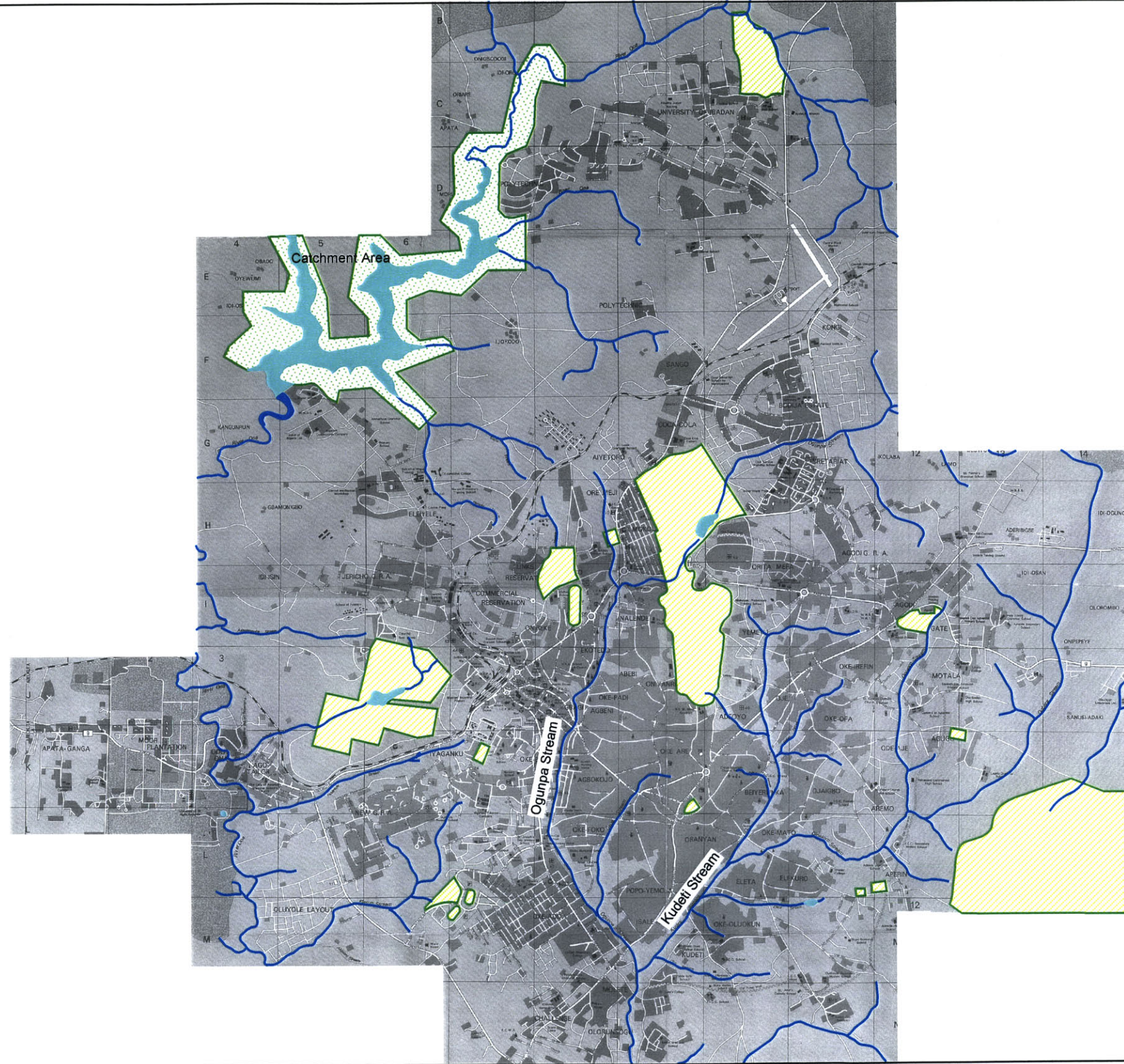
Ibadan is in a very tropical and natural environment with an intensive network of streams, rivers and catchment basins (man-made) proliferating its landscape (*Figure 13*). Due to these conditions, there is a need for engineering interventions to curtail the power of these intensive bodies of water, that have in the past caused property damage and agricultural problems in the form of flooding. Water volumes in the city do fluctuate respective of the season, flooding in the wet season and drying out in the dry season, dynamics that engineering has attempted to harness in the past.

Rivers

The Ona River, in the northern section of the city was dammed in 1937 to produce a man-made lake to be utilized by the Eleiyele Water Works. The Ogunpa Stream, which bisects the Core of the city, was canalized but is still responsible for periodic flood damage in this region. The name of the river itself is indiditive of its activity pattern, being that the word Ogunpa is slang for flood water. The Kudeti Stream, slightly east of the Core, is also known to overflow and cause similar damage in the city as the Ogunpa Stream. These natural occurrences have forced some residents who were originally attracted by the beauty of the water element to move away to escape the flooding.



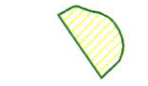
Hills and Valleys

As was stated earlier, the impetus for locating the town of Ibadan on the hillside was to offer protection for the settling refugees. Fortunately, the soil on the hillside was ripe for the cultivation of cash crops, cocoa, and Palm Trees, a fact that later attracted farmers and traders to the town. The condition of this ridge has since succumbed to erosion, a



Chapter 2: City structure

Water Element

-  Rivers and Streams
-  Ponds and Lakes
-  Green Space

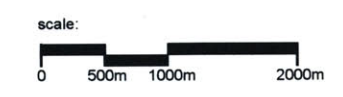


Figure 13

transformation from the previously plush soil that has revealed the rugged underlying rock.

The original settlement established on the eastern and southern edges of central ridge (Oke Mapo), with the southern edge being the oldest, bisected the Core of the city establishing two halves (Figure 14). The intent of the settlement pattern was to expand the initial settlement along the ridge as people began to build their homes on the hill exploiting a great view of the Core. In addition to the great view provided by the nature of the elevated position, the hillside provided much desired access to a cooling breeze that helped to alleviate the extreme conditions in this hot-humid region. The breeze that would be blocked in the dense Core, due to the close proximity of dwelling units, was made accessible to all located on the ascending hillside.

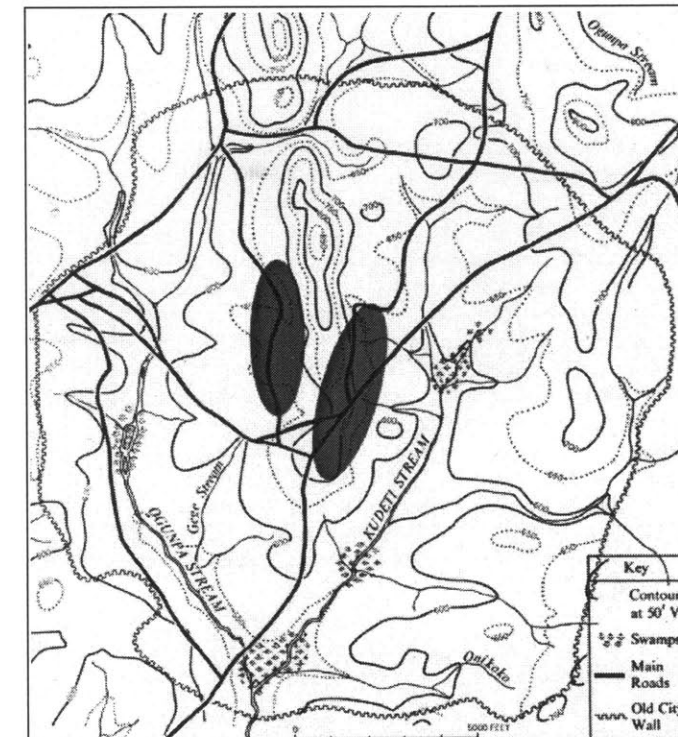
Transportation Network (Railroad, Airport and Roads) ■■

The intent of the transportation network in Ibadan was to initiate and accommodate the movement of people, goods and services inside and outside Nigeria, linking the country with the world beyond (Figure 15). These accommodations were made possible by establishing a railroad system, major streets and airport that were introduced to this traditional Yoruba town in the 20th century. All routes including major roads, railroad lines, and air travel that connected Lagos to the rest of Nigeria, have some kind of linkage or resting point in Ibadan.

The Railroad

The introduction of a railroad system would have an immense impact on the physical structure and social

Figure 14. Bisected settlement*








* settlements depicted by shaded forms.

source: Base map, *The City of Ibadan*. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967. Original linework.

Chapter 2: City structure

Infrastructure

-  Major Roads
-  Railroad Tracks
-  Mapo Center and Mapo Hall
-  Gbagi Center
-  Airport

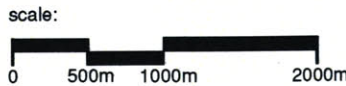
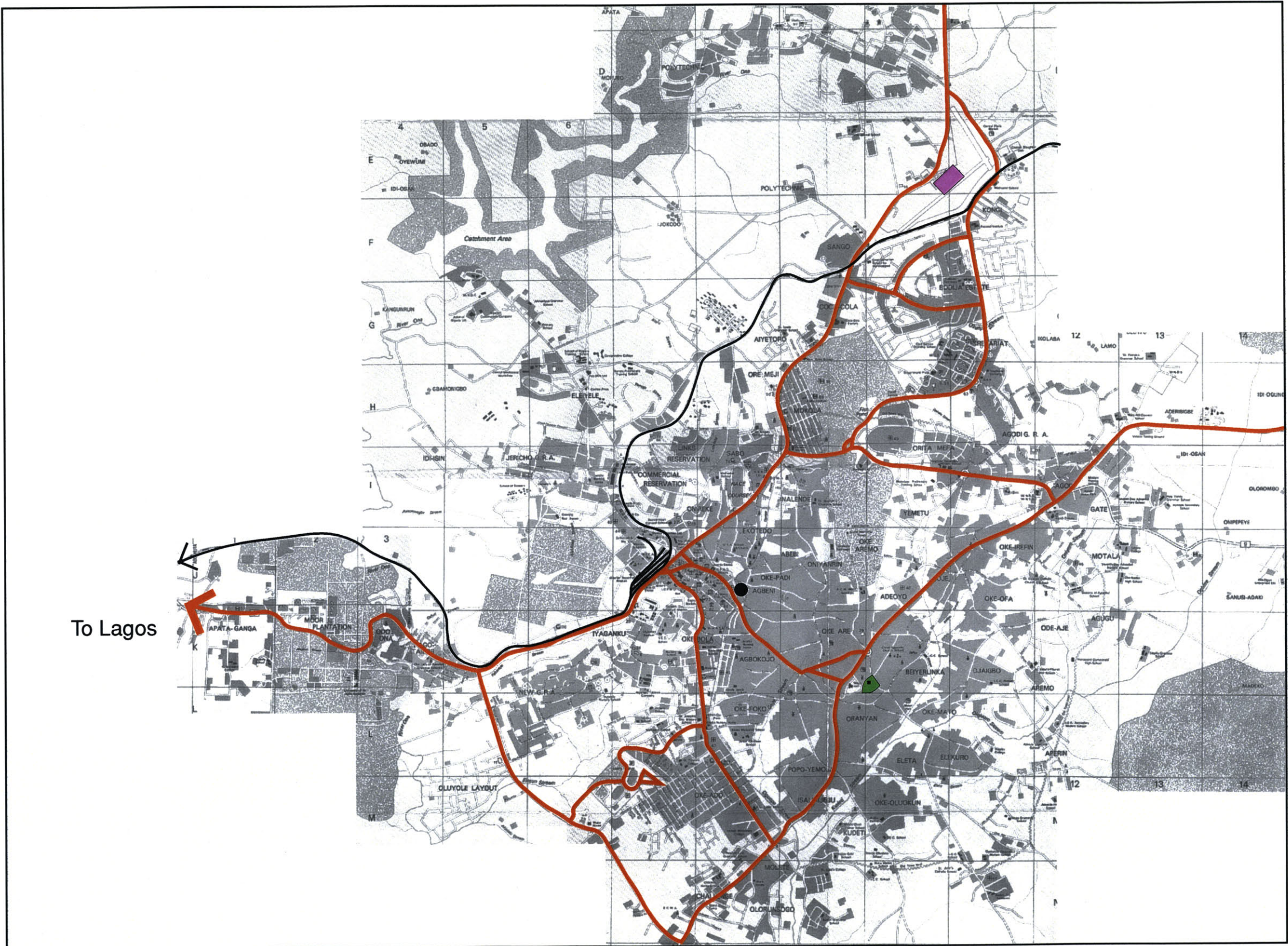


Figure 15



behavior in the city of Ibadan. This transport/transportation element would both alter the physical location of the city center, and consequently generate a twin center that displaced social activity from its initial location at Mapo, to a modern one at Gbagi. These dual centers would establish the new form of this evolving, traditional and now colonized Yoruba town entering the 20th century. In addition to altering the physical structure of Ibadan, the railroad had a drastic effect on commerce within Ibadan and Nigeria.

The British introduced the railroad to Ibadan in 1901, connecting the port city of Lagos northward to inland Nigerian cities. This linkage is one leg of a system that connects all parts of Nigeria with one another, originating at Lagos and passing through Ibadan, empowering these Ibadan and Lagos with a sense of nationwide consequence as far as their political influence and economic prowess.

The same rail line that penetrates Ibadan from Lagos connects to another line originating at Port Harcourt at Kaduna, and Zaria to the north, facilitating travel throughout the entire country of Nigeria via the railroad. Interestingly, there is no alternative route via the railroad that does not pass through the city of Ibadan at one point (Olalekan, 1972). This is a very important factor in that Ibadan has an opportunity to potentially touch all travelers at one point or another, having great economic implications for the city, attracting commerce to a traditionally agricultural settlement. The fact that all travel routes involving the railroad pass through Ibadan establishes the city as a major node in the region, placing an importance on the produce collection industry of the city's resident farmers.

The railroad played a major role in the physical transformation of the city. The railroad altered Ibadan's western edge that was previously home to a small leper colony, physically dominated by bush, sugar cane and vegetable gardens, into a modern commercial center. This new center at Gbagi would welcome not only Nigerian businesses, but would embrace Syrian and Lebanese shops, banks, insurance companies, produce stores, civic buildings, and drug stores in the area toward the creation of a node for one-stop shopping.

The Airport

The airport had similar intentions as the railroad system implemented in Ibadan, but on a more global scale (see Figure 15). However, Ibadan's airport would not realize the same status as the railroad system. Dissolved in the early 1980's, the land of the airport would be partially redeveloped into an amusement park which stands today. Consequently, all air travel into the region is facilitated through access via the Lagos airport.

Major Roads

The network of major roads within the city was established along the same lines as the railroad system with slightly less international connotations. Major roads are not excessive in Ibadan, thus represent a very small percentage of urban land in the city. The amount of land area covered by streets in the city is just 4% of the total urban land area, this is great contrast to major European and American models that usually stand at 30% of urban land devoted to roads (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

The street network was established to facilitate the movement of goods and services on a more local and regional scale than the railroad system which reached more global markets. To build upon the idea of linking Ibadan to the rest of the region, all major roads were to pass through Ibadan, either emanating from Lagos or from the Federal Capital at Abuja, establishing regional linkage between Ibadan and its neighboring kingdoms.

During the early war years (early to mid 1800's), development of a comprehensive street network in the Core was neglected intentionally to hinder access to developed areas by invading forces. In addition, the street system in the Core is very inadequate due to its very dense configuration. Homes are so closely constructed that there is little room for anything, let alone the dimensional standards required by streets. Because the automobile was not introduced to Ibadan until 1906, the majority of streets that predate the automobile were designed as conduit for horses and

pedestrians, and are thus inadequate to handle heavy vehicular traffic. In addition to the handling capacity of streets in Ibadan, there is a major problem of vehicular accessibility, where more than 80% of houses in the Core are inaccessible by road (Olalekan, 1972).

Circulation in the Core

The central avenue of vehicular circulation in the Core is a two-way system of movement known as Ogunmola Street (*see Figure 15*), but as it extends both northward (name changes from Bere Road to Ogunmola Street) and southward (name changes from Mapo Road, Aleshinloye Street, Isale Ijebu Road and to Lagos Road) it's name changes several times. There are several important street linkages within this system of roads that impact Ibadan. The Lagos-Shagamu-Ibadan Road serves as the primary linkage to the Federal Capital of Nigeria at Abuja. The Lagos-Shagamu-Ibadan-Oyo Road is the most important outlet from Northern Nigeria to the South Atlantic Sea. The Lagos-Ibadan-Benin Road is the important link to the eastern states (Olalekan, 1972).

Many of these initiatives of civil engineering that saw the construction of roads in the Core were at the expense of displaced residents. The construction of the Ogunmola Street, Agbeni-Gege Road, Oritamerin Road were all made possible by the demolition of many houses in the Core. In order to deliver these infrastructure needs, the concept of the western villain called Urban Renewal⁷ was implemented in the evolving African city of Ibadan.

Peripheral Streets

The majority of reasonably adequate streets to accommodate automobiles are almost exclusively located toward the periphery of the Core (suburbs) where the English located, and in the new Colonized sections at Gbagi, Oke Ado, Molete, Mokola and Bodija. Due to the nature of many of these new suburban developments, that were

largely inhabited by people with higher education and presumably better jobs, areas along commercial roads came to be very densely-populated. This was partially due to the fact that these roads served as mechanized links from the city center at Gbagi to the suburbs. Because of raised social imagery of the suburbs, many people in the Core sought to relocate in this region. So a large number of upwardly-mobile people chose to inhabit zones along the linkage routes themselves, placing a large number of residents along such routes.

⁷ *Urban Renewal in the United States essentially prescribes to the idea of modern advancement on behalf of a city or region at the cost of individual sacrifice. For more information on Urban Renewal, refer to "The Renewal of Urban Land" by Fisher.*

2.1-3 Markets

Markets and Trade Implications ■■

Trade has a deep-rooted connection to the structure of Yoruba towns because the market is at the center of the originating form of these towns. The market is a place for social interaction, public assembly and public trading within traditional Yoruba urban culture. The majority of trade prior to the introduction of the railroad in Ibadan was on the local and regional level as opposed to continental African and international trading. This section will focus on the physical implications of trade within Nigeria and Ibadan as they pertain to linkages and relationships of various kingdoms through the use of market spaces, as well as the global linkages of trade and some principles of the economic implications of these actions.

Markets and Palaces

The marketplace is at the center of traditional Yoruba town planning strategies, traditionally consisting of the walled palace of the Oba or Priest at the center, with the most important market fronting the palace as its exterior vestibule. All roads of Yoruba settlements radiated from this point (the palace and the market) establishing the Imperial nature of the towns by presenting the Oba at its center. The marketplace served as an arena for social gathering, trading and festivity among residents. This is a principle that has been subtly compromised by the internalized (indoor) nature of the British settlement in Ibadan.

Most trading in Ibadan is still on the local level, thus best supported by the traditional form of the marketplace. The fabric of Ibadan incorporates many markets, both in the Core and in its peripheral settlements, many

of which are located along major roadways leading into the Core. The only major road without a market or market ring⁸ is Ife Road, where the lone market in the area is at Egbeda. All other major roads have a market or market ring adjoined to them linking developments back to the traditional element of Yoruba towns, the marketplace.

There is a system to the functioning of markets in Yoruba society. Operating at various times of day and serving various user groups, various markets in the city target users and establish niches for themselves. Within the system of markets, there are Periodic Markets, Daily Markets (consisting of Morning Markets and Day Markets), and Night Markets (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

Periodic Markets

Periodic Markets occur at regular intervals, usually on 4-day or 8-day intervals, in many sections of the Yoruba Empire. For example, a Periodic Market may operate on the 1st, 5th, 9th etc., or the 1st, 9th, 17th etc. of each month providing general food stuff to buyers.

Daily Markets: Morning Markets

Daily markets are the most common type of market in Ibadan, with morning markets in Ago Taylor, Eleiyele, Mokola, Idiape, Agugu, Elekuro (Labo) and Ibuko. Morning markets function from 7am-11am, serving primarily as feeder markets and major gathering spaces for town and countrywide traders. The bulk of products sold at these morning markets include yams, cassava, Palm Oil, fire wood and wrapping leaves, usually comprised of female

⁸ Market Ring is composed of a complete and integrated sequence of markets taking place over four-day or eight-day periods. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

traders in close proximity to the indigenous Core near Mapo. These female-dominated trading markets usually attract 100 traders, and from 250-300 female buyers and sellers are in the marketplace at any one time (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). A prime example of large gatherings in markets is the gathering in morning markets at Oje Market, where once every sixteen days hundreds of traders, buyers and tourists gather in the early morning hours to deal in cloth (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

Daily Markets: Day Markets

Day markets are the most impressive markets in Ibadan, creating a market belt reaching from Dugbe (at Gbagi center) to Oja Iba in the center of the old town near Mapo Hall. Day markets are typically very busy and full of trade activity as exemplified by the two large markets at Oja Iba and Dugbe.

Oja Iba market was named after Olu Yole, one of the most distinguished immigrants of the early Oyo Empire, was originally a place where Egba and Ijebu traders from Lagos brought imported goods for trade such as; textiles, guns and ammunition, salt, cutlery and mirrors (to trade in exchange for woven goods), food stuff, livestock, slaves, leatherwork and Ivory. During the early years Oja Iba was the main market in the city and was the focal point for trade in Yoruba country, attracting traders from all over the empire.

Dugbe Market operates from 9am-6:30pm, as do many other day markets. Established in 1919, Dugbe Market is believed to be one of the original gate markets of Ibadan at the time when the city was fortified. The market is said to be located on the site of a small market and slaughter slab that was developed into the market that it is today, the largest Day Market in Ibadan. Serving between 5,000-6,000 sellers, and frequented by approximately 30,000 people daily on average (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). Dugbe Market supplies food stuff for daily sustenance and other items for family consumption. These day markets are most frequented by lower-income residents of the Core to

acquire daily necessities.

Daily Markets: Night Markets

There are two types of Night Markets in the city of Ibadan, the central night market and the small local night market. These markets are slightly more social than the day markets, and are more frequently used for social interaction and the purchase of ready-made dishes for immediate consumption with no further preparation needed.

Night markets are a declining function due to the rise in urban life at clubs and other social facilities with the city. In Ibadan, central markets number around twenty and traditionally draw about 400-800 people per evening on average (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967), while local night markets occur slightly more often than do their larger counterparts. Local night markets are more evenly distributed with the city, usually occurring every one half-mile, also selling ready-made dishes, cooked meals and small food items for people in the neighborhoods. Women traders in these markets acquire supplies from morning feeder markets, as they prepare dishes to be sold later in the day to working-class people during or after work. Because of these services offered by night markets, a large number of working-class people eat meals that are not prepared within their homes.

The Palace ■■

The palace is a prominent element in the design of Yoruba towns, and deserves as much discussion as the markets as far as its importance to the form of Yoruba settlements. Palaces are a symbol of power and prestige of a particular line of royalty. The presence of the Oba gives a town its social status within the region, and is the reason why the Oba is traditionally placed at the center of the settlement.

Palaces have been described as being “about a square mile...having two large parks, one in front and another facing the north” (Mabogunje, 1962). These palaces were traditionally walled fortresses occupying an large amount of floor area, a concept that is further represented by Leo Frobenius who indicated in 1911, “the most impressive sight in Ile-Ife was the massive walls of the palace which could be seen from whatever quarter one approached the town” (Mabogunje, 1962).

Frobenius went on to say:

“it’s front... especially with the fine open square on which it stands, makes an imposing effect in spite of all its ruin... the walls are mighty, over a yard at the base and some 18 feet high.”

(Mabogunje, 1962).

These passages by Frobenius are indicative of the importance placed upon the Oba’s palace and the marketplace in the structuring of the traditional Yoruba town, and are important elements in the preservation of the such a traditional form in the modern landscape. In the case of Ibadan, there was no Oba, but there were some palaces within the fabric of the town. However, in place of the Oba’s palace, was the central market that faced the dwelling units of important chiefs.

Movement of Goods

The movement of goods within Ibadan was also an important dynamic, both on local and regional scales. From farms to surrounding periodic markets, where goods are collected and brought to the city, head-loading is the main source of transportation. This form of transport is where women carry goods on top of their heads, and walk to

the market of their choice. In contrast, long-distance importation of goods is facilitated by the use of large ships through Lagos supplied by expatriate firms abroad. This allowed Ibadan to both import and export on the global scale, a factor that would prove positive in their booming economy through the early part of the 20th century.

Implications of Trade ■■

The main premise in the success of the Oyo Empire was understanding the need to control the trade route from the Savannah to the South Atlantic Ocean. The location of Ibadan, between the interior and the southern coast, made it a perfect location for all trade routes in Yoruba land to converge. Trading within the older Oyo Empire had been oriented more to the north, while the new Oyo Empire focused more on its southern neighbors, taking advantage of the railroad system that linked Ibadan with the coast. This new focus opened Ibadan up to global linkages, connecting the region to foreign manufactured goods and services, as well as opening the world to export goods and services of Nigeria, transportation and telecommunication.

Trade routes played a very powerful role in development and conflict within the region, both among other Yoruba kingdoms and with the Colonizing British. During the development stages of Ibadan, trade routes and the blockages thereof were sources of conflict that would temporarily hinder the growth of this militaristically aggressive city.

Yoruba land had many conflicts involving the British and other Yoruba kingdoms regarding trade routes and interaction through the early portions of its development history. Tensions between the British, and the Egba and Ijebu caused these Yoruba settlements to close trade routes to Lagos and limit contact with the English colony. They saw trading with this foreign power as a compromise of their traditional practices and decided not to sacrifice tradition for economic advancement. This was a practice that was not only directed toward the British, the Egba and Ijebu would

also restrict trade with other Yorubas in the pursuit of the same ideal of tradition.

This idea of protecting tradition was partially assumed by Ibadan in the early stages by not allowing outside traders to pass through their country. During pre-colonial times, traders in Ibadan met at trading posts at Oru (one of the Ijebu market towns *en route* to Lagos) to conduct regional trading, not in city limits of Ibadan. This post at Oru and trade at Lagos were Ibadan's primary acquisition point to obtain arms and ammunition. This block by the Egba and Ijebu would last for the remainder of the 19th century in attempts to stifle Ibadan's economy and power.

The British saw an opportunity to befriend Ibadan, who was growing in power within the region, and potentially increase the range of the English Empire. Possibly with future Colonization in mind, the British nurtured this new friendship with Ibadan by opening a new eastern trade route in 1872 through Yoruba country, a route essentially independent of the Egba and Ijebu. This route would be fully appreciated and utilized by Ibadan to resume the steady flow of ammunition and arms into the city, getting the military engine back in motion.

With the growing power of Ibadan during the early part of the 19th century, the Egba and Ijebu feared that unrestricted access to the coast and Lagos would encourage Ibadan and Ekiti to import arms and potentially threaten their security. There was a common theme in the region that Ibadan would become "world spoilers" (Ayandele, 1979) and use new military power to invade Egba and Ijebu, if they were allowed unlimited access to the coast. To convey regional acceptance of this concern, two tribal groups in the region refused Ibadan access to Lagos until the establishment of Pax Britannica⁹.

These conflicts within Yoruba land encouraged the British to assume the role of "watchdogs" of trade routes by patrolling waterways, and presented an opportunity for them to make their presence more influential by presenting gifts to towns located on the banks of these waterways.

The British presence in Ibadan had great implications on the economics involved with trade, exploiting the natural resources of the region and promoting minimal development in the area to limit government spending (Mabogunje, 1962). However, the British did introduce new cash crops into the area that were partially responsible for the boom in the Nigerian economy, through the introduction of cocoa. The crops were very low-maintenance, once planted, they required little if any attention from the farmer. This allowed town-dwelling farmers to live in the city, removing pressure to live on the farm to care after their crops.

⁹ Pax Britannica demanded interior peoples as Ibadan, the Iwo, and the Ekiti to provide open routes and rivers for optimal contact with Lagos. For more information on Pax Britannica, refer to (Ayandele, 1979. pg. 29).

2.2-1 Morphology

“Morphology is the physical expression of its society’s objectives, as well as the use of the material equipment and capabilities that society has at its disposal to achieve these ends...”

(Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe. 1967).

The idea of discussing the morphology of Ibadan is to get at the structural metamorphosis that the city underwent during its development stages. Morphology incorporates ideas of traditional Yoruba urbanization strategies as well as the discussion of Colonization as it impacted the original form and functioning of traditional Yoruba towns. There are several morphological theories that are potential classifiers of Ibadan, the Concentric Model, Sector Model, Multi-Nuclei Model, Combination of Concentric and Sector Models, and the Density Gradient Model (Terms and definitions, Olalekan, 1972).

Concentric Model: is characterized by development that expands outward from a central area and forms a series of concentric zones.

Sector Model: Establishes land use zones that are perpetuated with expansion.

Multi-Nuclei Model: Is characterized by many city centers resulting from city growth.

Combination of Concentric and Sector Models: Is a combination of the previously discussed models above.

Density Gradient Model: This model defines a central city that is densely populated, and shows declining densities at a uniform rate as the distance from the center increases.

2.2-2 Structure

Considering the terminologies outlined, Ibadan is best placed into the Concentric Model as will become more evident throughout this chapter. The important principle here is that the traditional Yoruba urban form has been altered by British Colonization. The concentric urban form has created social divides based on location in the city, which is a great departure from Yoruba urbanization patterns. These structural urbanization elements that were impacted by this Colonization, namely housing, public buildings, and educational facilities will all be discussed within this section.

Yoruba urbanization ■■

Yoruba urbanization has roots prior to the arrival of the English in Nigeria. As early as the 19th century, Ile-Ife, Oyo, Ijebu-Ode were already great towns, predating Colonial penetration into Nigeria. These traditional towns had very delicate principles of space-planning, and cultural identity, a great tradition that would be compromised with the dominating force of the British during the middle of the 19th century.

Classification of Urbanization

The first thing that needs to be discussed is the classification of “urbanization,” a status that many African cities do not qualify for according to many urban scholars. Dickinson defines a town in Western Europe and North America as “a compact settlement engaged primarily in non-agricultural occupations” (Mabogunje, 1962). Furthermore, urban classification escapes many African settlements that more than adequately fulfill standards set of non-African towns. Standard populations for the classification of towns vary within specific regions of the world (Table 1).

Table 1: Town classifications

Country/Nation	Minimum standard populations
Britain	3,500
United States	2,500
France	2,000
USSR	1,000
Asia	40,000
India	5,000
China	2,000*

**requiring more than 50% of the land to be devoted to non-agricultural use.*

Source: Original table with figures from (Mabogunje, 1962)

Gideon Sjoberg describes pre-industrial urbanism as

“...the essentiality of a well-developed power structure for the formation and perpetuation of urban centers... often these are fortified places to protect the upper-class against local marauders or invading armies. But invariably they are the focal points of transport and communication, enabling the ruling element not only to maintain surveillance over the countryside but to interact more readily with members of their own group in other cities as well as within a city...” (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

The Political agenda in such pre-industrial places is most often enforced through the militia, a theme that is consistent throughout the structure of such settlements.

Yoruba principles

The urbanization in Yoruba land has existed for thousands of years and can be traced back to the Yoruba cradle at Ile-Ife. However, Yoruba urbanization escapes many western classifications of urbanization due to the fact that many Yoruba towns are non-industrial settlements, a factor that is germane to the concept of urbanization in the western sense. The majority of Yoruba towns, with the exception of Lagos, are even to this day primarily non-industrial cities and towns. In contrast to this structure, Western urbanization incorporates a higher level of the industrial element and less agricultural use than do many Yoruba towns.

Traditionally, Yoruba urbanization is focused on social cohesion exemplified by the importance placed on the concept of the lineage system (system of administrative power amongst Yoruba settlements) in the social, political and economic life within the town. This ideal is in sharp contrast to the phenomenon of considerable social displacement evident in western urbanization. This delicate ecology of social structure imbedded in the coding of traditional Yoruba towns is the primary construct that would be compromised by contrasting British Colonization. By displacing people from one another, the tight-knit nature of Yoruba communities would be compromised in favor of work-based developments.

Yoruba town structure

The rich traditional structure of Yoruba towns is based on the premise of kinship derived from lineages and the hierarchy of chiefs. With cultural beginnings in Ile-Ife, a number of princes and notables moved from the cradle of Ile-Ife, to establish their own kingdoms within the Oyo Empire (Mabogunje, 1962). Taking with them a mental map of their home at Ile-Ife with intentions of re-constructing similar physical configurations in these new settlements. This outcropping of Yoruba settlements has helped to improve living conditions and social expectations for people in Yoruba land by presenting new areas to pursue one's dreams.

Yoruba towns are traditionally fortified settlements surrounded by a wall or ditch, having at least four gates where tolls were collected. Some towns would have more than one wall or ditch, as in the case of Ilesha. The interior form of these settlements had the palace of the Oba or priest king and its adjacent market at the center, with all roads radiating out from this point. The traditional unit of settlement was the Compound (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967), which was a mud-brick structure with rooms on its peripheral walls and a courtyard at the center (*see Figure 29*).

Collectively, these Compounds formed a rectangular network of streets forming quarters (Mabogunje, 1962). Each quarter was responsible for the maintenance of its environment as far as keeping it clean and sanitary.

Cleansing of the quarter was work often relegated to the domestic slaves within the quarter, as well as women and children (Mabogunje, 1962). The core of the traditional Yoruba town was reserved for residential use, with little if any farming taking place within the center. Farming was usually accommodated on parcels outside the fortified town, and its fruits were transported into the city for consumption and trade.

Yoruba towns were often surrounded by numerous outlying hamlets and villages with populations reaching 5,000 people (Mabogunje, 1962), a concept that would be halted with the advent of the English. With the British Colonization of Nigeria, the presence of outlying settlements would essentially be eliminated, with exceptions at Ekiti, Ile-Ife, Ilesha, parts of the Old Oyo Empire and in Ijebu.

Street configurations in traditional Yoruba towns originated at the market fronting the Oba's (King) palace, and were generally wide, measuring around 30 feet (9.144 meters) wide. This width was necessary to accommodate vehicular (horse and carriage, and later automobile) traffic as well as to facilitate processions of dancers during festive times on their way to the main market or the palace. Street configurations in other parts of a traditional Yoruba town were of a different character. Those streets were arranged in a rectangular pattern with an average width of 15 feet (4.6 meters) and were designed more as functional thoroughfares (Olalekan, 1972).

2.2-3 Structural elements

This section of Chapter 2 is meant to identify elements of the physical environment, and how they have impacted development patterns within the city.

Housing and Immigration patterns ■■

The production of housing for the most part in Nigeria is a function of the private market. There is little housing production by the government, with approximately 90% of urban housing being produced by the private sector (Taylor, 1993). In part due to the dependence on private developers, there is a demand for housing that exceeds the supply. A reason for this shortage in housing is there are few qualified and experienced tradesmen who can build standard housing¹⁰. The decline in qualified builders was due to the shift of young people wanting to acquire education and abandoning traditional apprenticeships for higher-paying white-collar jobs. There had been a decline in the perception of traditional trades in favor of the new western education that could provide young people with an economic escape from poverty. Because these conditions continued, and the lack of housing delivery continued, there was an outcropping of squatter housing (structure illegal occupying land without permission of the owner or erected against existing legislation) and tenement slums (legal, permanent dwellings which have become substandard through age, neglect or subdivision into smaller units) in the city in order to deliver some form of shelter (Taylor, 1993).

Another deterrent to the development of housing in Ibadan was the rise in land values due to the booming economy and the developing commercial center at Gbagi. It is estimated that approximately 25% of all new

¹⁰ National Council on Housing set housing standards that required every household to have 1-3 bathrooms, a flush toilet and a kitchen. This was in response to conditions where over 40% of houses are without tap water, and over 60% are without a flush toilet. It is safe to say that more than 50% of Nigeria's urban population is living in sub-standard housing. (Taylor, 1993).

construction costs were attributable to land costs (Taylor, 1993). There was a need to more effectively facilitate the development of housing projects in developable parcels to meet the rising housing need, so the Land Use Decree of 1978 and the subsequent Land Use Act of 1980 made urban land more accessible and ready for development. These acts usurped ownership from families and communities and placed it into the hands of state governors and the state (Land Allocation Committee) with hopes of realizing built projects in a shorter time period.

These efforts were not enough to deliver housing to the targeted communities, the lower-income residents. Public housing was still too expensive for the lower-income residents in the region, where approximately 70% of all Nigerians cannot afford public housing (Taylor, 1993). Public housing has become an amenity for the urban elite rather than housing the low-income community that is in the most need for such accommodations.

Housing form

Housing and settlement patterns in the city of Ibadan have very distinct features based on location in the city. Patterns of habitation can be plotted in the same manner as a land use diagram, in that people from various regions and ethnic groups occupy specific regions of Ibadan. These patterns do not have a formal structure, they are interpretive zones derived from studies of immigration patterns outlined in the text to follow, and their edges do not constitute physical boundaries.

The analysis of the housing element within Ibadan must begin with the indigenous Core, the original center of the walled town of the early 19th century. This very dense Core of the town consists of housing that was originally built on hills or valleys, and divided into the three districts, The Core, outer Eastern and Inner Western District, and the older Mid-Western Districts. The density of the Core presents many problems, one of which is that of sanitary conditions. Because the area is so full of development, there is little room to accommodate an adequate sewage

system to facilitate waste water disposal or refuse collection. The solution to this problem was to outfit homes with waste houses (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967) to hold waste at the back of homes for disposal, an attribute that adversely affected the frontage of adjoining homes.

Housing in the Core was originally free to its inhabitants, who paid no fees and rendered no tax for their dwellings. The concept of free land is related to the land use allocations made by chiefs in the area, as they would acquire land and distribute it to residents. Residents then constructed Compounds to house their extended families, paying no rent or taxes for the provision of land. The Core has come to house the lower-income contingent of the city and was stigmatized by the later immigrants that came to Ibadan because of its free housing.

Dwelling Units ■■

The physical structures in the Core were exclusively mud-brick dwelling units with thatched roofs, later replaced with corrugated metal decking as the roof material with the advent of the British (*Figure 16*). With the introduction of the English came new building materials that included concrete block to replace mud-brick as the exclusive building material for dwelling units in the city. Because of the original building material of mud-brick, it was a necessity for the land to be well-drained to minimize damage to the mud-brick structures. So with this in mind, the initial settlers of the city located their dwellings on the southern and eastern sides of the Central Ridge that allowed for good drainage of the soil during the rainy season.

Figure 16. The Compound



source: The City of Ibadan. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

The Compound

The character of the Core is an erratic, densely-populated area that is occasionally broken up by narrow, crooked streets that perforate the otherwise solid mass, with the main form of housing in the Core being the Compound. This traditional square dwelling unit, was enclosed by a 7-foot thick sun-dried mud-brick wall (brick-making was not introduced to Yoruba land until the 1850's), traditionally having one entrance (with strong double doors barred at night) to the unit that housed an extended family. The interior structure of the Compound had exterior walls supporting a thatched roof with rooms placed on the exterior walls. Interior columns, supporting the roof, were arranged in such a way as to create an open space (small piazza) on the interior of the Compound to be used by all members of the extended family (often several generations) in each structure. The collection of Compounds in traditional Yoruba urbanism formed a community of houses with people of the same blood line (Olalekan, 1967). The extended family housed in this community could number from 20-100 people, all surrounding the chief's palace. Each Compound would have a small open space in front of the unit used as a marketplace in the evening.

The most prominent Compound structure was that of the Chief, whose Compound was very large. Distinguished from common compounds by its high pitched gable roof, and its marketplace on the exterior, the chief's Compound was the dominant form of the traditional house structure. There was a social structure within the Compound itself that derived from the male-line of descendants. The men and women living in the Compound would elect a Mogaji (a representative in the governing council of the village, who would assume the level of chief once it was made available by the death of the resident chief) to represent their views and issues within the village (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

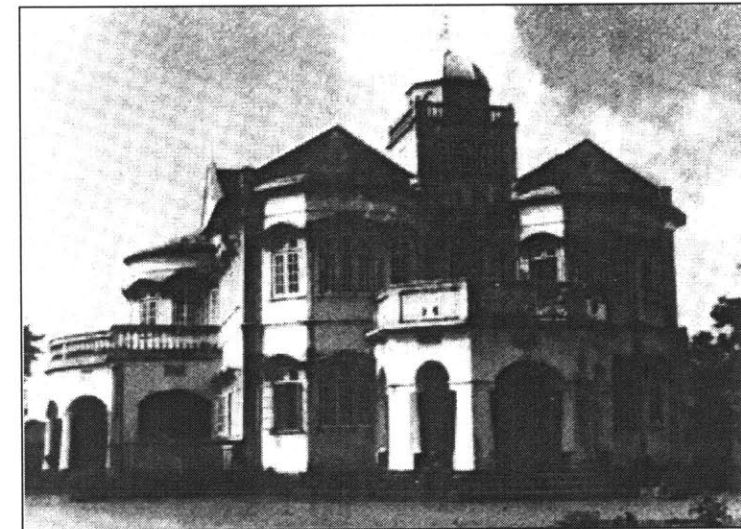
Immigrant modifications

The architecture of dwelling units in the fabric of Ibadan (in the immigrant sections) are of Brazilian origins. The flamboyant floral designs on doorways and portals are reflective of the trans-Atlantic slave trade that sent Africans to Brazil, who, upon the acquisition of freed men/freed women status, returned to Lagos (1850's and 1860's) with a style of architecture best described as Brazilian. Some Nigerians from this same freed population migrated back to their homeland of Ibadan around the same time they returned to Lagos, and brought with them similar architectural forms.

This standard dwelling unit had a simple floor plan with an open hallway lined with 3-5 rooms on each side of the central hall. One floor could accommodate 6, 8 or 10 rooms, housing extended families within one unit. With this simple floor plate, additional floors could be placed on top of the base floor with a rhythmic pattern of two windows per room. One could identify the number of rooms in a particular unit by counting windows on the facade. For example, six windows on the facade of one floor would mean there were six rooms (three rooms with two windows per room, multiplied by two because of the double-loaded corridor) on that floor (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

This character of traditional house construction would be greatly altered by British Colonization, and would eventually be abandoned in favor of a more economic form. The British housing model consisted of larger, detached units with many amenities located on site. British houses often had gardens, a well-laid-out lawn, flower beds, well-groomed hedges, fireplaces and chimneys (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). This space-driven model of development was a great departure from the more modest units of the Yorubas, not only in form but in spatial-relationships to each other (*Figure 17*). Homes in the newer sections of Ibadan were now individualized, rather than being associated with the larger community and creating a communal atmosphere. The home was transformed from a communal resource to an all-inclusive (amenities) personal residence.

Figure 17. New housing form



source: "Yoruba Towns." A.L Mabogunje. 1962

The incorporation of immigrant housing on the outskirts of the city center(s) was not without its problems, they were confronted with the same density problems as the Core. Some homes in the suburbs were without electricity, flushing toilets and direct access to houses via major roadways. In all of Ibadan, 47.3% of households occupied one room with an average of 2.1 persons per room (Taylor, 1993), so the density problem was in a sense simply displaced. Along with this displaced housing element was the displaced traditional urban form of the home. Now removed from the interactive nature of the Core, in favor of space-oriented development of the British, house frontages reflected an empty street-front edge due to high travel speeds of cars. An edge that traditionally faced a market, was now facing a mechanical conduit moving people and cars to-and-from work. This absolutely compromised the principles of Yoruba urbanization as expressed earlier.

New housing projects

With the development of the Gbagi Business District (GBD) in conjunction with the railroad system in 1901, there was a great appeal to foreign traders to come and make their homes in Ibadan. This presented the city with problems of how to accommodate this incoming population, because they clearly could not be accommodated in the overcrowded Core. Solutions for accommodation would have to be explored.

There were also housing projects initiated by the government in the 1960's to alleviate the housing condition in the Core. In contrast to the American definition of public housing, the Bodija Housing Estate was established in the 1962 to house middle-income, rent-paying residents (*Figure 18*). Bodija was not developed to house the low-income populations, as would be the case in the American model of "Public Housing" but was designed to target a more affluent population. The low-income housing contingent would be relegated to poor housing conditions in the Core, and would be overlooked in the delivery of improved housing that the railroad, and revenue generated by commerce would initiate in the city.

Immigrants that were drawn to the growing commercial potential of Ibadan settled around the railroad system

Figure 18. Bodija housing estates



source: The City of Ibadan. Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967.

near Gbagi, an area that came to be known as “The Railway Residential Quarter” (Olalekan, 1972). The residents of this area consisted of people who worked on the railroad. Other railroad workers, immigrating from Lagos and Abeokuta, settled at Ekotedo, a rural suburb that grew into a rich urban center. The increased attraction of traders to the development areas in the periphery of the Core brought a new concept to Ibadan, the idea of land speculation. There was an opportunity for chiefs to make a great deal of money leasing out land to traders, land was now a lucrative possession. With ideas of curtailing speculation, the Council of Chiefs (collective body of chiefs within the town) insisted that a land survey be conducted to layout the area plots before they could be leased. Chiefs delineated plots prior to their leasing to establish formal urban stability as soon as 1901. Local people in the area described this process as “pegging the land” (Olalekan, 1972), an action that was an early indicator that formal planning had come to Ibadan.

Zones ■■

There was a strong government presence in the new center at Gbagi by virtue of the presence of government ministries, banks, post office, and other governmental buildings in this region of the city. To the west of Gbagi, reservations to house government officials was identified as the Reserved Residential Area (Olalekan, 1972).

Ibadan had now developed to a point where there was a clear delineation of various zones within city limits: (1) the old Planned Areas (Agugu, Aperin, Odinjo and Eleta) where road systems were very inadequate and residents struggled to reach their final destinations via car, (2) Planned Districts of the west (Ekotedo, Inalende, Sabo, Mokola, Oke Bola, Oke Ado, and sections of Molete), (3) the *Government Residential District* (Iyaganku, Jericho and Agodi)

where densities were kept around 2 DU’s (Dwelling Units) per acre of modern architecture, and (4) the New Layouts (Felele Layout, Kongi Layouts, and several layout around Ife, Iwo, and Ijebu-Ode Roads) that were initiated around 1962 in the vicinity of Liberty Stadium (Olalekan, 1972). These zones grew outward from the Core in a concentric manner, similar to the morphology rings to be discussed later (*see Figure 22*).

The growth in commerce and the subsequent development in Ibadan attracted immigrants from various kingdoms and countries throughout the region, the earliest of which came from Ijebu, Egba and Ijesha around 1900 (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). Most of the early immigrants came as small traders, settling at the western edges closest to Gbagi, drawn by its commercial context. Although the housing units of these immigrants was consistent with traditional Compound design, the facade treatment was slightly different, plastered with cement instead of the traditional mud-brick form.

The physical composition of the dwelling units themselves was not the only aspect of housing that would change with the modernizing of the city. With commercial developments at Gbagi and other sections of the city, the residential context began to transform into a heterogeneous environment. Attracted to the revenue base near the new center at Gbagi, commercial use came to integrate with the residential fabric.

2.2-4 *Quality of life*



Commerce

As was the case in many Yoruba towns, Ibadan became a center for commerce and administrative power in Nigeria with the development of GBD (Gbagi Business District) and the educational and government centers on its periphery. The attractiveness that commerce presented to immigrants, would alter the homogeneous composition of the city and transform it into a heterogeneous mixture of people of various ethnic affiliations and financial agendas. This integration would manifest itself into segregating settlement patterns based largely in ethnicity. These patterns of settlement would have a great impact on the structure of the developing city of Ibadan.

The process of developing the administrative, commercial and modern residential quarters had been developed toward the end of the 19th century but achieved its height of advancement in the 20th century. The form of modern development was of an externalized vernacular in that buildings were turned outward, facing onto major roads as to target potential patrons. Modifications by the immigrants to the Compound saw the structures face “main street,” allocating front rooms to serve as shops (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). The externalized nature of these adapted dwelling units took the focus off the internal community, and placed it on the outward passing traffic.

Commercial advancements in the 1960’s brought a rise in land values in the periphery of the city that saw rents rise beyond the affordability of low-income residents and some merchants. But in contrast, high-rent parcels attracted speculation and more wealthy immigrant merchants to development of the periphery. This dynamic affected explicit changes in the composition of the Core and its inhabitants. With increased education and commercial avenues

to pursue, residents in the Core saw an opportunity to improve their social status by moving out of the rent-free region of the Core to the higher-rent districts toward the periphery. This contributed to the stigmatization of the Core and all its residents, increasing the size of the social divide between the urban poor and the new educated elite introduced to Ibadan.

Residence and the workplace

Due to the full development capacity of the Core, as well as the newly developing stigma, immigrants investigated other sites for settlement away from urban centers at Mapo and Gbagi. Along with this dislocation came increased travel distances to-and-from these suburban locales. Location is a very important factor in the success of settlement areas, linked by factors of time and cost of transportation by commuters. There is an inescapable problematic issue that is linked to the concentric development model in that the work force is displaced from the work place at the periphery of the developed city. Residents in the Core must travel great distances to arrive at work, hospitals, schools and recreational centers, a factor that detracts from the usability of the city.

The premise of traveling to work is magnified when considering white-collar workers, being that most of the industries and other developments are located great distances (when considering a great deal of workers walk to work) away from the center. In response to the movement of industry to the north and west of the Core, workers began to inhabit new developments at the outskirts of the city, in some cases moving from the Core. Indigenous residents would make this move to the suburbs once they attained enough money to afford suburban housing, to either move

closer to work, or to escape the stigma associated with the Core known as Core Residency (Olalekan, 1972).

Distance posed a problem for qualified residents in the Core, considering the distance they had to travel to work. Since cars were not available to every resident, and public transportation was poor, a worker might have to walk great distances to get to work. Alternative methods of travel such as taxis are available, but one might have to walk 1-2 miles to get to a major road that was motorable (Olalekan, 1972).

Entertainment facilities

Entertainment facilities including cinemas, drama theaters, exhibition halls and community halls are well distributed in the city, but again pose cultural conflicts within the city. There are five cinemas in the city; Scala at Sabo (ward N6), Rex at Oke Bola (ward SW7), Queens at Eko-Tedo (NW6), Odeon at Ado and Obisesan at Gbagi (ward SW6), but there is not one theater in the Core (Olalekan, 1972). Cultural conflict may come in the form of low patronage in response to the fact that the majority of films shown are in foreign languages, and the lack of public transportation links and high user fees associated with these facilities (see Figure 19 for ward demarcations).

Education ■■

The British played a major role in the delivery of western education in Ibadan, responsible for the majority of educational facilities in the city. Arriving the middle of the 19th century, the British would introduce Western education into Yoruba land that would have great impacts on the morphology of the city itself, as well as on socio-economic conditions in the region. Improved education facilities brought about

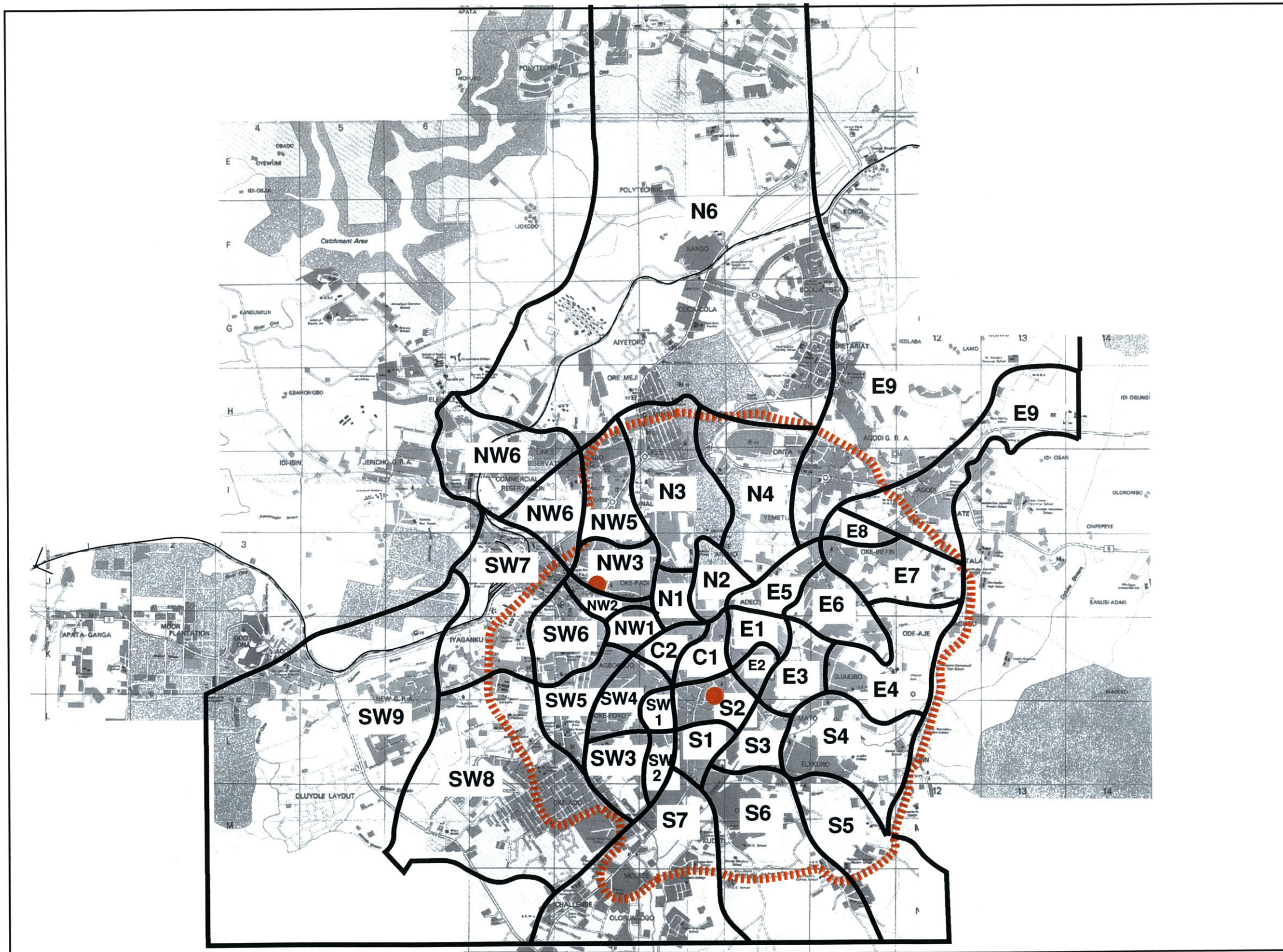
Table 2: Primary School spatial distribution*

ward	persons per school
Northern wards	3,137
Eastern wards	3,078
Southern wards	6,809
Northeastern wards	3,573
Central wards**	27,994

* there were 152 total Primary Schools, and 48 Secondary Schools in the city (1972).

** primarily in the Core of the city

Source: Ward titles from (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967)



Chapter 2: City structure

Ward Demarcations

- Ward Demarcations
- City Centers (Mapo and Gbagi)
- ||||| Fortification*

* Complete wall formation shown for simplification of diagram.

** E= Eastern wards, C= Central wards, N= Northern wards, S= Southern wards, NW= Northwestern wards, SW= Southwestern wards.

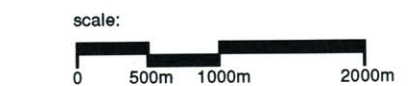


Figure 19



social choices that were previously nonexistent in Ibadan (*Table 2*). Prior to the arrival of the British, the indigenous people of the city had no formal system of education. Today, Ibadan is home to two of the six universities in Nigeria (University of Ibadan, and the University of Ife, Ibadan branch), a technical college (Ibadan Polytechnic), 152 primary schools (the first Primary School established in Ibadan was the Ibadan Grammar School built in 1913 by the Church Mission Society), and 48 secondary schools (Olalekan, 1972).

With the arrival of the Reverend and Mrs. David Hinder, of the Anglican Church in 1853, Christianity was introduced to Ibadan. Later on that year, the Church Mission Society built the first school in Ibadan (The Day-School in 1853), and that same group would build two more schools (St. Peter's school at Aremo, and St. James school at Oke-Bola that were both outcroppings of their predecessor St. David's School at Kudeti) eleven years later in 1864 (Olalekan, 1972). The Church Mission Society would continue to construct schools in the region on various levels of education, with the first grammar school in Ibadan in 1913.

The Church Mission Society was not the only religious entity that would build schools in the area. The Wesleyan Methodist Movement built the first Teacher Training School (Wesleyan College) at Elekuro in 1905. The construction of schools during this time would not take place within the limits of the densely-packed centers due to the fact that there was simply not enough space to accommodate these uses. Space was at a premium in the Core.

The spatial distribution of educational facilities is directly related to various regions within the city. For regional identification, we will utilize the ward demarcations outlined by Olalekan (*see Figure 19*). These ward allocations reveal that there are 41 primary schools in northern wards serving a population of 128,604 persons, 28 primary schools in eastern wards serving 86,173 persons, 36 primary schools in southern wards serving 245,117 persons, 20 schools in northwestern wards serving 71,464 persons, and 1 school in central wards that serve 27,994 persons (Olalekan, 1972). These figures reflect a very uneven distribution of schools, and begs the question of

whether there were social implications that drove their location (*see Table 2*). However, it must also be considered that the *ad hoc* development pattern and lack of planning in the Core left little room for the incorporation of educational facilities, so alternative developable parcels had to be sought. In addition, there are seven wards with no education facilities in them; E1, E3, S1, S2, SW2, SW6 and C2 (*See Figure 19 for ward demarcations*), serving a population of 119,000 persons (Olalekan, 1972).

There are various levels of education in the Nigerian system of education; Primary Schools, Secondary Schools, Secondary Modern Schools and Universities. Primary School, a six-year program, has been free since the year 1955. With the advent of free primary education, enrollment in Primary Schools rose to 812,000 school children in 1955, a figure that would rise to 1,124,000 children in 1960 (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). There were 530 Secondary Schools in 1960, a figure that would rise to 700 in 1963. The concept of Secondary Modern School was meant to bridge the gap for those students, that either could not afford education or could not achieve necessary scores to enter the university. Secondary Modern Schools numbered 21 in 1963, and decreased to 8 in 1972 (Olalekan, 1972). The universities (University of Ibadan, and the University of Ife, Ibadan branch) were located on the periphery of the city, to serve an international student population. There are also 10 nursery schools in the city, with no one ward having more than 300 students (1972).

The spatial distribution of schools within the community posed commute problems for students due to their locations in less-densely populated wards. More than 25% of all students in Secondary Schools travel over 2 miles to school daily (Olalekan, 1972), while other students use public transportation and other means of travel. For those students faced with commuting to school, 13.1% use buses, 5.1% use taxis, 3% ride bicycles, and 2.4% are driven by parents to school (Olalekan, 1972). Secondary Schools and universities have less of a commute problem due to on-campus housing, reflected in statistics that show 50% of Secondary School students use on-campus housing, and 90% of university students use on-campus housing (Olalekan, 1972).

The proliferation of educational facilities in the city has created an education zone that stretches from Sango along the eastern edge of the Ibadan-Oyo Road, accounting for 5,000 acres of land (Olalekan, 1972). The educational Zone incorporates institutions other than universities in its area, evident by the presence of the Institute for Tropical Agriculture, that is responsible for the improvement of Tropical Agriculture in Tropical Africa. The campus of the institute covers over 5-miles along the Ibadan-Oyo Road. The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria is also located within this zone.

The University of Ibadan was established in 1948 as University College, Ibadan, and along with the University of Ife¹¹, and the Education Ordinance and Code of 1948¹², Ibadan became the center of Education planning and administration for the western region of Nigeria.

Health Care Facilities ■■

The modern population of Ibadan is in direct response to improved health care facilities, and the subsequent drop in infant mortality rates. The lack of health care facilities during the 19th century was at the heart of the fluctuating population in Nigeria. During that time, epidemics were allowed to run their course with little intervention. This would change in the beginning of the 20th century, reflected by the boom in the Nigerian population.

Until 1910, there was only one dispensary, no hospitals, and no clinics in Ibadan. The construction of health care facilities was a major concern for the administrative powers in the city, an issue to which they were very responsive. In 1927 Adeoyo Hospital was established with the purpose of attacking epidemics in the region, and in

1930 the Moremi Clinic was established at Oke-Bola to combat the high infant mortality rate. The middle part of the 20th century was dedicated to the improvement of health care facilities in the city, reflected by the fact that, of the 56 medical establishments in Ibadan today, 40 were established between 1955-1971. Considering the intense push to upgrade health care in Ibadan, there is still a great need for additional facilities in the area. Twenty-one of the forty wards in Ibadan in 1967 were without medical or health facilities, all of which are located in the Core (Olalekan, 1972).

¹¹ University of Ife started in Ibadan in 1960 when old Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology was upgraded. The university has since moved most of its schools to Ile-Ife but still has a branch in Ibadan to cater to the schools of Pharmacy and Administration.

¹² For more information on the Education Ordinance and Code of 1948, refer to (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

2.2-5 City amenities

Agriculture and recreation ■■

Consistent with many Yoruba towns, Ibadan began as an agricultural settlement, where farmers dominated the demography. However, in the original walled city, very little farming took place inside the fortification. The majority of farming took place in a strip of land outside the fortification, allowing for the achievement of maximum density for residential development in the Core. Residential farmers within the city would travel back-and-forth between their homes and farms, due to the fact that cash crops required very little attention from farmers and could grow on their own.

All farming was done by the men, while women were responsible for gathering food and preparing manufactured goods for sale at the market. There were allocations inside the wall for the cultivation of small portions of exotic vegetables, but the five-mile belt of land surrounding the city was the main source of cultivation for cassava. Soil in this belt was poor, so farmers growing more valuable crops would have to travel further from the city to tend to their farms (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967).

Farming is still a major element in the economics of Ibadan, where farmers carry out daily operations in rural districts removed from the city center. Farmers tend to their crops for periods of one month or more at a time, where they produce cocoa, Kola nuts and other cash crops for export. However, the introduction of western education into the indigenous culture has provided the people of Ibadan the opportunity to achieve higher social status through improved education. This introduction of economic mobility has taken prospective farmers and artisans from the traditional lifestyle and re-directed their attention to more lucrative endeavors. The apprentice-driven occupations have suffered dramatically due to the appeal of economic advancement through higher education. Traditional farming has been ostracized and viewed as a low-level occupation by the youth in the city, as they now aspire to make more money and improve their living conditions. Furthermore, with the discovery of oil in the 1950's, there was a great shift

to white-collar jobs supporting the economic potential that such a discovery would mean.

Recreation

Recreational spaces in Ibadan are directly related to conflicts of Yoruba urbanization patterns and Colonization. Recreational activities of the indigenous Yorubas in the city are primarily non-spatial, meaning they can be carried out in non-structured spaces. While Euro-centric recreational activities are primarily space-based, requiring designed spaces or arenas to accommodate sporting events.

Cultural activities and everyday chores constitute a great deal of the leisure activity for the indigenous community consisting of drumming, dancing, games, story-telling, riddle and joke telling, visiting friends and relatives. Physical activity is largely compensated for by daily walks to-and-from work that could cover several miles. Such activity often accounts for the daily exercise activity for many of the indigenous people.

On the contrary, British activities demand a great deal of space in order to function. Facilities to accommodate these leisure activities of the literate elite include public parks, zoological and botanical gardens, playing fields, stadia, gymnasiums, swimming pools, clubs, bars and hotels, cinemas, drama theaters, and community halls. All of which involve a great deal of space allocated solely to the particular use, removing prospective land from much needed residential and health care uses. In order to provide entertainment for immigrants coming to Ibadan, the British built the European Club, later changed to the Recreational Club in 1906. The Recreational Club initiated its presence by acquiring several acres in the northwest section of the suburbs to locate a race track. Although these type facilities were slightly more evenly distributed, there was a higher frequency in middle-income areas as opposed to lower-income areas in the Core.

The majority of the recreational spaces are located on the periphery of the city as they were incorporated congruently with the advent of the British (*Figure 20*). Consistent with the problems associated with other western interventions, recreation embraced the same problems of access, distribution and equity as did education facilities, health care facilities, and new housing.

Recreational facilities have a great following in Ibadan, with the most popular being stadiums, gymnasiums, boxing and wrestling arenas. The majority of these types of facilities are affiliated with schools, colleges and universities, totaling 75 facilities accounting for 104 acres in the city (Olalekan, 1967). In contrast to the problem of spatial distribution of facilities associated housing, educational facilities and health care facilities presented earlier, recreational facilities/areas are more evenly distributed throughout the periphery of the Core.

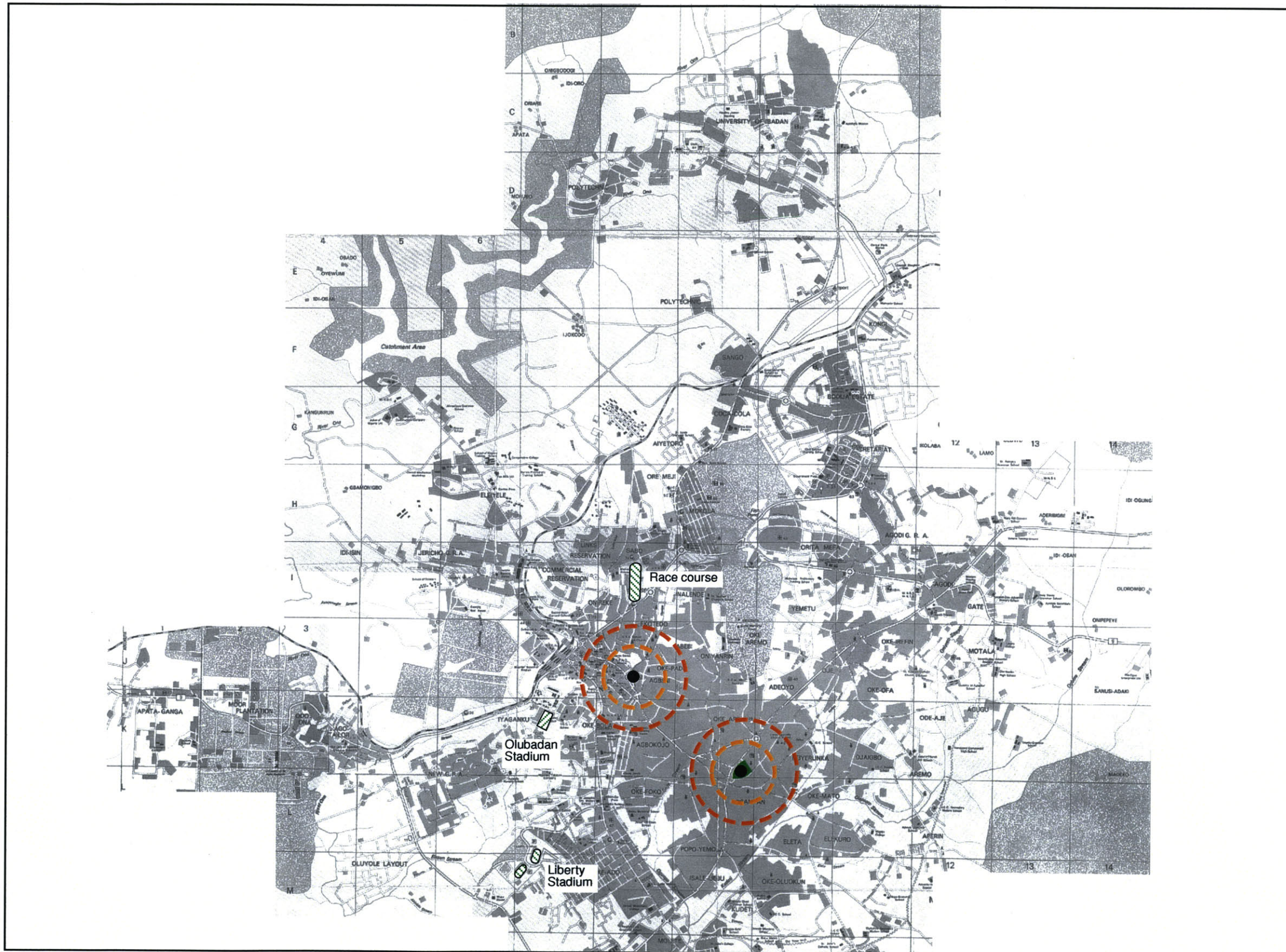
Some activity spaces are linked with secondary schools, colleges and universities, and subsequently share some of the same spatial problems. Beside the fact that there are some spatial problems, the majority of sports taking place on these fields are of western derivation. Due to this fact, a large number of residents in the Core serve as patrons rather than participants to such activity (major exceptions being boxing and soccer).

Parks and Gardens

Parks and gardens are amenities that are fairly infrequent in Ibadan, and account for a very small portion of the city's area. Agodi Garden, a 130 acre garden (30 acres developed with the remainder left as natural landscape), is the only public park in Ibadan. The park was intended for British officials of the Nigerian government who lived in the government reservation area at Agodi (Olalekan, 1972). The park has minimal patronage due to the lack of public transportation linkages, and high user fees that detract from its seemingly optimal location. This lack of patronage is reflective in the fact that in 1967, only 23% of the park's area was developed, seeing approximately 100 users per day, rising to 300 users per day on the weekends in 1967 (Olalekan, 1972).




At the University of Ibadan and the University of Ife, there are two small gardens that receive some patronage from students and visitors to the universities. At the University of Ibadan, there is a total of 25-acres of zoological gardens, of which 20-acres are developed (5 acres left as natural landscape). The garden at the university also receives minimal patronage of around 20 visitors per week, a figure that rises to 200 persons on the weekends. There is an additional 35-acres at the university allocated to a botanical garden, that see about 20 visitors per day, and 80 people on the weekend (Olalekan, 1972). At the University of Ife, there is a small 18-acre Botanic Garden (14 acres developed) that services 35 people per day, 120 people on the weekend (Olalekan, 1972).

All parks in the city of Ibadan have user fees (except Agodi Garden), a fact that may contribute to the under-utilization of the parks system. Another potential deterrent is the fact that all but one park is attached to a university, posing the spatial distribution problems discussed earlier. However, location is not the only problem confronting these spaces, evidenced by the under-utilization by university students. This indicates that there are other problems facing these spaces, and it is not merely spatial.



Chapter 2: City structure

Open Space Distribution

-  Active recreation areas
-  10-minute walking circle
-  5-minute walking circle

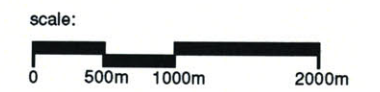


Figure 20



2.2-6 City-wide power

Administrative power ■■

Historically, administrative power was at the foundation of Ibadan's success in the Oyo Empire and Yoruba land altogether. Once Ibadan had physically seized the seat of power within the region, establishing educational centers like the University of Ibadan, the University of Ife, Ibadan branch and other institutions in the area. After building such an educational and administrative setting, they were now poised to assume regional administrative power from Oyo. An increasing economic base due to booming trade involving Palm Oil and other cash crops, Ibadan's connection and interaction with the British would lead the seizure of power. On August 15, 1893, an agreement between the chiefs of Ibadan and the acting governor of Lagos was signed incorporating Ibadan into the British Empire (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). Ibadan had become the capital city of the western region and the center of economic, educational, religious, and scientific activity in Yoruba land.

By the middle of the 20th century, Ibadan had begun to move toward becoming the administrative power in Nigeria, constructing a great deal of government facilities on the outskirts of its city centers. Now home to the Western State Secretariat, Ibadan began to attract several government entities, such as the Western State Ministry of Health (located at the Western State Secretariat), to its suburbs during the early parts of the 20th century. The Western State Secretariat is a powerful entity in the region, maintaining control over all the region's schools as well as having the power to open or close any school in the region. By attracting powerful government agencies and their resident workers to the city, Ibadan was presented with tools to boost its administrative power in Yoruba land.

It wasn't until the late 1930's when the former southern provinces, who established their headquarters at Enugu, were divided into western and eastern states that Ibadan began to seize administrative power. By 1940, Ibadan had become the political and administrative center of the western states, incorporating various western state government offices into its suburban fabric. As Independence in Nigeria grew near (gained independence in 1960),

more Nigerians began to occupy government positions in Ibadan.

The physical British presence in Ibadan was introduced through residential and non-residential developments in suburban areas of the city, where the administrative officials were housed at Agodi to the north, with a business community directly to the west. These developments were the first two government reservation projects in the city. During this time, and into the boom of the 1950's, there was an increase in administrative housing on reservations north of the city centers. Settlements to the north such as Ekotedo, Sabo and Mokola, which are all located near the Secretariat, began to grow rapidly as officials and immigrants began to move to those areas.

Ibadan's presence as the new power in Yoruba land was not strictly based on its relationship with the British government, there was a strong military presence related to the new-found status. In 1851, the government of Ibadan was divided into two spheres, civil and military, with four main lines of chiefs (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). In the city of Ibadan, political power was very often reinforced by a military presence to facilitate the political agenda. This dynamic raises questions of who is actual in charge in Ibadan, the administrators or the warriors.

In theory, the decision-making power was to rest with the Bale (head of the civil line of chiefs), who was to make all political decisions regarding Ibadan. In actuality, the power of the Bale was often usurped by the Balogun (head of the military line of chiefs) who had a stronger presence in society. This hierarchical battle between the military and the administration has connections to the founding principles of Ibadan as a militaristic machine, devouring all kingdoms in its path to supremacy.

Configuration of the Lineage ■■

Although Ibadan had no traditional head (Oba), there were chiefs within the society in the form of the Lineage. Chieftancy status could only come by appointment by the Alafin (in Oyo) who sent a representative to crown new chiefs within lineages. As mentioned, there are two lines in the system of chieftancy within this culture, the civil line and the military line. The highest position in the civil line of chiefs, the Bale (since 1935 referred to as the Olubadan), was a position held by the eldest man in the Lineage (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967). While the highest rank in the military line of chiefs was the Balogun, also held by the eldest man in the Lineage. Although the main method of advancement in the lineage system was by death of successors, there was some leap-frogging up the ladder of chieftancy.

The structure of the lineage system was organized into four groupings (1) the civil line, (2) the military line of established warriors, (3) a military line of young un-proven warriors, and (4) a civil line of female chiefs. The Bale (Olubadan) was the highest chief in the civil line, the Balogun headed the military line of established warriors, the Seriki headed the military line of young warriors and the Iyalode was head of the civil line of female chiefs. The highest chief in each line had a second-in-line (Otun), and third-in-line (Osi) and so on (*Table 3*).

There are two structural lines of chieftancy, with the breadth of political power resting in the hands of the military line headed by the Balogun, but there is solidarity between both branches of the system. Chiefs from both branches comprise the Central Council to deal with foreign policy and issues of war. The council also discusses controls over subordinate towns, and control of the gates (in traditional towns) into the city. This council also acts as the court system, hearing political crimes committed by its residents and handing down punishments.

Table 3: Line of Chiefs

civil line of chiefs	military line of chiefs	military line of young warriors	civil line of female chief
Bale*	Balogun	Seriki	Iyalode
Otun Bale	Otun Balogun	Otun Seriki	Otun Iyalode
Osi Bale	Osi Balogun	Osi Seriki	Osi Iyalode
etc.	Ashipa, etc.	etc.	etc.

** since 1935 referred to as the Olubadan*

Source: Titles from (Lloyd, Mabogunje, Awe, 1967)

Distribution of Land ■■

In traditional Yoruba settlements, land was not a resource owned by individuals, it was to be a communal resource utilized by the entire group. There was a sense of highest and best use that would have to encompass the entire settlement, the advancement of the individual would not be sacrificed for the whole. Once land was acquired, the reigning chief of the village would subsequently distribute land to people on a free-hold basis. In the village, there was a great sense of accountability to the whole, a concept that would be compromised by the colonial methods of the British. New developments were exclusively focused on the individual instead of the group.

The immigrating British brought with them the idea of land ownership by the individual on two levels, Individual Ownership and Communal Land Tenure (Taylor, 1993). With the new concepts of land-ownership introduced by the British, in the form of reservations in 1893, the beginning of zoning in Ibadan was in motion. Land ownership would be a short-lived concept in the city, the Land Use Decree of 1978 (a decree that disallowed land ownership and placed land ownership in the hands of the State Governor) supplanted land distribution powers from the chief and placed it in government hands, in an effort to expedite the land development process.

The traditional land-holder, the chief, is still present in the land business. In some cases chiefs will refuse to relinquish their traditional hold over land, and cause conflict with government officials. The decree was also in response to land speculation that came in light of rising land prices in the suburbs due to increased development by the British and other immigrants.

2.2-7 Religious groups

This section of Chapter 2 focuses on the religious groups in Ibadan and how their presence has influenced the built environment throughout the history of the settlement. The religious groups of Ibadan have had a great impact on the development of social amenities within the city and deserve extensive discussion in the morphology of its urban form.

There are three prominent religious groups in Ibadan, all having various spatial ramifications within the context of the city. The groups represented are the Traditional Africans, Muslims and the Christians who were all responsible for constructing various facilities, having space-related impacts on the form and function of the city.

Religions in Ibadan ■■

Religion played a major role in the delivery of services that affected the quality of life of the residents of Ibadan, including the construction of educational facilities. Of the 152 Primary Schools in Ibadan, 97 are owned by Christian Missionaries (4 owned by Islamic Missionaries), and 26 of the 49 Secondary Schools in the city are owned by Missionaries. This concept of education delivery has essentially been established by the Muslims and Christians, the Traditional African religions provided no formal education. In the case of the Traditional Africans, the traditional method of education takes place in an informal setting within the home where children gathered in open spaces to listen to tales and stories by the elders

Traditional African beliefs

There are two groups that fall under the umbrella of Traditional African beliefs, the Oke Ibadan and the

Egungun Cult. These groups worship a deity, Olomo-Oru, and past ancestors respectively and represent a smaller segment of the population than the Christians and Muslims.

The Oke Ibadan Cult worships the goddess known as the Olomo-Oru, which translates to the “*mother with immense breasts*” (Olalekan, 1972). Under cult beliefs, Olomo-Oru has innumerable children, and is believed to be the goddess of fertility and procreation. It is believed that she was conjured up at the founding of the city by a man called Lagelu (Olalekan, 1972). The annual festival held by the Oke Ibadan Cult is in commemoration of the city that manifests in the form of rejoicing, and the accepted custom of sexual promiscuity during the festival. In the past, all establishments within the city would celebrate the festival, including the markets within the city.

The other Traditional African group is the Egungun Cult, which itself translates to “*the spirit of an ancestor*” (Olalekan, 1972). This concept of worshipping ancestors of the past is reinforced by the belief that those persons departing from the present life simply went on to another world. The idea of worshipping these individuals was to maintain that spiritual link to the deceased as well as a connection to the afterlife (reincarnation). The Egungun was usually represented by a figure completely adorned with a robe and sometimes wearing a mask. The spirit would speak to the living in a piping falsetto voice, and referred to as Ara Orun, a sojourner from Heaven (Olalekan, 1972).

The cult has a system of divinities and semi divinity, where spirits of the past hold positions of reverence with the living. The living spiritual community of the Egungun exhibit affinity for their ancestors by celebration during the harvest season. The festival held by the Egungun cult is held during the month of June, and lasts about one week. The timing of the festival precedes the harvesting of yams, which cannot be consumed until the ancestors have indulged themselves.

Islam

Islam first entered the region from the western Sudan in the 11th century when Almoravids from North Africa, who were Islamic converts, conquered Koumbi, the capital of the Ghana Empire (Olalekan, 1972). Islam was spread both by the sword and by trade into Western Africa, and initially had peaceful contact with Ibadan. The early contact with the Muslims in Ibadan was through peaceful contact among traders in the marketplace toward the end of the 18th century. However, the second contact with the Muslims in Ibadan would not be as peaceful. In 1840, the Fulani Jihad sought to crush the power of the Alafin in the Oyo Empire. Ibadan and the rest of Yoruba land was under attack from the Fulani. During this time, Ibadan was growing as a power in Yoruba land, and sought to be the defender of the Alafin and traditional Yoruba ways through force. During the 19th century, Ibadan was the implicit headquarters for the fight against the Fulani Jihad.

After wars with the Fulani at Ibadan in 1830, the military aristocracy was established. Subsequently, in 1840 Ibadan successfully defended Oshogbo against the military thrust of the Fulani Jihad, in effect stopping the forceful spread of Islam in Nigeria. From this point, the scope of interaction with the Muslim’s was through peaceful trade activity. Muslims in the city are divided into many sects; the Qadiri and the Tidjaniyya Brotherhoods, the Ahmadiyya and the Anser-Ud-Deen movements.

Christians

Christianity was first introduced into Africa during the 3rd and 4th century when the Egyptians and Ethiopians accepted Christianity from the Romans (Olalekan, 1972). There were several penetrations of Christianity in Africa through the Portuguese, and later through the slave trade. However, the first introduction of Christianity to Ibadan came in the 1850’s with the advent of the Missionaries. By 1893, the British had already signed the Take-Over

Agreement with the Ibadan chiefs, thus spawning Colonization into full-flight.

There are four groups of Christians in the city; the Protestants (Anglicans), Methodists, Baptists and Salvation Army. The houses of worship consist of Roman-Catholic churches, African Churches, Methodist churches and Independent churches. The major contribution of the Christians was there intensive construction of educational facilities within the city that helped to establish the region as an educational center for Nigeria.

Religious Structures in the city

Manifestations of religious structures varied according to religious practices. The Traditional Africans built shrines in their homes and in open spaces, while the Muslims and Christians constructed more permanent structures. In 1963, there were 103 churches and 137 Mosques in Ibadan, with a demography that was 45% Muslim, 40% Christian and 15% Traditional African (Olalekan, 1972). In addition to the proliferation of Mosques in the city, there are hundreds of small Islamic prayer houses to be used for daily prayer. If the people of Islamic faith are unable to reach the Mosque, they are allowed to make daily prayer in their homes, a practice that is not as necessary for those living in the Core where Mosques are most abundant.

3 Chapter 3: CITY FORM ANALYSIS and DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS

3.1-1 City Form

The intent of Chapter 3 is to identify the structure of Ibadan as a traditional Yoruba town, and to investigate morphological changes due to Colonization by the British. The purpose of the study is to identify principles of each distinct methodology, Yoruba and Colonizing, to be integrated with the aim of establishing good African city form that possesses both indigenous African qualities and Colonizing attributes. The goal of this chapter is to generate hypothetical options for future development in the sense of conceptual ideas (not plans) that could be further investigated and altered if necessary.

In order to assess the structural elements of Ibadan, Chapter 3 will outline the open space structure (markets, recreational spaces and common grounds), identify principles of urbanization (both Yoruba and Colonial), and present development hypotheses for future interventions.

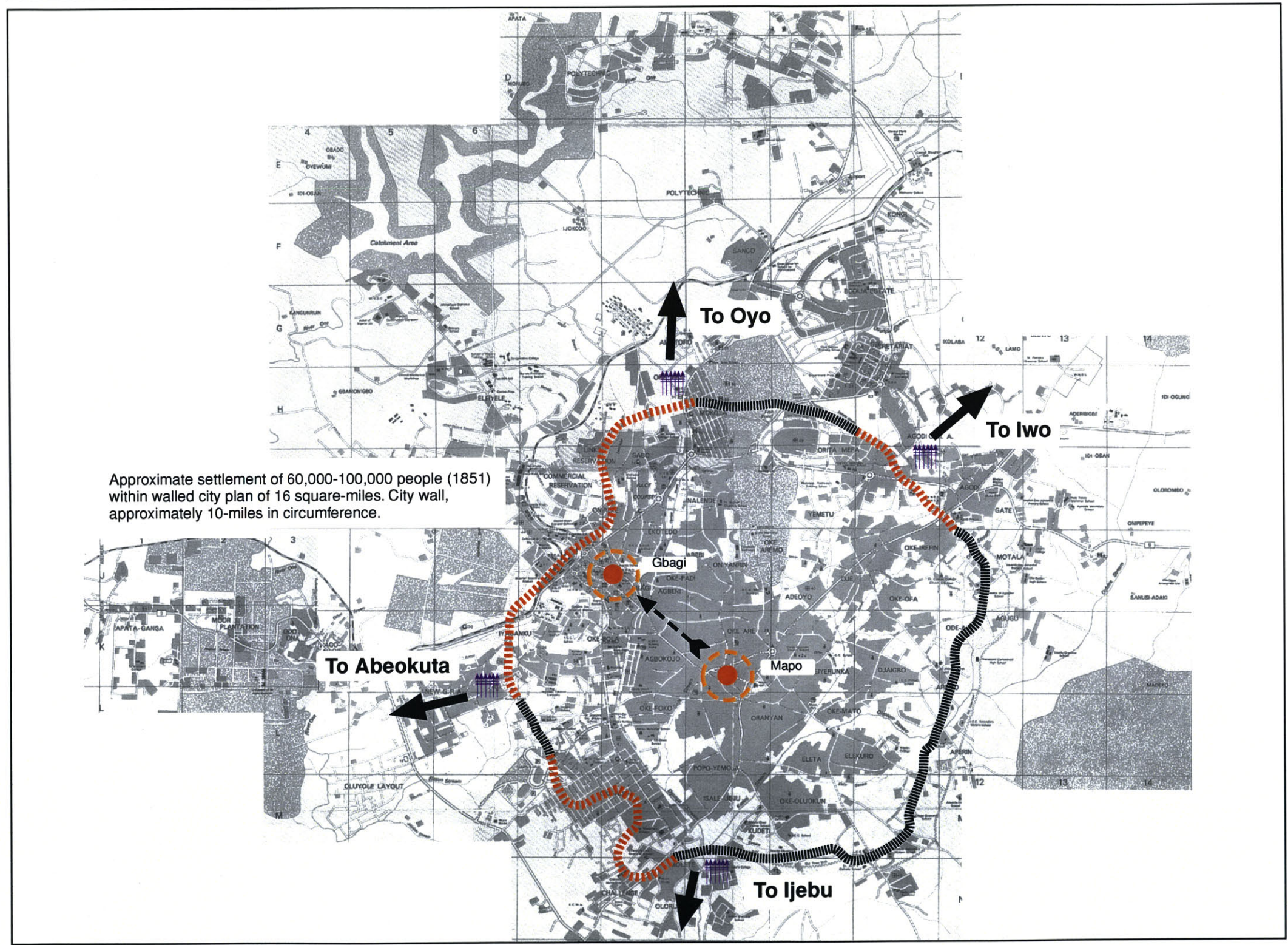
Form of Ibadan ■■

The city form of Ibadan is composed of five continuous rings, however, these rings do not reflect distinct changes in land use patterns (*Figure 21, Figure 22*). These distinct rings are; (1) the Core, (2) the extension of the Core (older suburb), (3) the old suburb, (4) the commercial zone centered around Gbagi, (5) and the educational zone. These sections of the city have their own distinct character reflective of the period of development.

The Core, consists of the original section of Ibadan centered around Mapo Hall, and is the most dense section





of the city. This area of Ibadan is largely residential, but has some mixing of uses within the region. The extension of the Core, assumes a circular form in response to settling residents wishing to remain close to the center at Mapo. This region was originally composed of a mix of traders and indigenous people, and is similar in density and use with the Core. The old suburban area is similar in form to the extension of the Core, with a mixture of building uses including; primary and secondary schools, churches and temples, but is noticeably less-dense than the Core. The commercial area around Gbagi (Gbagi Business District) was developed in conjunction with the railroad system in 1901, and is a mixed-use development area consisting of mainly nonresidential use. The educational zone is largely comprised of government officials (English), Nigerians with western educations, and immigrant traders. The two universities in Ibadan (University of Ibadan and Ibadan Polytechnic) are located in the educational zone, a great distance from the Core and the indigenous Yoruba population.

The most interesting thing about the demarcation of growth-rings is that the limits of Ibadan did not reach beyond the fortification (at least in form) until the introduction of the railroad in 1901. Whether the expansion of Ibadan, beyond reach of the wall, occurred in-part before the advent of the railroad, there is significance to the issue of expansion by the Colonizing British, and not the Yorubas.



Chapter 3:
City form analysis

The walled city
(1829-early 1900's)

-  Original Wall
-  Existing Wall
-  City Centers
-  Gates*

* interpretations of gate locations, based on direction of destination settlements

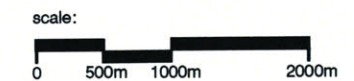
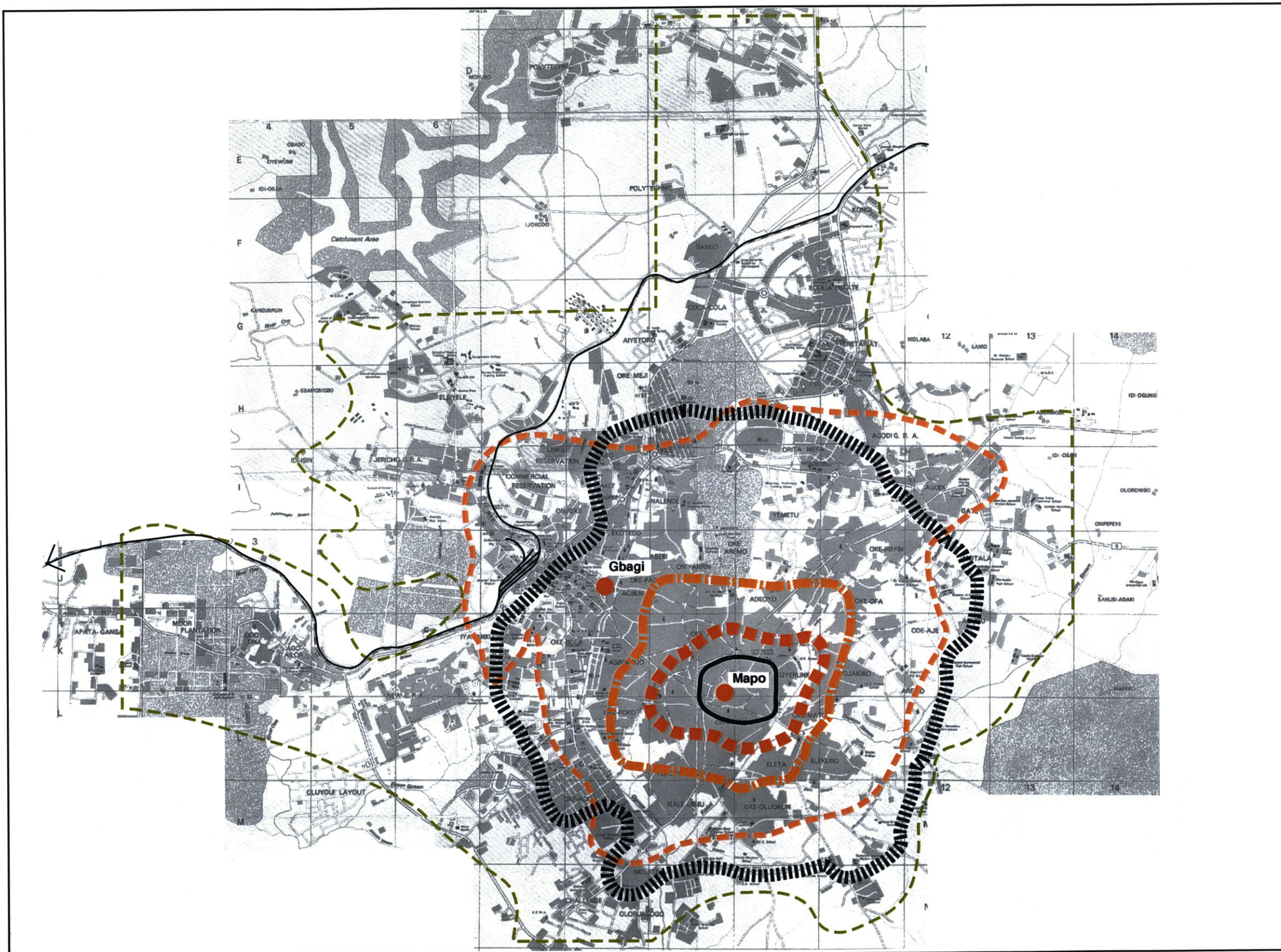


Figure 21





Chapter 3:
City form analysis

Morphology

- Core (Pre 1830)
- ||||| 1830-1850
- — — 1850-1900
- · · · · 1900-1950
- - - - - 1950-1963
- Railroad Tracks
- ||||| Fortification
- City Centers

* Complete wall formation shown for simplification of diagram.

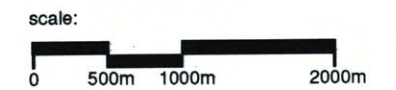


Figure 22



3.1-2 Open Space and Markets

Open space plays a major role in the form of Yoruba towns, because it is around these open spaces that social interaction and food gathering take place. The importance of open space is further emphasized by the fact that it (the market) acts as a prelude to the home (the palace) of the traditional head of Yoruba towns, the Oba. The market and the palace of the Oba have equal prominence in the form of these traditional settlements, where the power of one is emphasized by the strength of the other (*Figure 23*).

To accurately express the “structure” of a city, it is vital to investigate how the pedestrian uses the city. In many cases, good city form is best identified through the configuration of the city’s open space structure (plazas, squares, and green space), and how people move in and through the city. Open space can express great cultural folkways in the nature of how it is utilized, and can provide invaluable signs toward the identification of important areas of a city.

In Ibadan, the main form of open space is identified as the marketplace. It is here that inhabitants of the city acquire food for daily sustenance, as well as a place for daily social interaction with others. The spatial distribution of markets and the formal emphasis on their presence has been compromised by Colonization, and has assumed a less-important status in the form of the modern city. The implicit loss of the cultural form has contributed to the disaggregated form of this city with both African and western principles.

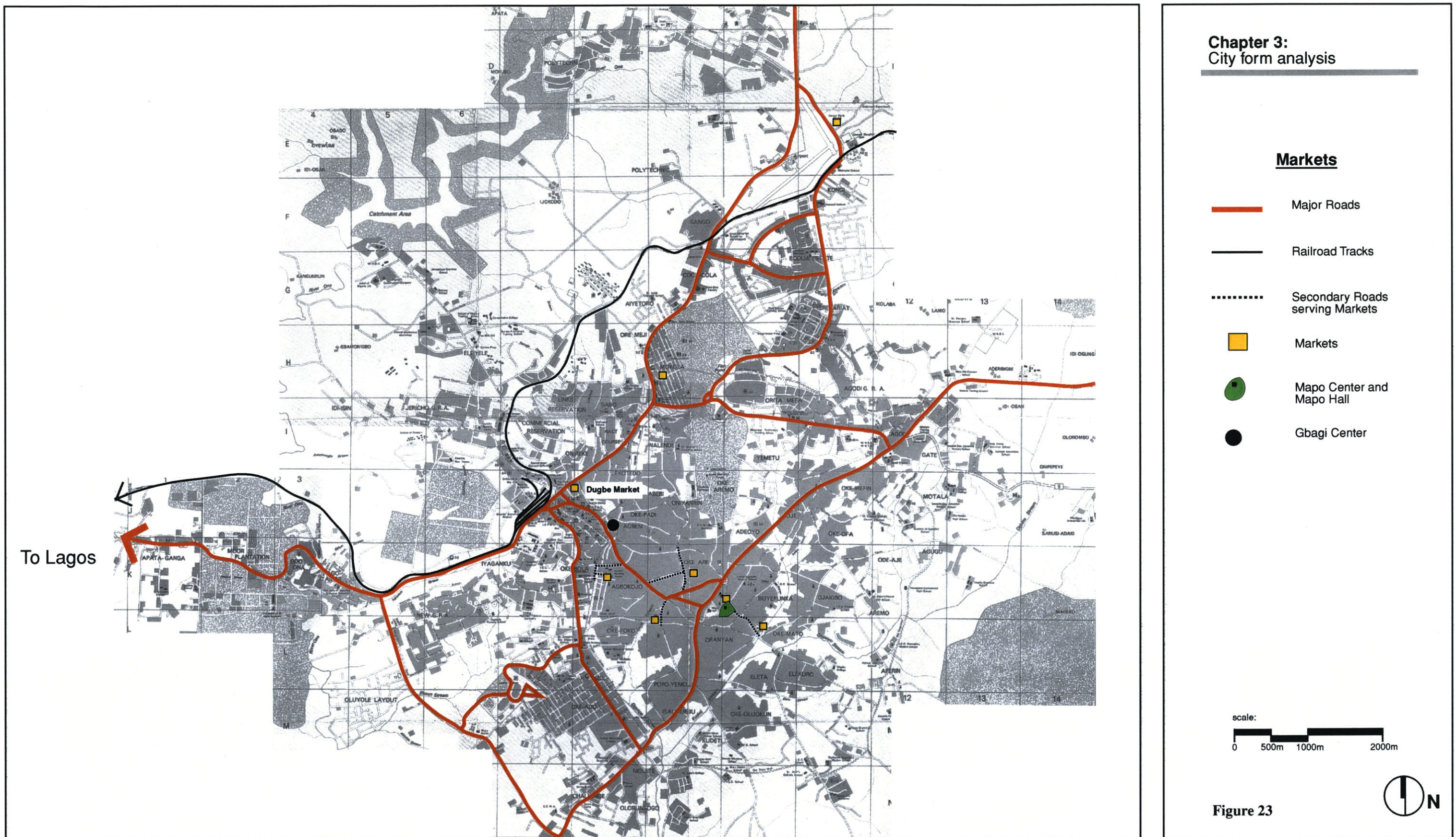
Distribution of open space ■■

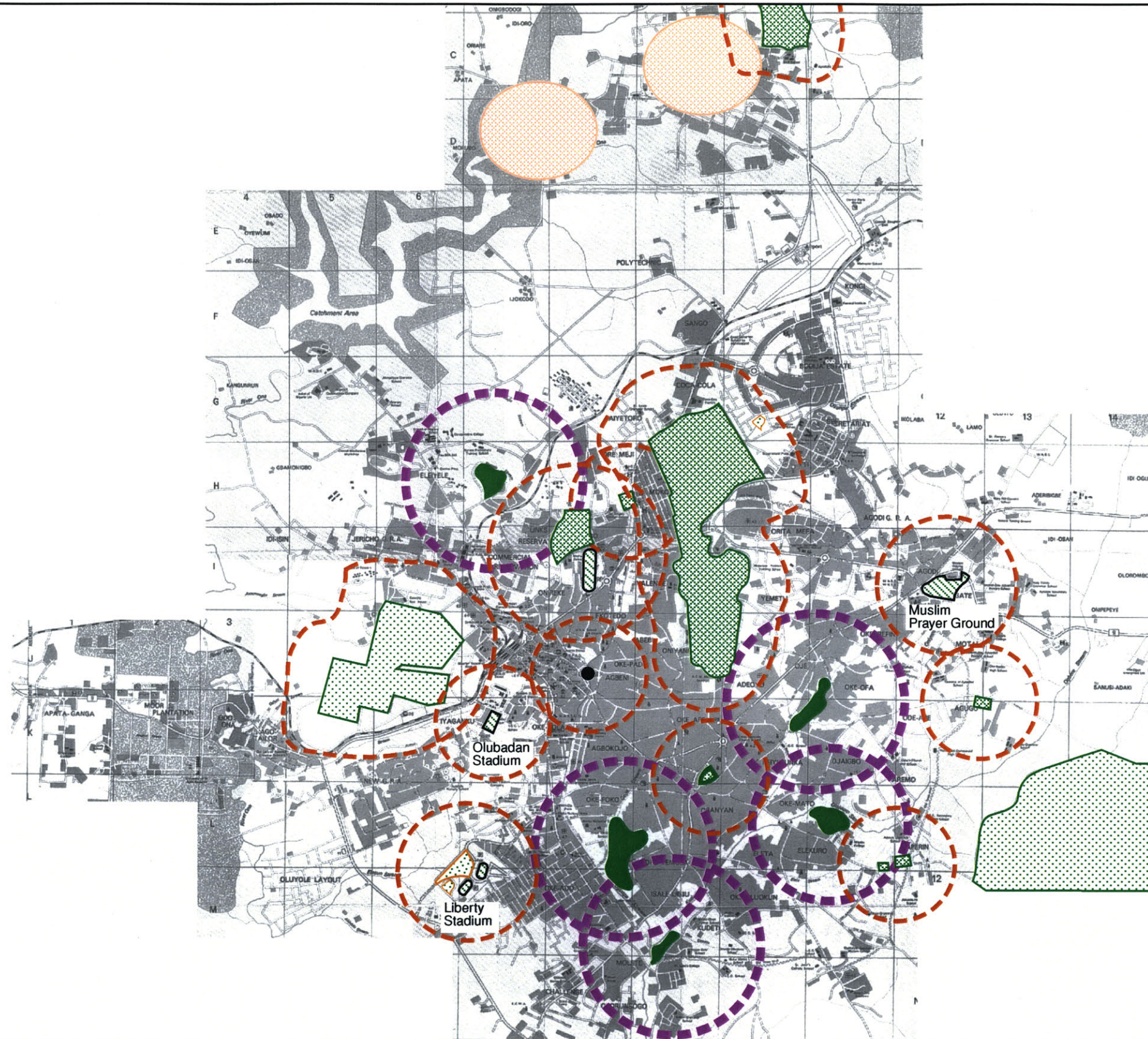
With the Colonization by the British, there has been a shift to more space-oriented developments that

de-emphasizes communal space (the market) in favor of less-dense personal space. There is a very interesting dynamic that arises with the investigation of open space in Ibadan, markets (more indigenous patrons) are condensed and located near the Core, while recreation spaces and playing fields (more Euro-centric use) are widely distributed and located on the periphery of the city (*Figure 24*). Spatial distribution of open space thus establishes a social divide when considering use and equity of social amenities in the city. The location of physical amenities toward the periphery of the city, develops formal differences in the perceived quality of life in the two regions. Because recreational amenities (including educational facilities since green space and recreation are closely linked to education) are removed from daily activities of the lower-income resident, they are in essence zoned to accommodate a specific social group. This implicit social-zoning can easily be identified through the investigation of the open space structure as it relates to settlement patterns by immigrants (both Nigerian and foreign).

Green Space ■■








The most identifiable green space in the city is Agodi Garden (*see Figure 23*) which is located just to the north of Mapo center. The centrally-located public garden is reasonably accessible to most residents in the city, especially those in the Core. However, other open space within the city is scattered throughout the city plan. The majority of open space in Ibadan is located on the periphery of the city almost exclusively, the dense nature of the Core is partially responsible for this phenomenon. The extent of open space in the indigenous section of the city is in the form of markets, the original form of Yoruba open space. The larger portion of open space in the city is in the form





Chapter 3:
City form analysis

Potential Open Space Distribution

-  Existing green space
-  University
-  Potential green Space
-  Scenic Resource areas
-  10-minute walking circle
-  10-minute walking circle from potential green space
-  City center (Mapo, Gbagi)

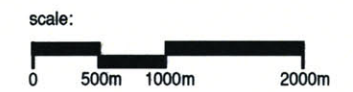


Figure 24



of recreational space and sports stadiums on the outskirts.

Recreation Space ■■

The exploded distribution pattern of recreational space and open space provides problems to residents lacking access to automobiles. Without access to an automobile, those wishing to enjoy green space, or attend sporting events often must embark on long walking journeys to get to such facilities. Because most recreational fields are ancillary spaces to educational facilities, or individual interventions themselves (requiring large parcels of land), the majority of these spaces are located on the periphery of the city. Once again, the issue of spatial distribution and social equity becomes an issue. Many people in the Core are in essence phased out of the use of these spaces, or must make great sacrifices in order to utilize these green amenities.

Spatial distribution of recreation space had an important impact on settlement patterns within the city. Young people in Ibadan were attracted to sports stadiums, cinemas, tennis courts, swimming pools and the like that were predominately located on the outskirts of the city. Because they wanted to be closer to these social activities, which happened to be located on the periphery, they were enticed to move from the Core in order to be closer to these social amenities. This ideology transformed the imagery of the Core from a rich traditional center into a stigmatized region of the city where the lower-class lived. Younger, more upwardly-mobile people were attracted to the amenities available in the suburbs.

Accessibility to recreational facilities is a problematic issue in the formal structure of Ibadan. The combination of inadequate public transportation, and isolated locations of sports facilities and playing fields, exacerbates the problem of equitable access to recreation. Because of the remote location of Liberty Stadium and

Olubadan Stadium, large sporting arenas that facilitate international and regional events (located in the Southwest section of the city), residents must either endure crowded public transportation systems or walk great distances to enjoy large sporting events. Location and access are a great deterrent to the complete enjoyment of sport by all residents within Ibadan, and can be greatly improved with some delicate interventions.

Religious-based activities are also constrained by geographic location, posing problems of access to some residents within the city. The Muslim Praying Ground, located in the eastern region of Ibadan (*see Figure 23*), is a prominent prayer area very important to the Muslim contingent in the city and beyond. Because of dislocation of the prayer ground, many Muslims are forced to make daily prayer from their homes or other mosques closer to their homes in compromise. Once again, the issue of transportation, both public and personal, becomes a problem to the lower-income residents (potentially a socially-segregating concept).

3.1-3 City Resources

Public Facilities ■■

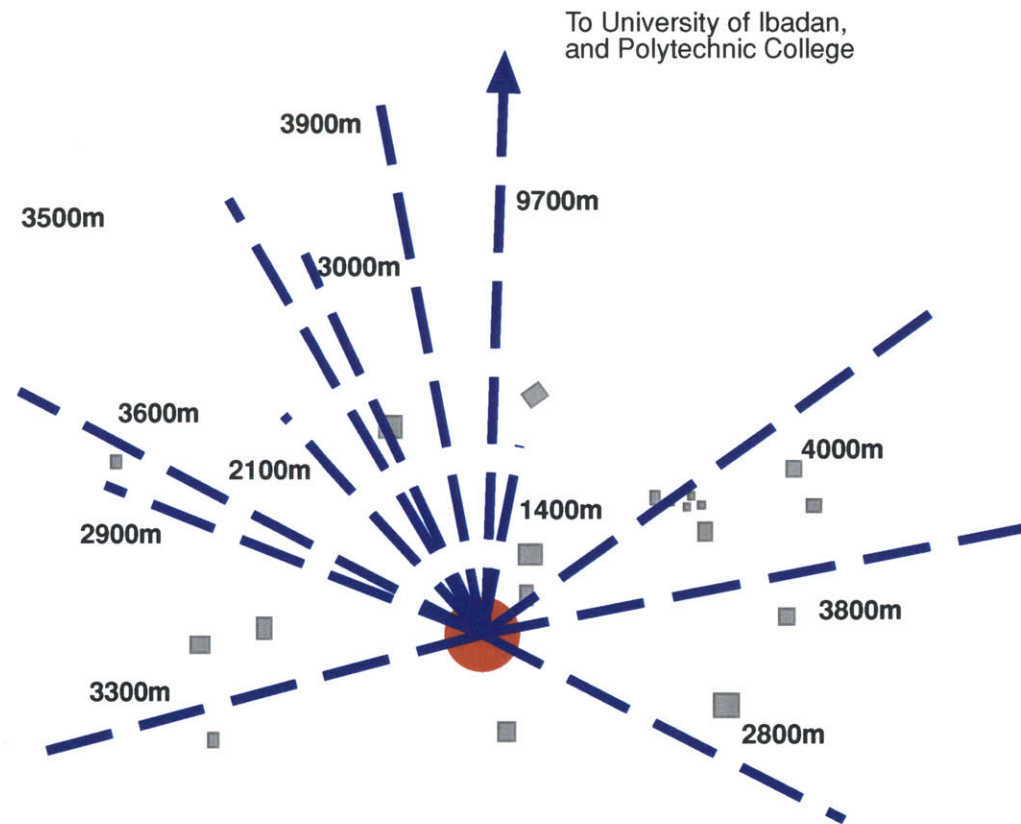
Development patterns in Ibadan, as they pertain to public facilities, are essentially planned along major streets as to provide optimal visibility and access to passersby. Modern Planned Unit Developments (PUD's), commercial developments, and educational facilities are street-oriented and located in close proximity to road networks (Figure 25). This street-oriented development is very evident in the investigation of the two centers, Mapo and Gbagi. Mapo center has a limited street network and little commercial development (Figure 26), while Gbagi has a more extensive street network with numerous commercial facilities (Figure 27). The significance of this composition is that Mapo center becomes a place of origin, exporting residents as an employment commodity with little exchange with the suburbs. Gbagi on the other hand, becomes a hub for the region, both attracting commerce and social activity to its center, and exporting residents as a workforce commodity and prospective users of the universities.

Access ■■

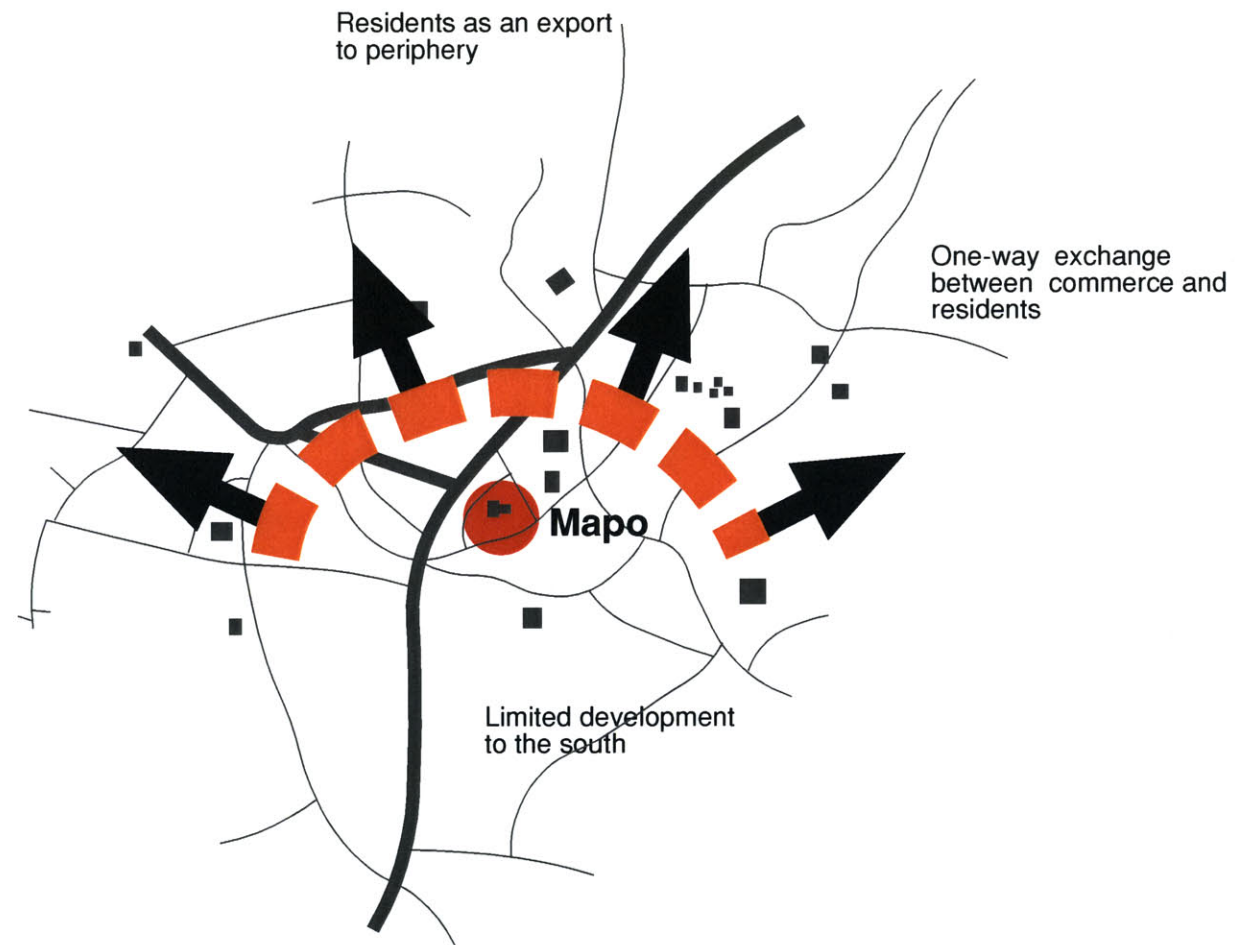
The city resources in greatest isolation are, the University of Ibadan, and Ibadan Polytechnic which are located to the northernmost region of the city (approximately 9,700 meters from Mapo, and 8,800 meters from Gbagi). It is understood that a university cannot easily be located in the center of the dense, indigenous Core, but it could be made more accessible to everyone within the city through design interventions. Because the universities are so remote, lower-class residents (who have limited access to automobiles) in the Core have very little if any chance to interact with the educational world. Gaining access to university facilities such as libraries and museums are all but eliminated from the everyday life of a resident grounded by transportation problems. This dynamic is pervasive

throughout the plan of Ibadan, but has some exceptions of equitable location. A city-wide system of linkage would potentially alleviate some of these major problems of access and equitable resources. This linkage could be accomplished through the implementation of a light-rail system that would bring outer regions of the city closer to immobile residents in the form of a low-cost travel system (see Figure 31).

Distances to Green Space



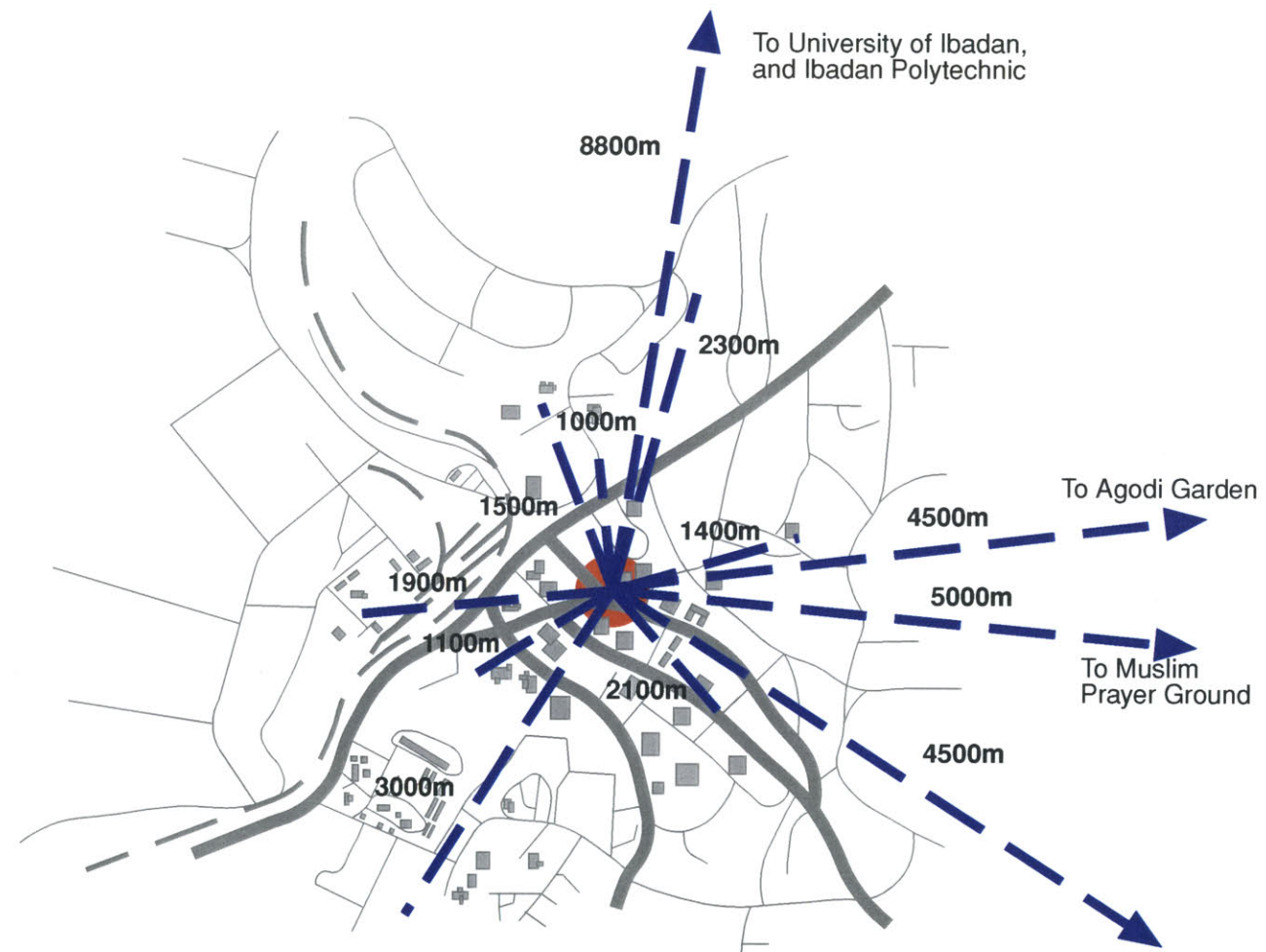
Mapo Center as a place of origin



Average distance to green space: 3667m (12,101 feet)
Maximum distance to green space: 9700m (32,010 feet)
Minimum distance to green space: 1400m (4,620 feet)

Figure 26

Distances to Green Space



Average distance to green space: 3125m (10,312 feet)
Maximum distance to green space: 8800m (29,040 feet)
Minimum distance to green space: 1000m (3,300 feet)

Gbagi Business District as a Hub

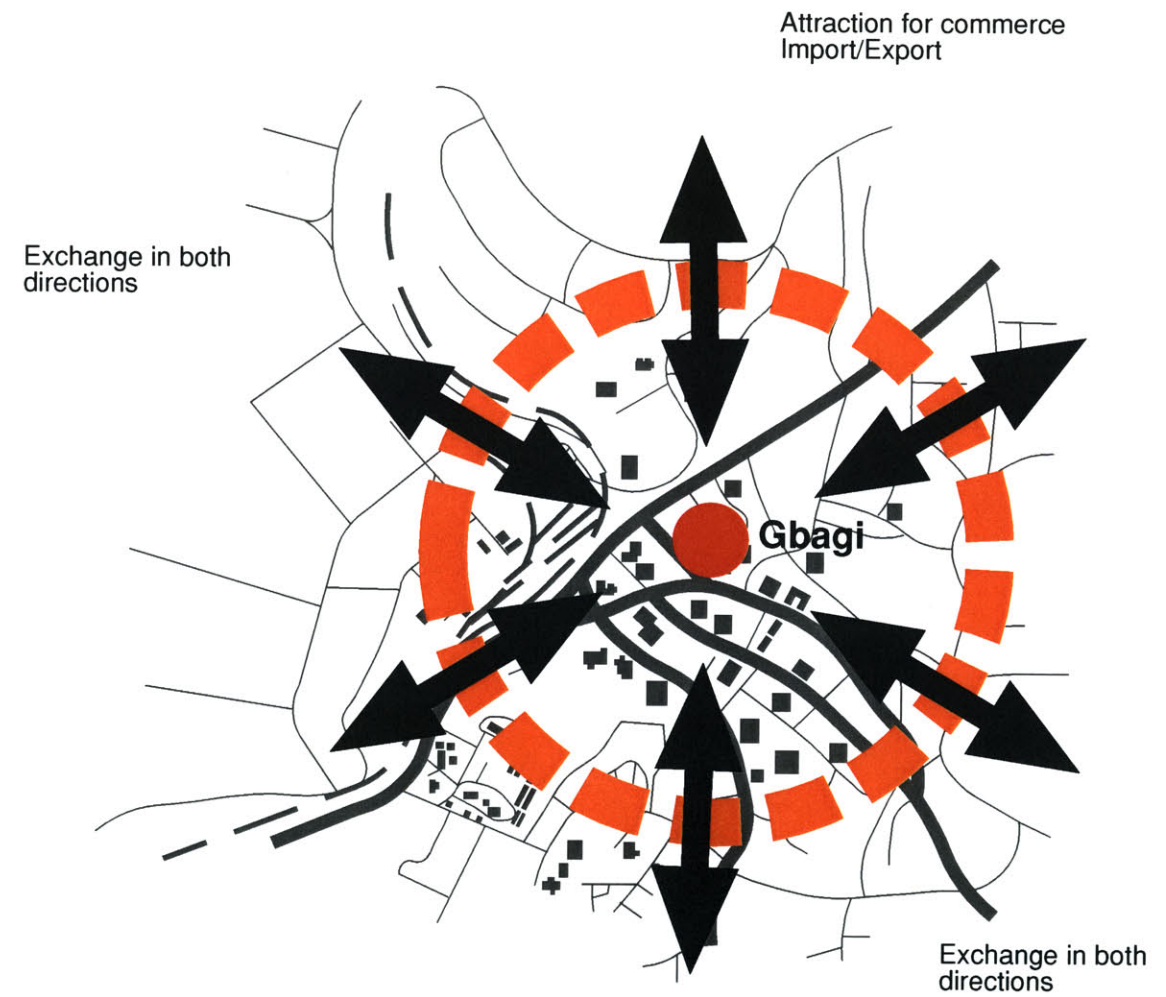


Figure 27

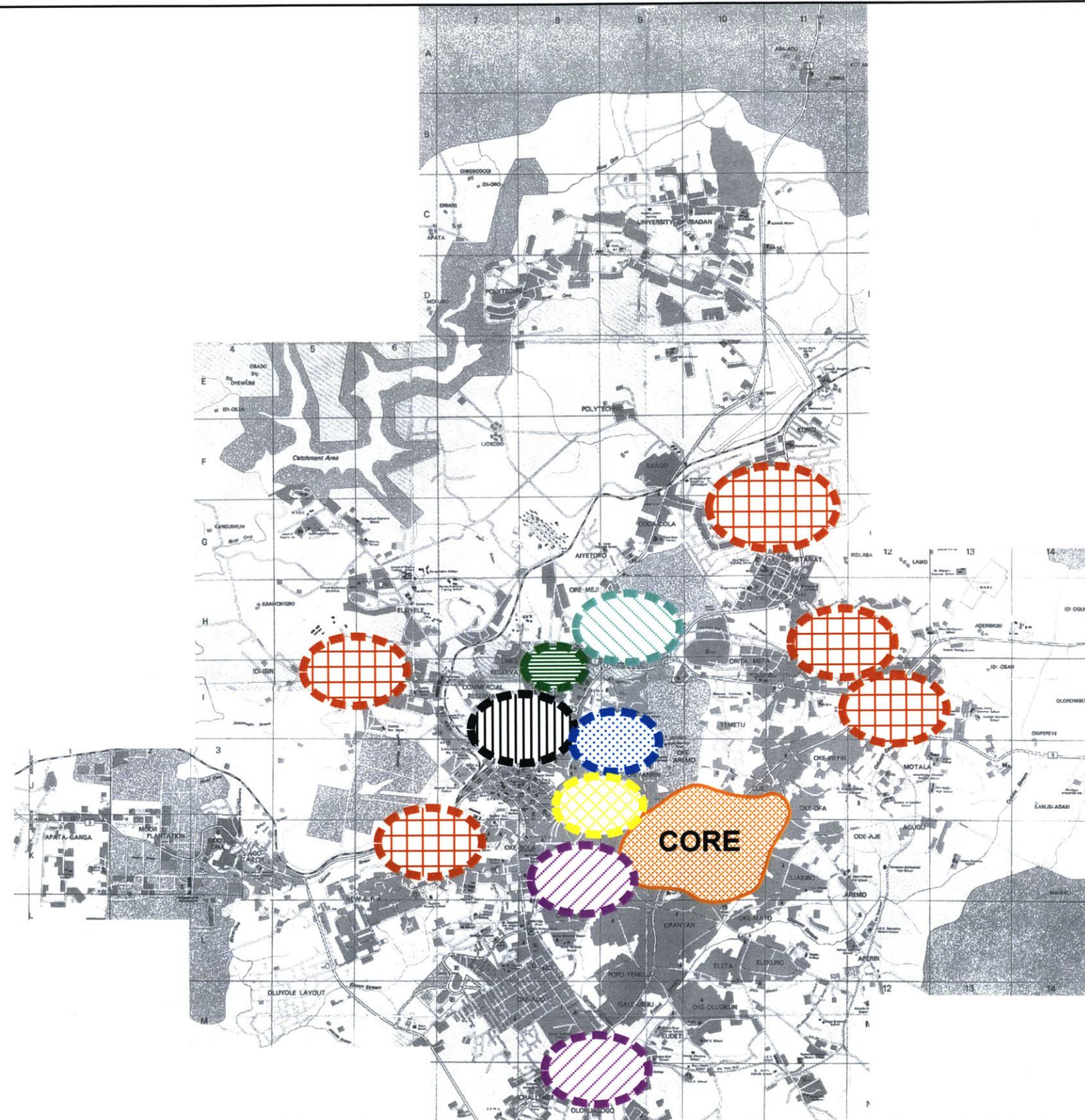
3.1-4 Ethnic Settlement Patterns

Location of Immigrants ■■

Immigrant settlement patterns in Ibadan can be plotted as if they were landuses, due to the distinct regions that ethnic groups chose to inhabit. Government officials were almost exclusively located on the periphery of the city, while other immigrant groups carefully chose their places of residence based on group agendas. Very little immigrant activity took place toward Mapo center which remains essentially an indigenous population group of the original line of founding Yorubas. The majority of the immigrant activity was centered around the commercial center of Gbagi (*Figure 28*), where merchant traders from various regions of Nigeria were attracted to improve their economic status. These distinct settlement patterns are delineated by an unusual dividing mechanism, in many cases an implicit boundary (e.g., greenways) and not physical boundary (e.g., streets and rivers) is implemented to establish zones.

Social Divides ■■

Ibadan is different from most American or western models that utilized man-made physical barriers (railroad lines, major roads, etc.) to segregate the more-affluent from the less-affluent, in that it uses green space as the dividing element between the two groups. The English government reservations (Bodija Estates, Jericho, Mokola, Ekotedo, etc.) were isolated from indigenous Yoruba areas by the use of green space that served as buffers between the two areas (*see Figure 12*). This methodology is consistent with the British concept that space is endless, and displacement from the greater community is a good thing. This Colonizing model is a great departure from Yoruba principles of urbanization that was greatly concerned with community and connectivity to the larger group.



Chapter 3:
City form analysis

Settlement patterns

-  Government Officials
-  Ijebu
-  Lagosians and Abeokuta
-  Egba, Ijesha, Ijebu
-  Hausa
-  Nupes
-  Foreign Traders *
-  Indigenous Core

* traders from Nigeria, and Europe

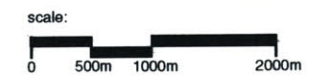


Figure 28

3.2-1 Development concepts

This section synthesizes earlier analyses and presents concepts moving toward good African city form. This section will identify Yoruba principles of urbanization, as well as British Colonizing principles that were exercised in Ibadan. These two distinct methodologies should be combined in order to find a common-ground of good city form that accommodates both agendas of the built environment.

Yoruba Urbanization Principles ■■

Traditional Yoruba towns, as discussed in earlier chapters, is based on community where frequent visits to friends and relatives are commonplace. In order to facilitate these cultural folkways, traditional towns were planned as very walkable and dense settlements that linked all parts of the community with one another. The centers of these towns were planned around a central figure (the Oba) and an adjoining open space that served as the central market for the town, as well as the nucleus of its radiating streets (*Figure 29*).

Yoruba towns had a inlaid structure of a series of markets that served various needs of its residents, but existed as a system of open spaces linked together at walkable distances. Collectively, the series of villages arranged around central markets created Yoruba towns. The pedestrian was the main user of the city, and benefitted from the communal design methodology. However, these towns were not without problems. The densities achieved in these central zones established overcrowded residential centers with inadequate systems of movement (streets).

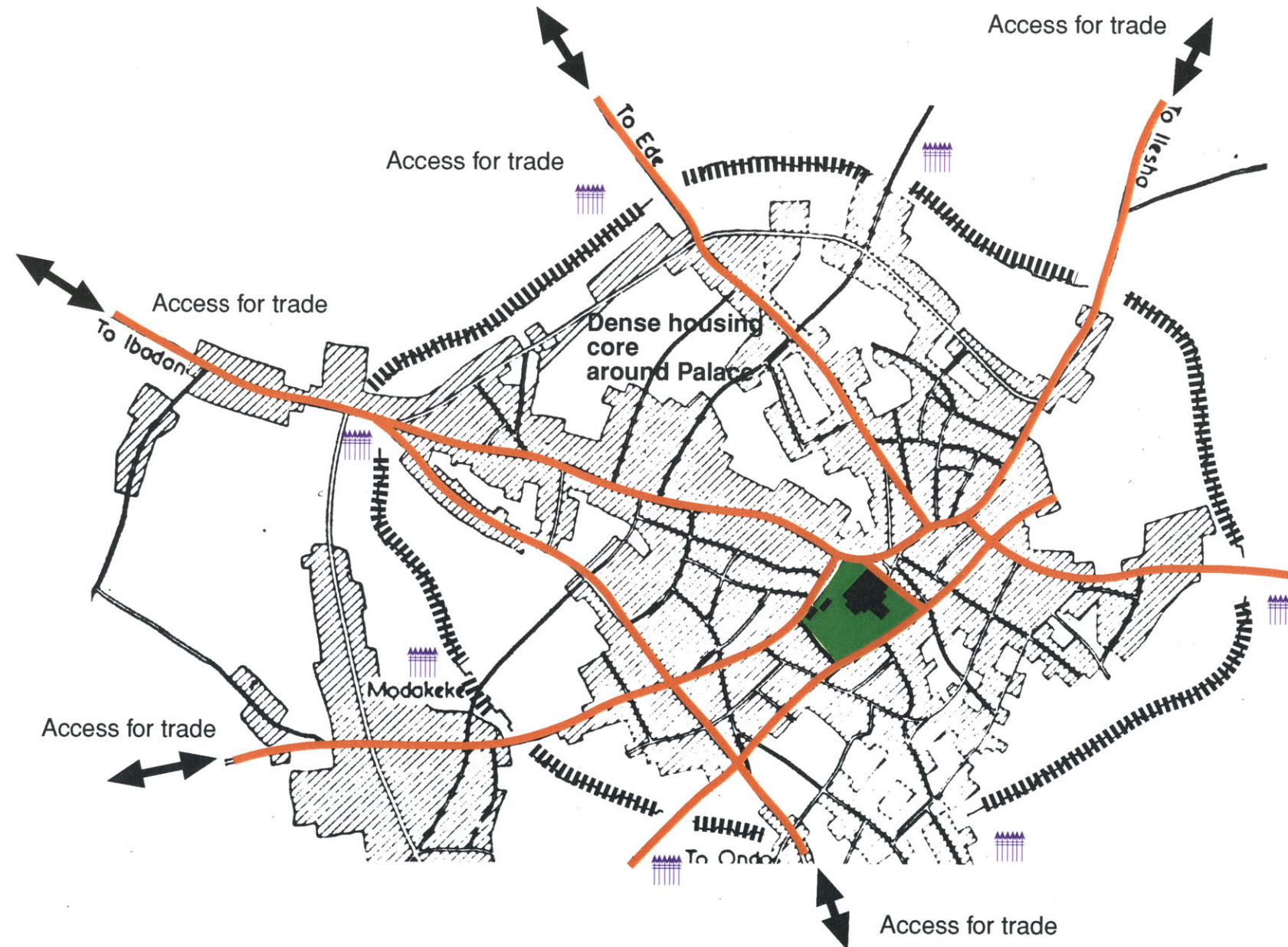
Colonizing Principles ■■

The Colonizing methods that the British employed in the conquest of Ibadan was drastically removed from the traditional Yoruba principles. The British were exclusively concerned with developing commerce, and housing its people was seemingly an aside. The creation of community was not a priority, settlements were established to house residents working in similar regions of the city for common employers.

The Planned Unit Developments (Layouts) of the 1960's in Ibadan were all centered around or near government facilities which its residents were employed they were in effect worker-housing developments (i.e., Bodija Estates, Mokola, Jericho, etc.). The sole purpose of these developments was to house people, the issues of improving the quality of life for these residents was accomplished through the development of sports stadiums and recreation fields in close proximity but separate from housing. Because residents often had access to automobiles, immediate location was not paramount, they could travel short driving distances to such facilities. This ideology had as a prerequisite, an abundance of space for development, thus creating a disjunct city form with interstitial zones of undeveloped land.

Another prominent feature of British Colonizing methods was that it was for the most part centered around a “modernizing” element (in the case of Ibadan, it was the railroad line from Lagos). This modernizing element attracted commerce (revenue) to an area, thus attracting merchants, business persons and the need for supporting educational facilities to that area. With this said, Colonization only took place after a “modernizing” intervention to provide an economic base of British employees (government or private).

Ile-Ife Town Plan*
(ca. 18th century)



Chapter 3:
City form analysis

- Yoruba Urbanization**
- Major Roads
 - Fortification
 - Oba's Palace
 - Market and Oba's Palace
 - Gates

* Graphics over base map from "Yoruba Towns," Mabogunje 1962.



Figure 29

Merging the two methodologies

These two distinct city form methodologies (Yoruba and Colonizing) can coexist, but will require compromises on both parts. Traditional Yoruba towns are an assemblage of villages (smaller parts) that collectively delineate a town (the whole), while the Colonizing model is one that based on developing isolated settlements (smaller parts with no connection) for specific purposes following a modern intervention. The focus of Yoruba towns is the communal behavior of its people, while Colonization is focused on commerce, jobs and housing workers.

These two concepts can be merged to establish good African city form by implementing the communal power of Yoruba towns and the development impetus of the Colonizing British. By expanding the modern intervention of the railroad, the city of Ibadan could be expanded into a larger collection of African villages. By lowering densities in overcrowded areas of the city and relocating those persons in new development regions, a more desirable form can be achieved without greatly altering the indigenous form.

3.2-2 *Urban expansion*

Elements of expansion ■■

The proposition of development concepts, which are ideas of affecting change in the form of Ibadan based on a planimetric study (not political or economic based), come in response to various spatial signals (open space/markets, circulation, infrastructure and public facilities) that relate to how people use cities. These urban design concepts (ways of shaping and molding cities through the manipulation of plans) are intended to be utilized as methods for pursuing future expansion opportunities, and not as development plans. These spatial signals are analyzed solely from a perspective of city form for purposes of principle, rather than on an analysis of the political or economic conditions in Ibadan. There may be slight variations when considering actual implementation strategies which may be shaped or changed by the economics or political agendas in-place in the contemporary city.

The proposed concepts for expansion are prescribed to allow for expansion without drastic changes to the demography of the city through displacement, but are encouraged through relocation alternatives. Strategic alterations of suggested routes and development areas could easily be facilitated without compromising the intent of the development concepts presented. The expansion elements (concepts of how to integrate Yoruba principles with Colonizing principles) to be outlined deal with ideas germane to equitable usage of the city and its natural and man-made resources. These elements include: relocation pockets of development, the increase of public green space to be enjoyed by all, and an alternative public transportation system to provide opportunities for all people in the city to travel far-and-wide, in effect making the city seem physically smaller.

Development Pockets ■■

By identifying areas of expansion (relocating residents to lower densities) within the city, the idea of aerating the Core would be made possible. If it is determined that there is a need to attain a more desirable density (lower) within the Core, those persons displaced could easily be relocated to adjacent high-density (8-10 Du's/Acre) pockets in close proximity to the Core. Street improvements in the form of small-scale streets (mainly pedestrian with secondary vehicular travel) would be made possible by the movement of people from the Core.

The proposed locations for development pockets were made to help maintain the demography of various areas of the city to a certain degree (*Figure 30*). In the case of the Core, provisions were made for residents that wished to remain in the vicinity of their traditional settlement area to be accommodated in adjacent areas. However, an effort should be made to provide the opportunity for others who wish to inhabit areas historically made unavailable to them, specifically in the case of the outer fringe of development and the Core. These extreme areas (In the Core more dense and community-oriented, and the outer fringe, more space-oriented and more individualistic) should be open to new inhabitants and development while maintaining their formal integrity to some degree. A merger of African and Colonial methodologies, done in a delicate manner, would theoretically provide good African city form that would incorporate the two methodologies.

Open Space Network ■■

The present open space network should be improved to make green space more accessible to residents in the Core, and to those throughout the city. At present, there are no green spaces (excluding Mapo Hall) within walking distance (10-minute walking circle of 1/2-mile diameter, or .80 km diameter) of Mapo and Gbagi. Green space in the city is predominately located toward the outskirts of the city, with the main exception being Agodi Garden which is

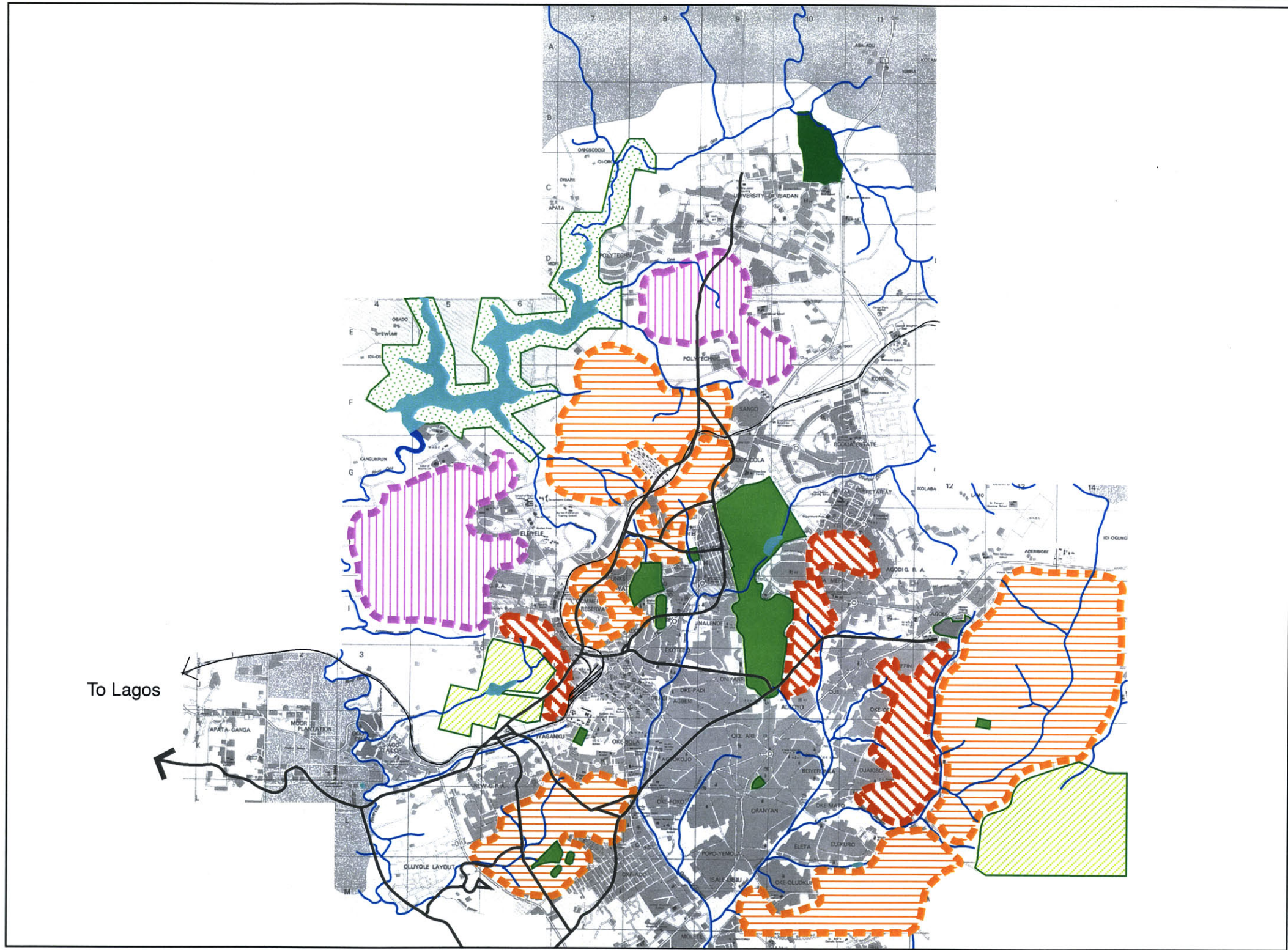
centrally located. By establishing a more coherent and extensive system of open space, the city would potentially become more walkable and appealing (*Figure 31*). This intervention would be a regression to traditional Yoruba planning methods, and would help to re-establish the city form of Ibadan as a walkable Yoruba town.

These proposed green space additions would make the majority of the city within walking-distance of green space. These outlined green spaces could be zoned for recreational use, passive recreational use (e.g., open seating areas, prayer grounds, sports fields, etc.), or markets. These development proposals would make the city more attractive (in form) as well as recapturing the Yoruba principles of communal meeting space that has been de-emphasized by the Colonizing British impetus.

Light-rail ■■









A great deal of the problems in Ibadan are related to spatial location of elements within the city, a premise that could be partially alleviated through the implementation of an alternative public transportation system. By providing an alternative method, congestion issues can be addressed, and comfortable travel could be made more-accessible. The proposed system of travel is a light-rail system that would make a greater part of the city accessible to all residents, thus bringing all resources that the city has to offer closer to all its people. The light-rail system is conceptualized as a small scale, less-intrusive transportation system than a traditional train.

A low-cost light-rail system (user fees) would hypothetically integrate disjunct facilities within the city of Ibadan. Liberty Stadium, Olubadan Stadium, the universities and the Muslim Praying Ground (to the east) would now become very accessible to everyone, and improve their usage and image in the city. The system would incorporate various station stops along the circuit to make travel more appealing and convenient. By introducing an alternative to buses and taxis, this would theoretically alleviate some traffic pressure on major streets.



Chapter 3:
City form analysis

Development pockets

-  Major Roads
-  Railroad Line
-  Rivers and Streams
-  High-density development pocket (6-8 Du's/Acre)
-  Medium-density development pocket (4-6 Du's/Acre)
-  Future development pocket
-  Scenic Resource areas*
-  Green space

* includes wooded areas and natural landscapes.

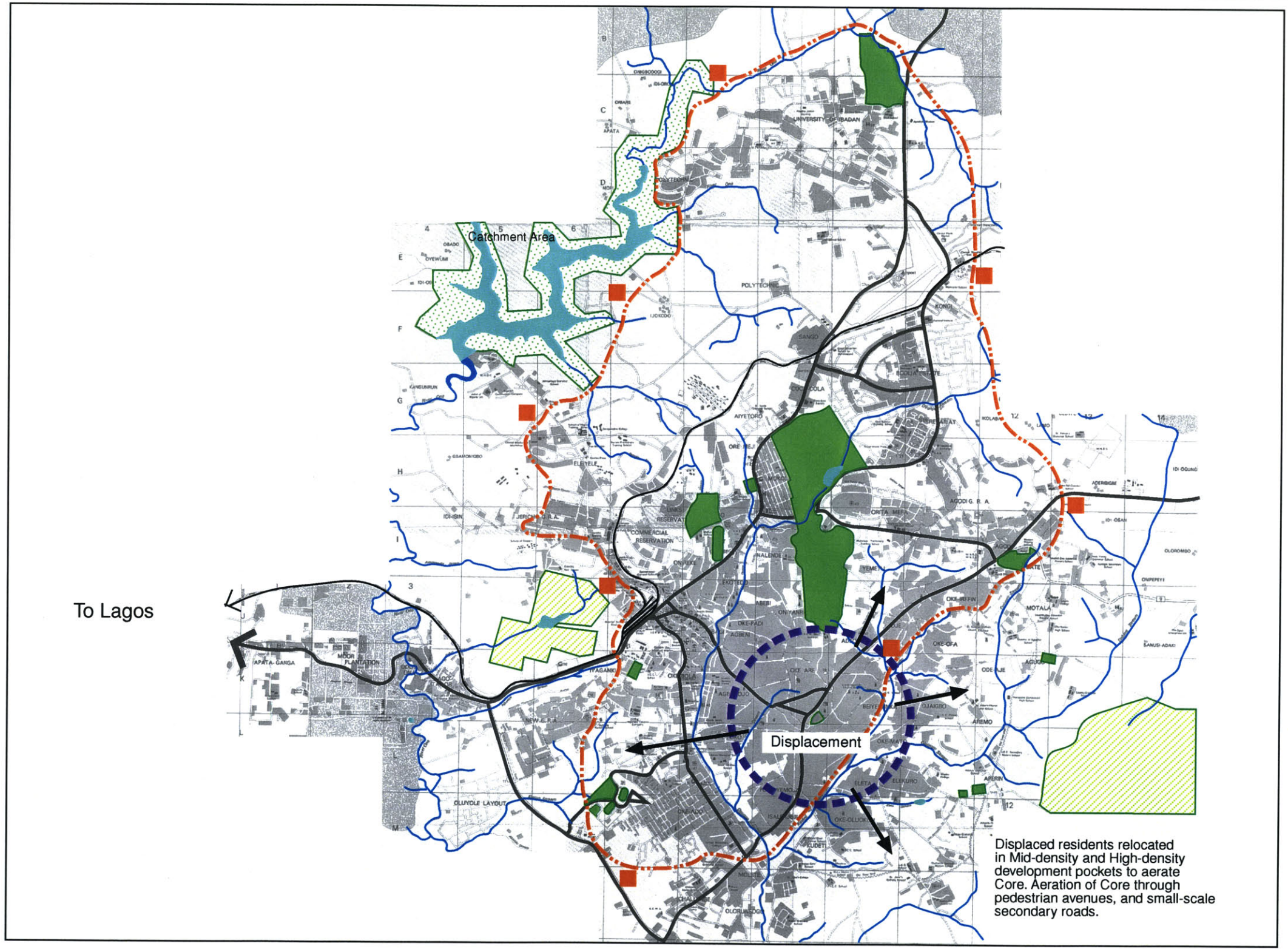


Figure 30











The implementation tool that would be best explored would be Privatization that would remove the financial burden on the government (state or local), either completely or partially depending on the terms of the competition. The light-rail system could be competed to private firms in Africa and Europe to provide solutions to the problem that would provide low user-fees and fast, efficient service to various areas of the city. The terms of the competition could be over 10-15 years, where the selected project would be subject to various performance standards and attaining ridership projections. Upon the end of the agreed term, the city would have the option of renewing the contract with the winning firm or re-competing the project for better solutions.

The government of Ibadan would retain ownership of the right-of-way of the rail line, and have regulatory rights as far as aesthetic design review, clean-air (environmental) and noise issues. The appeal to private firms would be to implement innovative products and research and gain a worldwide reputation. While the appeal to the government of Ibadan would be in its image of providing a great service to its people, as well as freeing-up money for other issues such as housing. The conceptual route outlined (*Figure 32*) is not a fixed location, and could be re-routed to identify a more efficient travel path. Any displaced residents could be relocated in the development pockets identified in *Figure 29*.



Chapter 3:
City form analysis

Infrastructure Potentials

-  Major Roads
-  Railroad line
-  Rivers and Streams
-  Proposed Light-Rail line
-  Proposed Light-Rail Stations
-  Street-Improvement Zone
-  Green space
-  Scenic Resource areas

scale:
0 500m 1000m 2000m



Figure 32

Displaced residents relocated in Mid-density and High-density development pockets to aerate Core. Aeration of Core through pedestrian avenues, and small-scale secondary roads.

4 Chapter 4: CONCLUSION



4.1 Conclusion

The intent of this thesis research is to pursue ideas of how to design cities with two conflicting methodologies, in both form and function. The example of Ibadan, Nigeria is one of conflict between the indigenous Yoruba urbanization patterns, and Colonizing British influence. The search is to identify principles of each framework and move toward integrating the two into a comprehensive development system that equally incorporates each party, taking into account positive aspects of design methods, and de-emphasizing the negatives. Theoretically, this integration would establish a model of good African city form in instances where Colonization meets with traditional methods of planning. In this case what is meant by good African city form is a city with a strong cohesive physical form that is easily used and perceived by its users.

The Case study of Ibadan is not a totally unique example, there are several cases of Colonization that have taken place in Africa that could be relevant to concepts outlined herein. The city of Lagos, Nigeria is another example of a traditional Yoruba city that was impacted by a Colonizing party, also the British. However, concepts within this document should not be interpreted as paradigmatic, as it should be understood that cities are living organisms, and each city should be analyzed individually.

Critical Issues ■■

There are several pervasive concepts that should be protected in the development of Ibadan in order to maintain its status as an example of traditional Yoruba urbanization. These principles include, village planning, and open space and market provisions. By retaining some traditional concepts of city design, the indigenous life-style has an opportunity to grow and adapt to modern times. In contrast, if traditional ways are lost and consumed by the new, there is little chance to embrace and learn from older methods of city planning.

Village Planning

The concept of village planning encompasses the idea of arranging a series of smaller villages into a comprehensive whole. It is within these smaller villages that the heart of traditional Yoruba towns is held. Planners of these African settlements were confronted with providing a communal environment that would facilitate frequent visiting of friends and relatives within the immediate area. To accommodate these cultural folkways, Yoruba cities compromised open space and broad travel routes (streets and pedestrian avenues) in favor of dense communal settlement patterns that allowed for short travel distances among its residents. This concept of “community” is at the heart of the rationale for the dense nature of city centers in traditional Yoruba towns that is evident in Ibadan (Figure 33).

Village planning

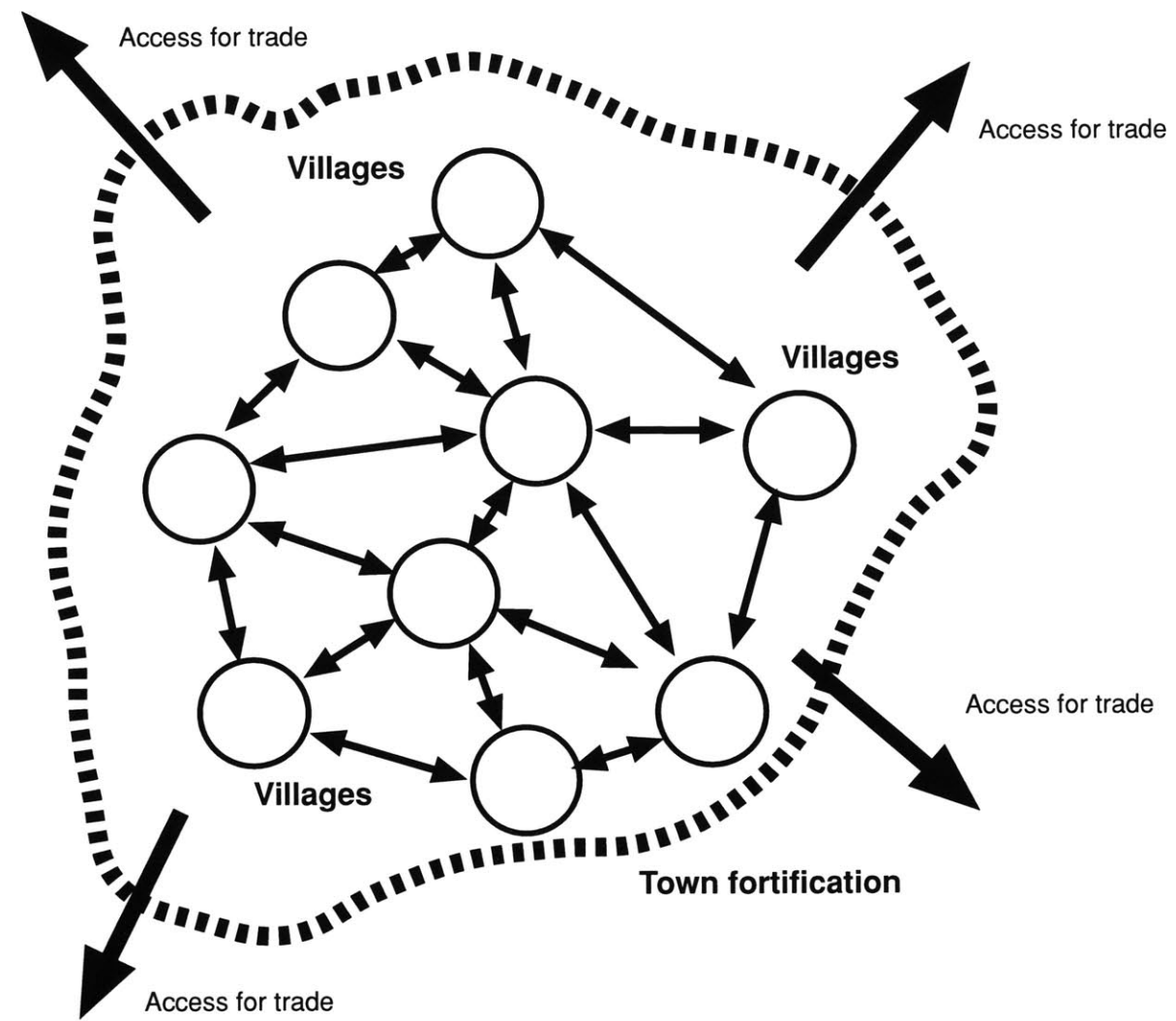


Figure 33

Social practices of the Yorubas, especially the family (immediate family and extended family), impacted the configuration of the settlement as well as the traditional dwelling unit (the Compound). In order to house the extended family, these Compounds had to be large enough to accommodate great numbers of residents in one structure. Collectively, these extended family dwelling units (the Compound) established a community of various family lines in one common settlement. This concept of cohesion is the defining element of traditional Yoruba towns, and the precise principle that differentiates it from the Colonizing methodologies of the British in Africa.

The amalgamation of villages is reflected in the special-use zones within its form. Markets located within the town, having various appeals and products partially reflective of the defining village (modern equivalent to neighborhood), create a diversity of town character and cohesion of the town itself. This is a very urban concept, that a collection of diverse things can assist in the creation of a strong collective identity, a city. The most valuable element in the success of such a principle is the cohesion of these diverse elements. If they exist in isolation and are not brought together, either in form or function, the idea of cohesion cannot be achieved and the city dies.

Open Space and Markets

Open space, in particular the market, is another strategy critical to good Yoruba city form that should be protected during Colonization. It is the at the central market (fronting the Oba's palace) that the center of Yoruba towns can be found, as well as serving as the origin point for all major roads within the town.

The market serves two major functions in Yoruba towns: Firstly, markets serve as a source of daily food supply (as refrigeration in Ibadan is not widespread), and Secondly, as a place for social interaction. Until the advent of Colonizing principles that shifted social interaction to modern clubs and formal meeting places, the market was the place for young people to meet with each other in a public arena. The internalization and formalizing (clubs) of social

contact has de-emphasized the importance of the market in the overall form of Ibadan, a departure from traditional methods. The diversity in types of markets and the surrounding context established regional character within the city as it is associated with the activity of each market. By formalizing such activity, many attributes are lost or compromised by the Colonizing practices of the British in Ibadan.

The internalized nature of social interaction (indoor) introduced by the British can eliminate the rich tradition of social movement pockets (open-air markets) within the city, and replace them with a system of mechanized conduits of movement to various destinations. By removing social contact points within the physical environment, richness of history and cultural tradition can be diminished by a point-A-to-point-B type of circulation.

Colonizing Ibadan ■■

The British design principles in Ibadan have proven to be primarily concerned with housing workers in isolation of city amenities and indigenous populations (*Figure 34*). These bedroom-communities by the British are in stark contrast with traditional Yoruba urbanization patterns, a formal tension that has been identified in previous chapters. However, these modernizing tactics used by the British had some positive effects on Ibadan in the form of raising housing standards (for new developments), and implementing modernizing elements (roads and the railroad) that brought greater commerce to the region (Gbagi).

Modern layouts

In contrast to the communal atmosphere of traditional Yoruba urbanization, the Colonial pattern established

Colonizing pattern

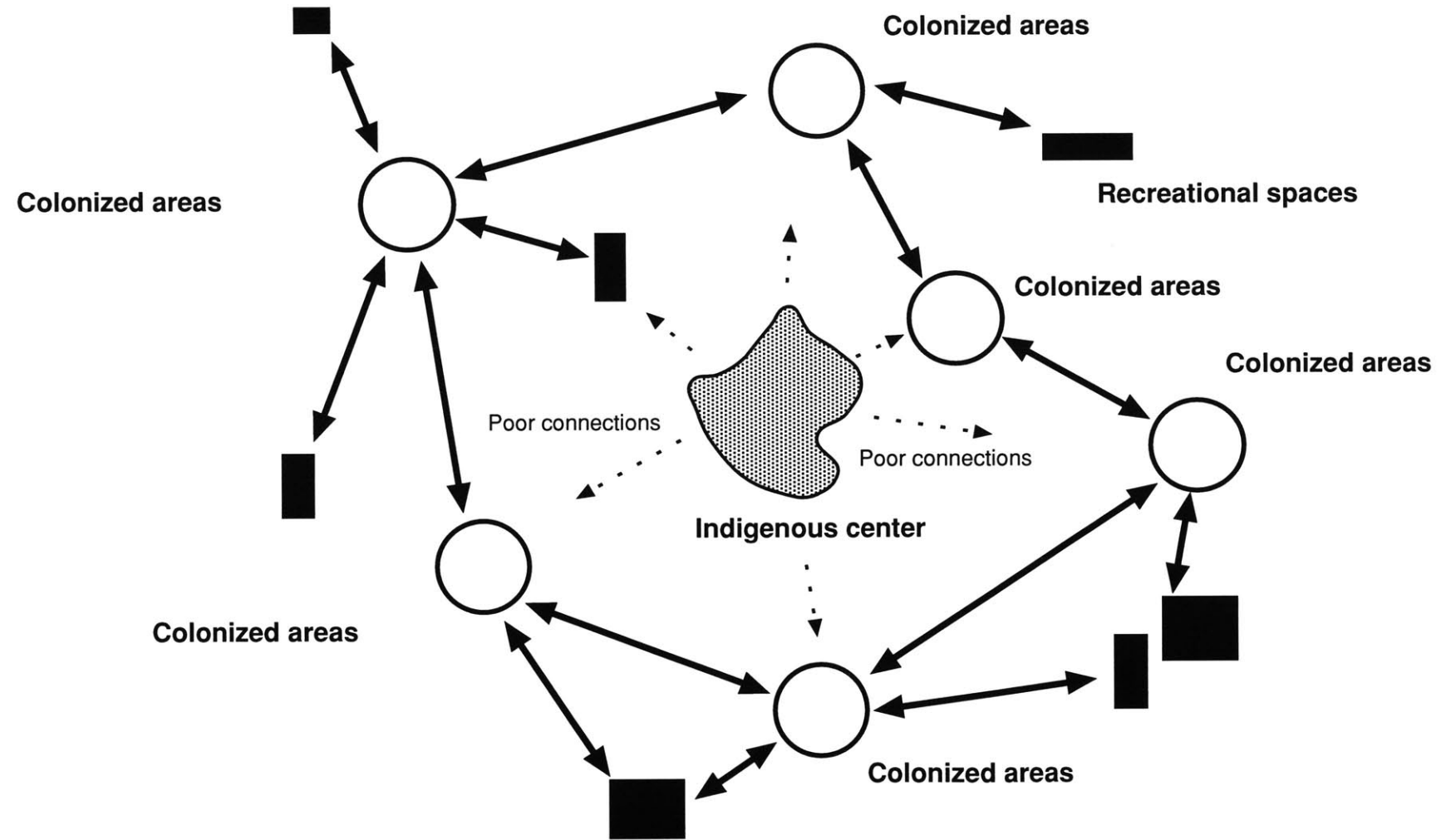


Figure 34

housing pockets in close proximity to the workplace, and placed little emphasis on social interaction. Interactive space was provided off-site in formal settings (i.e., officer's clubs, recreational clubs, and the like), and residents were assumed to have transportation to patronize such places. Spatial distribution was of little concern since the automobile could eliminate such inconveniences. The dislocation of social space in the British model makes the assumption that prospective users have the means to arrive at designed social space at widespread locations. This is an assumption that at times can remove lower-income residents from the potential user group, and in essence zoning user groups.

Educational facilities and recreation

The British have had a great influence on the provision of education facilities in the city, through the introduction of formal schools on all levels, as well as providing recreational spaces to accommodate large sporting events. These elements had a great impact on the quality of life for the residents of Ibadan. The spatial distribution of these elements is the issue that is in question, not the introduction of such space.

Integration ■■

Integrating traditional Yoruba principles and Colonial methods utilized by the British in Ibadan, a communal city with modern amenities could be achieved. Good African city form in this case would have the communal attributes of a traditional Yoruba town, and have commerce-generating attributes of the Colonizing British. With the proposals in the previous chapter, there is a framework in which to affect change that would enhance both schools of thought. No one methodology should achieve prominence over the other in light of establishing good African city form, there should be an achievable median.

By introducing more communal space into the city, and making resources more accessible to all residents of

the city, the physical form of the city would be more attractive and cohesive (*Figure 35*). This concept would be made possible through the use of traditional Yoruba principles of community (the village) and the Colonial concept of the modernization (rail system, better housing standards). The cohesion of the two methodologies is imperative in the generation of a strong urban vernacular.

Urban Lessons ■■

The objective of this thesis research is to tell the urban story of an African city that was confronted with British Colonization, and the formal struggles associated with meshing two forms of city design. These urban lessons can be applied to similar conditions in Africa or any urban condition with such conflicts in methodology. Although this study has very strong cultural connections, extraction principles can be applied to external conditions making this study relevant beyond African conditions. Urbanization can theoretically transcend all cultures.

Positive attributes of one string of urban DNA can be intertwined with positive attributes of a foreign string of urban DNA to achieve an attractive and well-functioning urban centers. This is the intent of the investigation, to explore methods to affect change by incorporating different methods of city-design, and establish good city form... neither *black* nor *white* but working (references to color relationships and the perceptions of right and wrong).

Integration

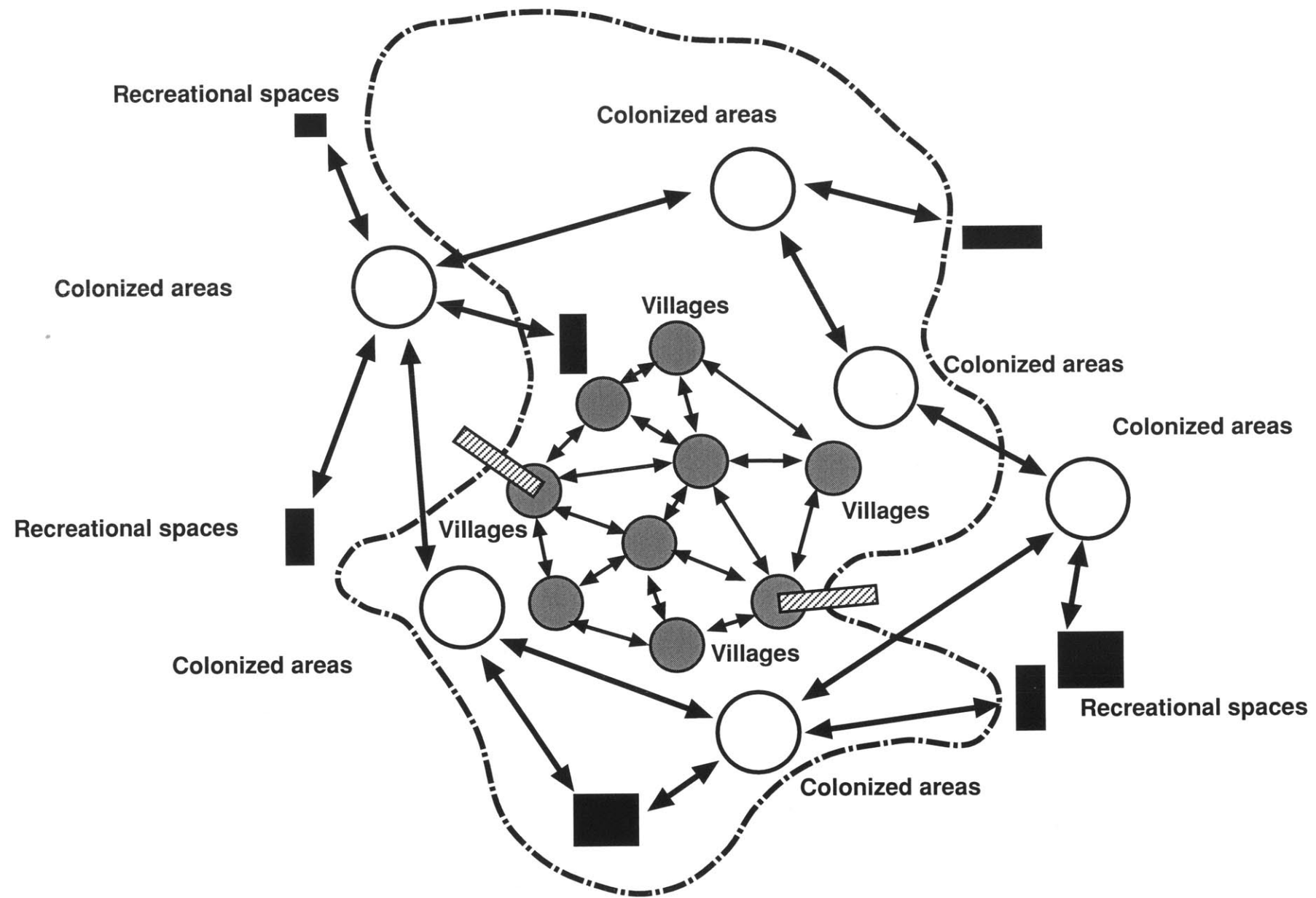


Figure 35

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