MODULE 1

UNIT 1 PRINCIPLES, AIMS AND SCOPE OF URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In regional studies, settlements are studied not just individually but in relation to one another with regards to their location characteristics. Within this context are two elements: distribution and pattern. Distribution implies the nature of the spatial spread of settlements across the area or region of study. The settlement pattern of any spatial system refers to the character of the settlements themselves which provides the framework for classifying the whole system into types (rural and urban).

A settlement, simply put, is any point or place on the earth's surface inhabited by man with dwellings in them. There are several units of settlement with considerable number of varieties in their spatial settings. Each of these units, which range from isolated farmstead through hamlet, village, town, city and metropolis to megalopolis is unique and has a personality of its own. This ranking according to settlement size is generally acknowledged by a large number of scholars in the field but terminology presents a problem. There is, for instance, no exact definition of a village compared with a town, or of a hamlet compared with a village, and the significance of the word "city" varies from one country to another.

2.0 A: OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define and explain the concepts of urbanisation and urbanism;
- classify settlements into rural and urban communities;
- mention the major factors that led to the development of urbanisation in Nigeria; and
- trace the historical origin of urban life in Nigeria.

2.0 B: HOW TO STUDY THIS UNIT

1. You are expected to read carefully through this unit twice before attempting to answer the activity questions. Do not look at the solution or guides provided at the end of the unit until you are satisfied that you have done your best to get all the answers.
2. Share your difficulties in understanding the unit with your mates, facilitators and by consulting other relevant materials or the internet.
3. Ensure that you only check correct answers to the activities as a way of confirming what you have done.
4. Note that if you follow these instructions strictly, you will feel fulfilled at the end that you have achieved your aim and could stimulate you to do more.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Classification of Settlements

The terms “rural” and “urban” lack precision but are useful since they attempt to recognise and distinguish both the physical and human characteristics of man-made structures. Johnson (1980) remarks that in spite of lack of precision, there are many differences between the two classes of settlements: a rural area has less population than an urban centre; while human activities in rural areas are largely oriented towards primary production, they are largely secondary and tertiary in urban areas. However, Johnson maintains that there are some rural areas with diverse characteristics. Some rural areas may contain more people than some urban centres. On a general note, farms, hamlets, and villages are considered as rural settlements while towns, cities, metropolis and megalopolis are classed as urban centres (Oyeleye, 2001). In the advanced countries, a rural area may serve as residential unit for retired persons and they could contain services that are lacking in some urban centres in the developing countries.

Urban phenomenon varies greatly from one geographical region to another, and through time from one era to another. The term ‘urban’ is

often used interchangeably with city and there is no international agreement on their definitions. Many attempts have been made at defining urban centres by several scholars: Yussuff (1974), Johnson (1980), Andah (1988), and Abiodun and Salau (1993) attempted to define urban centres using socio-economic parameters. Atanda (1980), and Layard and Nickell (1980) employed cultural activities in their attempts to describe urban centres. Other scholars like Buck and Atkins (1976); McGee and Das (1983), Harrison (1994) used the easily observable geographical features like the extent of built-up area or population. All these attempts failed; each arrived at different definitions owing to prevailing differences in their focus of study.

National censuses using a minimum size of population to distinguish between rural and urban settlements have also been employed with disastrous results. In some cases, size may be combined explicitly with population density and employment characteristics. The size criterion is disregarded in some countries, especially, when it does not seem to be of importance in local contexts. United Nations (2003) pointed out that population size adopted for classifying settlements varies greatly from one country to another. Population considered large enough for qualifying a settlement to be classed as an urban centre in one country may be regarded as too high or too low in another. In Denmark, for example, settlements with more than 200 have been taken as a critical point; in USA the figure is 2,500; in Ghana it is 5,000 and in Greece, Spain and Switzerland it is 10,000. National Population of Nigeria, cited in Oyeleye (2001), defines an urban centre in the country as any settlement with at least 20,000 people. Reason given for the adoption of this figure was that only a population of that size can utilise at optimum level, such essential services as higher institutions, hospitals, police stations, banks, secondary schools, telecommunication services and supermarkets or chain stores country.

A number of other attempts at delineating urban areas have also been made through political activities (administrative power and political setup), and industrial activities. Other attempts, still, have employed such socio-economic characteristics as availability of social facilities, quality and quantity of buildings, street and building layouts, economic and commercial activities, higher educational institutions, and employment level. Clearly, all these attempts only nibble at the edge of the problem and dodge the difficulty of what are distinctively ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ settlements.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Discuss any two familiar methods for classifying settlements.
2. Explain why there are differences in the concept

3.2 Urbanisation and Urbanism

The term, urbanization is used loosely to describe the process of expanding urban influence, but it is much more difficult to give it a precise meaning. The most commonly used measure for urbanisation is the proportion of the total population of an area (usually a nation state) that lives in urban areas as defined by the census. Urbanisation, when defined in this way, can involve various types of geographical conditions. For example, although one thinks of areas with high levels of urbanisation as having very large dominant cities, one quite modest city in a small state with a limited rural population can produce a high level of urbanisation. The basic difficulty here is the scale of analysis. The total population of individual countries varies greatly; with the result that urbanisation measured in this way is often assessed at a large number of different levels of generalisation.

When one speaks of urbanisation, there is also the implication of urban growth. This is somewhat different from the proportion of the total population, which lives in urban areas. However, it is statistically possible for the urban population to expand without any increase in urbanisation, as it is usually measured. This occurs when the rural population is increasing at a similar rate to the urban population. Because of these complications, urbanisation will simply be taken to mean the absolute growth of population living in geographically defined urban areas, although even here there are problems in interpretation since, in addition to the various meanings of ‘urbanisation’, there is also difficulties in defining urban areas in order to analyse their populations.

The urban population is so important because of its large total size and because of its high density. These aspects of urban population make social contact much easier among a large number of individuals with varied backgrounds, and with people meeting in their residential neighbourhoods, as well as at their various places of work and of recreation. Thus, in defining urbanisation, there should be consideration for the process by which the population adopts distinctive social attitudes and organisation associated with city life. This process is known as ‘urbanism’. In the modern world, because of the flexibility of transportation, urbanism is not merely associated with people living in geographically defined cities. People can live in the countryside and make their livings in the urban areas; in the same way, rural dwellers can seek employment without moving from their farms. The ideas and attitudes of the city are widely diffused through the electronic media such as radio, television and the internet.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Explain the meanings of the concepts 'urbanisation' and 'urbanism'.
2. Describe the major measures of urbanisation.
3. In what ways is urbanisation different from urbanism?

3.3 Trends of Urbanisation in Nigeria

Andah (1988) traced the evolution of urban centres in Nigeria to the pre-colonial times. The urban centres, according to him, evolved as a result of marketing activities or intense rituals. Some of the cities enlarged as collecting centres for wandering immigrants who used their favourable locations as spiritual or cultural basis for subsequent territorial expansion. Other towns and cities began their initial growth because they lay at the crossroads of commercial exchange. Mabogunje (1962; 1968) identified two contrasting levels of urbanisation in Nigeria, and which continue to exist side by side in the country. While one is the traditional medieval or the pre-industrial urbanisation, the other is the modern, advanced or industrial urbanisation. In the first category, the major contributing factors identified by Mabogunje corroborated by Ajaegbu (1976) include cultural influence, development of trading and commercial activities, political stability (especially in the northern part), migration and inter-state rivalries (in the southwest), and the introduction of transport nodes by the colonial administration.

Oyeleye (2001) dates the development of urban centres in Nigeria back to the Medieval times. He noted that extensive urban development was, however, "a feature of more recent past and the present century" (Oyeleye, 2001, p. 222). He linked the development of urban centres in the northern part of the country to the origin and decay of the Sudanese empires like Ghana, Mali and Songhai in the 19th century. There was a very good interconnection between these regions through Trans-Sahara trade. Oyeleye opined that the growth of the seven Hausa Bokwoi states of Kano, Zazzau (now Zaria), Gobir, Katsina, Rano, Biram and Daura could be as a result of this kind of background. Other northern states that are likely to be connected with this historical background are Zamfara, Yauri, Gwari and Nupe. Secondly, these settlements were trading centres. They formed focal points for the organisation of trading activities within the states on one hand, and between them and North Africa, on the other hand. Another factor that encouraged urban development in the northern part of Nigeria is the introduction of Islamic religion. As religious centres, the cities became seat of learned Islamic scholars from where religious doctrines, cultures, and laws were imparted throughout the large section of northern Nigeria. Many of these cities grew to fairly large sizes to become administrative capitals.

Maiduguri and Potiskum are the only two cities that survived in the old Kanem-Bornu Empire.

In south-western Nigeria, Mabogunje (1968) traced the growth and development of Yoruba towns to the pre-colonial era in the 18th century. Penetration of British into the country in the middle of 19th century further accelerated the development processes. Yoruba kingdom was just one of the many states or empires in Africa south of Sahara before the scramble for and partition of Africa. The Yorubas were said to have migrated into their present location in the southwestern part of Nigeria from the Far East. The leader of the migrants was Oduduwa whose grandsons founded the cities and Kingdoms of Ila-Orangun, Ketu, Owu, Popo, Sabe, Benin and Oyo. Oyeleye (2001) remarks that it is safe to conclude that these Yoruba towns were established as administrative centres.

Yorubas are great farmers and traders. Atanda (1980) remarked that, "from the dawn of their history to 1800 and after, the primary basis of economic development of the Yoruba people was agriculture. This was a logical development from several factors including the geographical location of their country" Atanda (1980, p.24). Asides farming and trading, Atanda observed further, "simple industries like iron mining and smelting, clothing: narrow loom produced by men about six inches wide and the wide one by women……" Atanda, (1980, p. 24). In effect of these great applications of human efforts, there were surpluses enough to facilitate even inter-kingdom trades. Market centres were organised on some basis of periodicity that showed, distinctively, whether a market centre was a provincial, inter-kingdom or long distance trade terminals. Provincial markets were aimed at providing the requirements of people from other kingdoms and facilitating close inter-kingdom interactions. The inter-kingdom markets were held in every eight days. Apomu, for instance, served Owu, Oyo, Ife and Ijebu kingdoms. Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode served as terminals for long distance routes both from other Yoruba cities and from outside Yoruba land. It is essential to recall that journeys and trading activities during the periods under consideration were carried-out on foot and animals as modes of transportation. Such distances that could be traversed in just one or two days separated the markets. The outbreak of civil wars towards the end of 18th and the beginning of 19th centuries resulted in the dispersal of Yoruba towns to various directions. This laid the foundation for the emergence of numerous urban centres found in the region today. Afolabi (1966) asserts, "……the flowers of the Yoruba settlements are their remarkable urban centres, unparalleled anywhere else in Tropical Africa" (p. 104).

Nigeria is one of the very few developing nations which had many pre-industrial cities before the colonial era. Most of these cities were found

in the south-western region, which is by far the most urbanised area of its size in sub-Sahara Africa (NISER, 1997).

There are many important factors which could explain the well-established pre-colonial urbanisation in the Yoruba-speaking region of south-western Nigeria. One was the existence of coastal environment and water front that gave room for water transportation (the most effective and leading transportation system before 19th century). In addition, there were series of interethnic wars among the various sects within the large Yoruba Empire (this forced the peasants to seek for refuge in the walled cities). The gregarious nature of the Yorubas accounted for the rapid development of most of the settlements within their territory. Six out of the thirty-six towns in the south-western region had populations of more than 40,000 people each by the mid 19th century. Laurent (2003) observes that most of the Yoruba settlements emerged because of the disappearance of the old Oyo and Owu empires, which resulted from the intra-Yoruba war (1825-1893) and the military Jihad originating from Sokoto sultanate. Ibadan, the largest of all the Yoruba settlements, was established in 1829 simply as a war camp for warriors coming from Oyo, Ife and Ijebu. The existence of thick forest and several ranges of hills, which offered strategic defence opportunities made the location attractive to warriors and peasants who were seeking refuge. Consequently, its location at the fringe of the forest promoted its emergence as a marketing centre for traders and goods from both the grassland and forest areas.

The pattern of urban emergence and development was changed by the administrative structure initiated by the colonial government at the outset of 20th century (Laurent, 2003). This led to the appearance of some new towns as administrative headquarters (e.g. Kaduna, and Nsukka) and some others as industrial settlements (such as Jos and Enugu). The construction of railway network and stations also reinforced the positions of a few towns such as Ibadan, Ilorin and Osogbo.

Migration from the rural areas to urban centres is a common livelihood activity. Although young males are the predominant category of rural-urban migrants, young females are increasingly joining this movement to take advantage of greater educational and occupational opportunities in the cities. Spurred by the oil boom prosperity of the 1970s and the massive improvements in roads and the availability of vehicles, Nigeria since independence has become an increasingly urbanised and urban-oriented society. Estimates of urban dwellers reveal this shift: in 1952, 11% of the total population was classified as urban; this figure had grown to 28% by 1985 and to 46% by 2002.

It is not only the increase in urban population that has been dramatic but also the geographical spread has been spectacular in recent times. It is estimated that in 2002, some 18 cities had a population of more than 500,000. The 1991 population census indicated that about 359 settlements have at least 20,000 people. Estimates for the year 2000 put the figure at more than 450. Thus, unlike most African countries where one or two cities dominate the urban network, almost all corners of the Nigerian land space have large centres of human agglomeration.

Upon all, Laurent (2003) rates urbanisation process in Nigeria as very slow. According to him, less than seven per cent of Nigerians lived in urban centres (here, urban centre is defined as any settlement that has population of 20,000 or above) by 1931. The proportion rose to ten per cent in 1952, 19.2 per cent in 1963 and 42 per cent in 1991. In the year 2005, it was published in Microsoft Encarta that only 45 per cent of Nigerian population lived in cities with 100 per cent urban population increase between 1970 and 1996.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Trace the historical origin of urban life in Nigeria.
2. Attempt a comparative analysis of urban development between the northern and south-western parts of Nigeria.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The seed of modern urbanisation in Nigeria was sown by the colonial administrators through improved economic and commercial activities, development of transport networks and other social facilities, industrialisation, development of educational and health institutions, regionalization of government functions, and expansion of administrative power. Activities of the colonial government gave rise to the growth and development of many urban centres in Nigeria at varying degrees between the two broad regions of the country, been more rapid in the southern part of Nigeria (specifically, the southwest) than the north largely because of the earlier contact of the former with the outside world. The British also capitalised on the available natural resources in their development efforts. In this manner, cities like Enugu and Jos received attention of the colonial government. Agricultural areas like Zaria, Jebba and the whole lot of the forest region were sufficiently provided for in their development plans.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have learnt that:

- settlements can be classified into two broad classes - rural and urban centres;
- an urban centre in Nigeria is any settlement with at least 20,000 people;
- evolution of urbanisation in Nigeria dates back to the pre-colonial times;
- urban population is important in describing the process of urbanization. Urbanisation was promoted in Nigeria through the existence of coastal environment and water fronts, results of marketing, trading activities, and religious activities, rise and fall of Empires and Kingdoms, and the introduction of transport nodes by the colonial government.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Assess the influence of colonisation on the development of urban centres in Nigeria.

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UNIT 2 RURAL-URBAN SYNERGIES

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In a regional setting, there could be some remote rural communities as well as large, densely populated urban centres, and a wide range of areas in between. Both highly affluent and severely deprived communities could be found in both rural and urban areas throughout a region. All settlements in a spatial setting could be ranked according to their size and, or, shape to result in 'settlement hierarchy'. The hierarchy, which is usually broad-based, indicates that the number of services that a settlement provides increases with settlement size.

Settlements in a defined region could be related to one another through the functions they perform, socio-cultural and economic links or through a continuous territorial expansion. The major city in the area can be regarded as a connecting node; not only between itself and the surrounding tributary areas but also between it and other cities at great distances. All settlements, regardless of its hierarchy (whether central place or periphery), are expected to be interdependent in terms of their social and economic needs. In other words, rural and urban communities should affect each other in various ways, through flows and exchange of people, goods, services and information.

Linkages and interactions among settlements play critical roles in the livelihood strategies of the poorest groups, both rural and urban. Low income rural dwellers often rely on urban-based non-farm jobs, and remittances from migrant relatives. Also, low income urban dwellers usually rely on seasonal farm jobs, and on the help of rural relatives. The interaction can also have significant impacts on natural resource use and management, especially in the peri-urban interface.

However, in reality while the rural areas perform their primary function to the main settlement (the major city) by providing it with surplus agricultural products, the main centre has been found to offer more central functions even to higher-order towns. Most of these linkages and interactions are usually neglected by governments (of various tiers) in their development policies. Thus, the intra-regional linkages continue to revolve around few urban centres at the expense of the immediate rural areas.

2.0 A: OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- highlight the various forms of interactions between rural and urban settlements;
- distinguish between rural and urban functions; and
- explain the lopsided nature of the distribution of spatial processes and spatial structures.

2.0 B: HOW TO STUDY THIS UNIT

1. You are expected to read carefully through this unit twice before attempting to answer the activity questions. Do not look at the solution or guides provided at the end of the unit until you are satisfied that you have done your best to get all the answers.
2. Share your difficulties in understanding the unit with your mates, facilitators and by consulting other relevant materials or the internet.
3. Ensure that you only check correct answers to the activities as a way of confirming what you have done.
4. Note that if you follow these instructions strictly, you will feel fulfilled at the end that you have achieved your aim and could stimulate you to do more.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Rural-Urban Interactions

Definitions based on a sharp distinction between urban and rural settlements often assume that the livelihoods of their inhabitants can be equally reduced to two main categories: agriculture based in rural areas, and a reliance on manufacture and services in urban centres. However, recent research has shown that the number of urban households engaging in agriculture and that of rural households whose income is derived from non-farm activities is far higher than usually thought (Abramovay & Sachs, 1996; Bhooshan, 1986; Bryceson & Jamal, 1997; Misra, 1986; Saint & Goldsmith, 1980). These sectoral interactions can

also have a spatial dimension. For example, when one or some of their members migrate but, (as is often the case) retain strong links with their relatives in rural home areas, households can be defined as multi-spatial, combining farm and non-farm activities and rural and urban residence. Even where activities can be described as either rural or urban and are spatially separated, there is a continued and varied exchange of resources. Urban centres may provide markets as well as social and producer services for the rural population whereas, for many urban individuals, access to rural land or produce through family or reciprocal relationships can be crucial.

The policy implications of sectoral interactions are particularly important. For example, rural development programmes have traditionally tended to increase agricultural production but have rarely included non-farm activities such as the processing of raw agricultural materials and the manufacturing of agricultural equipment, tools and inputs, and this has resulted in the marginalisation of some groups in rural areas. Similarly, urban housing strategies for low-income groups tend to neglect their need to diversify their incomes or produce foodstuff for household consumption (for example, through urban agriculture) and maintain and/or expand their social networks with rural areas (for example, by hosting newly arrived migrants in their homes) which can be restricted by narrow controls over settlement and land use in public housing projects (Chase, 1997). Straddling the rural-urban divide is, in some cases and for some groups, an important part of survival strategies. Policies which neglect this may increase their poverty and vulnerability.

In the early 1950s, development was conceptualised in terms of national economies taking off through the increase in the size of domestic markets and the creation of inducements to invest. In this way, the modern sector would progressively encroach upon the traditional sector, and the money economy upon subsistence or near subsistence. This dualistic construction based essentially upon Nurske's (1953) and Lewis' (1954) models have pervaded economists' and donors' views for several decades. Part and parcel of the modernisation process were industrialisation and urbanisation. Lewis (1954) assumed that in densely populated rural settlements in the Third World, marginal productivity would be minimal. Therefore, the transfer of labour from rural agriculture to urban industry could occur without declines in agricultural productivity. Indeed, until the mid-1960s, rural to urban migration was perceived as a positive process and several studies focused on the implications of permanent settlement of workers and their families in urban areas. However, by the end of the decade, it became clear that job creation in the manufacturing sector was much lower than expected and could not absorb the fast-growing urban populations. Concern with over-urbanisation translated into policies attempting to curtail labour migration to the cities.

Many of the rural-urban flows of people, goods and wastes are most intense and varied between the built-up area of towns and cities and the peri-urban areas that surround them. For instance, most of the rural dwellers that regularly travel to particular cities (including those who commute daily) will live close to the city although cheap and efficient transport systems may help widen the area from which many people commute. In many cities, an increasing proportion of the population lives in peri-urban areas still officially designated as rural as new housing developments spill over the official urban boundary. Land markets and land uses in many rural areas around cities also become increasingly influenced by real-estate developments. Intensive land development, sub-division and sale may take place although with little building construction as many urban residents make speculative purchases in anticipation of increases in land value linked to urban expansion. The extent of such rural developments is much influenced by the way each city's boundary has been defined - and where city or metropolitan boundaries encompass city regions, most such developments may still be within the urban boundary.

One of the greatest flows of goods from peri-urban to urban areas are the heavy, bulky, low-value building materials such as stone, clay, aggregate and landfill, drawn from the city's immediate surroundings. Most cities draw heavily on their surrounding region for freshwater resources and reservoirs and water-treatment plants may be concentrated there. Most urban wastes also end up in the region surrounding the city, for example, solid wastes disposed of on peri-urban land sites and liquid wastes either piped or finding their way through run-off into rivers, lakes or other water bodies close by (Hardoy *et al*., 1992). New enterprises selling goods or services to city populations or relying on urban labour markets and services but which do not need to be within the built-up area may also settle in the rural region. Leisure activities, many of them geared mainly to urban middle and upper-income groups (for example golf courses, country clubs, sports grounds, services for tourists) may also become an important part of economic activities and employment patterns within certain peri-urban areas still classified as rural. This large and often growing influence of cities on land ownership and use, economic activities and labour markets in the rural areas around them obviously has significant influences on agricultural production and on the livelihoods of those who live in these areas.

3.2 Rural-Urban Differences

Notwithstanding the enormous poverty that exists in many Third World cities, the populations of the rural areas appear to be far more deprived. Interestingly, even the poorest amongst the urban dwellers, specifically the in-migrants from the rural areas, believe that they are better off than they had been in the rural areas. Interregional comparisons in standards

of livings are, of course notoriously difficult, but the gap between urban and rural is even greater when we consider the distribution of public utilities and amenities of various kinds. The urban areas, especially the large cities usually offer pipe water, electricity, even subsidised housing in some instances and superior health and education services.

Observations of these kinds raise important policy questions: should rural-urban migration be encouraged; should such migration streams be diverted away from the burgeoning metropolitan areas towards intermediate and lower-order cities; should measure be taken to control the growth of the big city and so on. However, these are relatively simplistic polices by themselves will do very little to solve the basic problems; they can make an important contribution, however, to more fundamental government initiatives designed to reallocate national assets and redistribute resources so as to meet national development goals as a more equal income distribution, and lower unemployment levels.

To date, most development theory and practice have focused on either "urban" or "rural" issues with little consideration of the interrelations between the two. By contrast, several empirical studies show that the linkages between urban centres and the countryside, including movement of people, goods, capital and other social transactions, play an important role in processes of rural and urban change. Within the economic sphere, many urban enterprises rely on demand from rural consumers, and access to urban markets and services is often crucial for agricultural producers. In addition, a large number of households in both urban and rural areas rely on the combination of agricultural and non-agricultural income sources for their livelihoods. This unit discusses rural-urban interactions, with particular attention to the ways in which they have been affected by recent and current economic, social and cultural transformations.

3.3 Urban Bias

Much of the development debate of the last 40 years has centred on the changing relationship between agriculture and industry and on the "correct" allocation of investment between the two sectors. Policies aiming at economic growth traditionally followed one of two different approaches. The first favours investment in the agricultural sector, which can then provide the necessary surplus for industrial and urban development, whereas the second approach argues that industrial and urban growth are pre-requisites for a more modern and productive agricultural sector. The relative influence of these theoretical positions has changed over time.

In this context, Lipton' (1977) notion of urban bias made an important and provocative contribution to the discussion. In his view, the rural poor are dominated and exploited by powerful urban interests. The most important class conflict in the Third World is that between the rural classes and the urban classes, since "...the rural sector contains most of the poverty and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organisation and power" (1977:13). Lipton's argument was subject to intense criticism, mainly on the grounds of his conceptualisation of undifferentiated urban and rural societies which does not take into account the existence of urban poor and rural rich (Corbridge, 1982). On a descriptive and empirical level, Lipton provided a useful account of the relative flows of surpluses between rural and urban areas. However, the conflation of people with places makes it difficult to explain why these flows occur (Unwin, 1989). Bates (1981) extended the criticism of urban elites in his analysis of the role of African bureaucracies which, in the name of industrialisation, were seen as over controlling their economies, skewing incentives and infrastructural investment towards urban areas and, generally, undermining the real material base of African economies, that is, agricultural production. More recently, the attack on rent-seeking, urban-based bureaucratic elites has been taken over by neo-classical economics and implemented through structural adjustment packages aiming to drastically reduce the role of the state.

SELF ASSESSEMENT

1. What are the major rural-urban differences?
2. What do you understand by urban bias?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Populations and activities described either as "rural" or "urban" are more closely linked both across space and across sectors than is usually thought and that distinctions are often arbitrary. There are some people residing in rural areas and many others in towns, as well as engaging in agriculture within urban areas or in non-farm activities in the countryside. Flows of people, goods and wastes, and the related flows of information and money, act as linkages across space between cities and countryside.

One consequence of these strong interrelations is that both rural and urban areas are affected by current transformations at the macro-level, including economic reform and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) whose impact has traditionally been examined primarily in urban economies and labour markets. Particularly in the African context, SAPs, trade liberalisation and the growth of export-oriented agriculture have resulted in the marginalisation of small farmers, who often have to

migrate or resort to low-paid, non-farm employment. For both urban and rural populations, recent and current changes in the global social, economic and political context have resulted in deepening social differentiation and increasing poverty. However, while the nature of these changes is global, they are also characterised by great diversity at the local level, itself the consequence of historical, political, socio-cultural and ecological, as well as economic, differences.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- urban centres provide markets as well as social and producer services for the rural population whereas, for many urban individuals, access to rural land or produce through family or reciprocal relationships can be crucial;
- in many cities, an increasing proportion of the population lives in peri-urban areas still officially designated as rural; as new housing developments spill over the official urban boundary,
- land markets and land uses in many rural areas around cities also become increasingly influenced by real-estate developments and
- the rural poor are dominated and exploited by powerful urban interests.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Assess the strength of the interrelationships between the rural communities and urban centres in the developing world.

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UNIT 3 MODERNISATION AND URBANISATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The success of the economies based on Western European and North American cities has taken the influence of westernisation to most corners of the world, although it might be better to call this process 'modernisation' in order to include the stimulus to change provided by the urban systems of Japan and the Soviet Union, which are strictly-speaking 'non-western', although strongly influenced by the Western European and North American brand of change. By modernisation is meant the mass adoption of a more advanced technology, with greater division of labour and higher levels of personal consumption. These changes appear to be always associated in one way or another with the growth of urban life. As a result, there are few traditional cities, which have not been touched by modernisation, although its effects are sometimes subtle – perhaps seen in reduced death rates produced by access to western medicine. On the other hand, where the introduction of western culture has brought more wide-ranging economic and social changes, the interplay of contrasting cultures is more clearly visible.

Sometimes, new cities have been built where none had stood before; often ports, their origin and growth have reflected the operation of a colonial economy, although they are now located in independent states. Such cities have also acquired features from the environments in which they have been planted: Calcutta, for example, is basically western in origin, although it is perhaps better to look upon this city as a swollen version of the type of city common in the western world at the end of the nineteenth century than that normal in the mid-twentieth century. Certain of its features, however, spring from its particular context. The upper-class areas in this city are found closer to the centre than would be expected in a typical modern western city, for reasons which have

probably as much to do with the former segregation of European residential areas as with the functioning of transport; and the dense, very large urban proletariat reflects the social and demographic features of the population in the surrounding region.

The interaction of western and indigenous culture is most clearly seen where a western city has been grafted on to a pre-existing traditional city. Here, the juxtaposition of the old and the new, seen cities as widely distributed as New Delhi, Ibadan and Addis Ababa, provide a visible indication of the former distinctiveness of two cultures. Increasingly the old and the new sections of these cities are establishing stronger functional links as the labour force moves into modern types of employment, both in tertiary occupations associated with the new central business district and in large-scale manufacturing located in new factories.

Lahore in Pakistan provides a good example of the form of such a city. The modern central business district lies alongside the older, traditional city, where there is still a large, densely-packed population. Around the railway station and its sidings, there is another district, reflecting its links to the outside world, while the military area is another distinctive region. Although the functions of these areas have changed in various ways since colonial times, they still remain districts in the modern city.

2.0 A: OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe the spatio-temporal changes in agriculture;
- explain the impacts of changes in transportation on urban development; and
- assess the economic advantage of the urban environment.

2.0 B: HOW TO STUDY THIS UNIT

1. You are expected to read carefully through this unit twice before attempting to answer the activity questions. Do not look at the solution or guides provided at the end of the unit until you are satisfied that you have done your best to get all the answers.
2. Share your difficulties in understanding the unit with your mates, facilitators and by consulting other relevant materials or internet.
3. Ensure that you only check correct answers to the activities as a way of confirming what you have done.
4. Note that if you follow these instructions strictly, you will feel fulfilled at the end that you have achieved your aim and could stimulate you to do more.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Changes in Agriculture

The bases of these changes were the complex technical and economic effects of the Industrial Revolution, which were not limited to the populations of the cities themselves. In particular, great improvements in agricultural productivity, often linked with a change from subsistence farming to production aimed almost entirely for sale, was fundamental to urban growth. It is impossible to date these agricultural changes precisely: in Britain, for example, they were taking place in one form or another from early in the seventeenth century until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Food imports from overseas were relatively unimportant until the last decades of the nineteenth century and increasing agricultural productivity was stimulated by growing demands from urban dwellers and by the technical ingenuity of some pioneers.

Traditional field systems and farms were reorganised and unused lands reclaimed, new crops were introduced, and the productivity of livestock breeds was raised, while improved rotations and new fertilizers allowed greater yields to be taken from the soil without loss of fertility. Reflecting the technical ingenuity of the period, new implements were developed and, eventually, mechanical power was applied to driving them, hence increasing the output of the individual agricultural worker. The greater productivity of agricultural workers reduced the number of workers required in agriculture and encouraged many workers to seek employment in the growing towns, sometimes driven out by conditions in the countryside, sometimes attracted by better–paid job in the towns.
Climatic and soil conditions allow Nigeria to produce a wide variety of agricultural products, including many food and cash crops. Although past economic conditions have not favoured the agricultural sector, prices of agricultural commodities are generally no longer subject to price controls. Considerable seasonal price fluctuations are frequent, reflecting the problems of inadequate storage, processing, marketing, and distribution facilities. Some estimates suggest that post-harvest losses reach 25% in cereal production, and up to 50% in horticultural production. The contribution of agriculture to GDP stood at 21% in 1980. It increased to 41% in 1988 after a collapse in oil prices and growth in the agriculture sector following the liberalisation of agricultural prices. It has since fluctuated between a low of 24% in 1992 and a high of 39% in 1998.

In the past decade, growth in production of staple foods has exceeded population growth, a considerable achievement in view of the country's large and growing population and the relatively minor official support for such production. Less than 3% of the value of food consumed is imported.

More than 70% of the working adult population of Nigeria is employed in the agricultural sector directly and indirectly. Small farm-holders, account for about 81% of total farm holdings. They are usually subsistence farmers lacking in capital and in modern techniques of farming. They are constrained by many problems, including those of poor access to modern inputs and credit, poor infrastructure, inadequate access to markets, land and environmental degradation, and inadequate research and extension services. Only 10% of agricultural production is further processed industrially in Nigeria. Infrastructural factors, including energy and water shortages, credit constraints, poor knowledge of potential markets, and transport and telecommunications problems are important impediments to increasing this share.

Over the past couple of decades, successive governments have initiated numerous policies and programmes to revive agricultural performance. During the pre-structural adjustment period, agricultural policies were designed to facilitate agricultural marketing, reduce the cost of agricultural production and enhance agricultural product prices as incentives for increased production. Major policy instruments included those targeted to agricultural commodity marketing and pricing, input supply and distribution, input price subsidies, agricultural extension and technology transfer, agricultural cooperatives, and agricultural water resource and irrigation development.

Since the structural adjustment period, the state has withdrawn completely from involvement in certain agricultural sectors and the incorporation of private sector involvement in the provision of these services has scarcely begun. However, there is active private trader networks (Okorua & Bedford, 2001) on which the agricultural sector depends, particularly in urban food supply, although their activities are often regarded as exploitative and based on cartel arrangements, with a dominance of marketing systems by particular ethnic groups. The relatively strong growth of the sector since the mid-1990s, however, suggests that the marketing system is functional despite its constraints, though little progress has been made in reviving agricultural exports except in limited cross-border trade and in the cocoa sector. The state's withdrawal from an active role in agricultural marketing has been positive in its impact on the marketing system, but the state is failing to provide key services or effectively to support research or other forms of technology support.

Land tenure systems in Nigeria have been confronted with problems resulting from rapid population growth and the advances being sought towards the modernisation of agriculture through investment, market orientation, technology and attempts to increase size in order to achieve economies of scale. Customary land tenure systems are breaking down under the impact of cash cropping, population pressure and non-

agricultural enterprises and there has been a growing individualisation of land tenure. As a result, there is a need to modify the existing tenure systems in order to solve the complex and dynamic sets of problems affecting resource management, the adoption of new technologies, and farm income levels. Population growth has led to a fragmentation of farm plots with a more intensive use of the land for agricultural practice. Depletion of soil fertility and reduced production levels invariably result.

An important form of government intervention in the agriculture sector, now that it has largely withdrawn from involvement in output marketing, has been related to fertiliser. Between 1990 and 1996, government heavily subsidised fertiliser use. Liberalisation of the government monopoly from 1997 and its withdrawal from fertiliser procurement and subsidy led to a sharp drop in fertiliser use. Nagy and Edun (2002) argue that the way in which liberalisation was implemented limited the private sector response, particularly "ad hoc procurement/subsidy policies of the FGN in 1999, 2001 and 2002." They note that most stakeholders identify the quality and availability of fertiliser as the main constraint on use, while government policies have justified subsidy on the grounds that farmers cannot afford the free market price. Cities represent the largest and fastest growing market for farmers, in a context where over 90% of total agricultural production is used for domestic consumption. But the influence of urban demand for food and labour is unevenly spread in the country.

SELF ASSESSMENT
Discuss spatio-temporal changes in Agriculture

3.2 Transport Developments within Cities

Also having an impact on wider regions as well as individual cities was the gradual improvement of transportation. The first substantial advance here was the adoption of the canal in the second half of the eighteenth century. Roads, too, were improved, primarily for the easier movement of passenger and mail coaches; but transport by wagon must have benefited also. Such improvements permitted the beginnings of the concentration of manufacturing industry in specialist towns, since a much larger market could be brought in from increasing distances. Both these developments were essential for the growth of large urban-based manufacturing enterprises supplying wider regions. But limits to urban expansion remained. Food was still expensive to move over long distances and was usually produced close by. The larger a city became, the longer were the distances over which food had to be brought and the more expensive it became. In addition, the lack of a proper system for the mass movement of people within cities meant that most urban

dwellers travelled to work on foot, limiting the size of city which could function efficiently.

The development of the railway created a new situation; indeed many would argue that this was the critical development in transport. In Britain, a dense network of railways had been established by the end of the 1850s; and one of its earlier effects was to intensify the commercial nature of agriculture in wider areas of the British Isles. In addition, better long-distance communications exposed the countryside more fully to factory-produced good reduced the number of rural craftsmen, and encouraged further rural depopulation and the drift of workers to the towns.

The process was carried a stage further in the later 1870s, when grain, grown on the newly-cultivated North American prairies, flooded the British market. The precise economic situation which caused this change included a series of poor harvests in Britain and low freight rates induced by a trade depression; but more fundamental were the developments in the techniques of long-distance transportation, which facilitated the import of cheap food, first from North America and later from Australia, New Zealand and Argentina. At this time, the steamship was conquering the wider oceans as well as the more sheltered seas. Large urban populations could now be fed cheaply and reliably; and the industrial city was not restricted to locally-grown food or to supplying a limited region with its products and services. An example of the result of this is given by Britain at the end of the nineteenth century, when 85 per cent of the population had become urban dwellers. Similar changes took place in other industrialised regions of the world, in Western Europe and in parts of North America. The largest cities increasingly became the foci of communication networks, which ultimately pushed out into nearly every corner of the world.

A further restriction to the growth of cities was removed with the improvement of internal transport within urban areas, which allowed an increasing separation between place of work and place of residence. In the largest cities, London for example, the steam railway played a growing part in the internal transport system. In the southern suburbs of London, railway companies were particularly active in the pursuit of daily season-ticket travellers and they provided a close network of lines. With electrification, which began in the first decade of the twentieth century, stations could be located more closely together because of the faster acceleration of electric trains, thus producing a more continuous belt of suburbs, based on commuting by rail.

Elsewhere in London, commuter traffic first became important during the last quarter of the nineteenth century; and, in addition, the inner sections of the Metropolitan Railway, which represented the beginnings

of the modern underground system, was opened in 1863 and indicated the important role which underground railways were later to have for travel within inner London at the beginning of the twentieth century. Other large and very diverse cities like Paris, Berlin, New York and Chicago also reduced the problems of inner-city passenger traffic congestion about the same time, again using an intra-urban railway system, sometimes underground and sometimes on elevated tracks. This pattern was later repeated elsewhere in the world, often more as a mark of metropolitan status than as a good investment; producing clear profits.

But road transport was more important in most cities, even the larger ones. Horse buses were found in some European cities from the 1820s, although it was not until the 1870s that their fares became cheap enough to make a substantial impact on travel within cities. In fact, the horse tram was more important, pushing out urban growth along the main highways leading to a city. In Boston Massachusetts, for example, the limit of dense settlement only extended outwards by about half a mile between 1852 and 1873; but in the fourteen years between 1873 and 1887, encouraged by the opening of new tram routes, development spread one and a half miles further. Then by the end of the century, stimulated by the electrification of the system, the limits of dense urban settlement in Boston were extended another two miles.

Tram routes tended to bind together, some of the clusters of manufacturing towns which had grown up on coal-field during the nineteenth century. The individual towns of the Potteries, which we now lump together as Stoke-on-Trent, were linked in this way in the late 19th century, producing among other things, a relocation of important shopping facilities into a few dominant centres, as the pattern of accessibility within the conurbation changed. Similar processes were also going on elsewhere, for example, in the woollen manufacturing towns of West Yorkshire, centre on Leeds. From a morphological point of view, the tram encouraged urban development along the main roads either joining formerly separate towns into an apparently unbroken urban area (although there were often rural and semi-rural areas left hidden away behind the main roads) or, in the case of a single large settlement, producing a characteristically star-shaped city.

Improved passenger transport within cities had more subtle morphological effects than the simple expansion of the urban areas. Cheaper transport, by allowing workers to reside at some distance from their work, encouraged the rise of districts exclusively used for residential purposes. In turn, this development allowed a greater sorting-out of the homes of particular social groups into distinct areas, although not on the scale that was found in later twentieth century suburbs. Boston, Mass, provides an example of this. Between 1870 and 1890,

considerable redistribution of population took place, associated in particular with the development of the street-car system, which consisted of radial routes linking the centre with the urban periphery and also of cross-town routes connecting different sectors of the inner built-up area.

In late 19th century Boston, middle-class workers like lawyers and the owners of larger shops usually worked in the same location each day and were often the only earner in the household. When they bought a new house, they could afford the cost of travelling some distance to the city centre and only require a radial tram service. As a result, their homes were associated with main roads towards the edge of the city. The lower middle class, consisting of office and sales personnel, small shopkeepers and skilled artisans, could also afford to purchase new houses, but then tendered to need a more flexible tram service, because their places of work were more likely to vary from time to time and also because in each household, there was more likely to be a number of wage earners, with more widely scattered places of employment. These people normally did not find it convenient to live beyond the limits of cross-town street-car services, which allowed more flexibility in the daily journey to work.

Improved internal transport also brought changes in the location of shops. The growth of a dominant city-centre shopping area required easy access by housewives from all the built-up areas. Hence, the development of public transport within the city and the expansion of the central business district went hand-in-hand. In large cities, shopping also extended along main roads, particularly at interchange points in the tramway system, where subsidiary shopping centres were likely to grow.

Other services besides transport were making life in larger towns and cities more viable at this time. For example, the telegraph was already expediting inter-urban communications and a new invention, the telephone, developed from being a scientific toy in the 1870s to a practical instrument of commercial importance in less than ten years. In Britain in the 1880s, an increasing number of urban areas acquired telephone networks, which not only improved the links between businesses but also improved the administration and servicing of cities. Similarly, municipal sewage and water-supply enterprises improved in effectiveness, and central and local governments increasingly found it inappropriate to intervene by setting minimum standards for various aspects of the urban environment, in particular for new housing. These developments made uneven progress and the legacy of grossly unsatisfactory living conditions, created in particular during early industrial growth, lingered on. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century the still-expanding cities were becoming more tolerable places to live in.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What are the effects of changes in transportation on the rate of urban growth?

3.3 Economic Advantages of the Urban Environment

The expansion of the urban population was permitted during the nineteenth century by change in urban transport, services and food supply, but the underlying force behind growth was the economic advantage enjoyed by enterprises operating in an urban environment. A critical matter here was the greater division of labour and the increased specialisation in production made possible in the industrial city. These features were found in the traditional city as well, but the large city of the nineteenth-century allowed this process to go much further, aided by the increased ability of power-driven machines to take over production.

Such developments required specialised workers with new skills, but in addition to mechanics, large numbers of semi-skilled machine minders and unskilled labourers were also needed, often women and children as well as men. As the organisation of production, the control of materials and the marketing of the finished product all grew in complexity; further diversity was given to the factory labour force by managers, foremen, clerks and sales personnel of various kinds. As a result, the occupational and class structure of the urban population became more complex, consisting not just of factory owners and unskilled workers, but of employees in a wide range of occupations, possessing various levels of status and income status was often closely associated with income and a more acquisitive society grew up. Social mobility also became easier for those who were able to prosper in the new urban society by virtue of their skills, hard work, and their inventiveness of perhaps, their good fortune.

Certain regions proved attractive for the continued growth of specialised industrial production. Sometimes, this was because of natural advantages like the local availability of important raw materials, but more often it was because of the presence in a particular group of urban settlements of enterprises and skilled workers already involved in a particular type of industry. Once a specialism had become established in a city, for reasons which may often have owed more to chance than some geographers would care to admit, useful ancillary services tended to be located there also, making it difficult for other less favoured areas to enter into competitive production. In textile areas, for example, in addition to spinning and weaving factories, there were other related plants concerned with the printing and finishing of fabrics, as well as a pool of labour-processing skills developed by the local tradition of textile work.

Although large-scale manufacturing was fundamental to urban growth, not all large cities were dominated by industry, since manufacturing was only one aspect of the changes taking place. All cities, of course, had some workers concerned with transport, trade, wholesaling, finance and the provision of general services to the rest of the local population; but as more complex forms of economic organisation evolved, a number of cities grew because of the financial, distributional and administrative services they provided for wider regions and sometimes for national and international customers. The role of local and central government progressively expanded, as the need was increasingly felt to regulate various aspects of the new industrial society, and hence civil servants became more important in the labour force. Private firms also grew in size and consisted of numerous plants and offices, not just one, thus producing the need for the centralised administration of large companies. Financial capital was amassed as a result of the profits made in the new industrialised economy; and the management of this finance involved such institutions as banks, insurance markets and stock exchanges. Workers became progressively organised into trade unions, each with its own central administration. All these administrative and organisational tasks tended to be concentrated in the largest urban settlements, particularly the capital cities. The progressive removal of checks to urban growth and the development at of a more industrial economy created a situation during the last quarter of the 19th century in which cities in the industrialised regions of the world grew more rapidly than ever before. And as the cities grew, the positive factors behind their expansion during the twentieth century altered in emphasis. It is to these changing factors that we must now turn.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Outline the advantages and disadvantages of urban centres for economic activities.

4.0 CONCLUSION

It appears that many traditional cities are gradually acquiring the mix of functions and the social and economic impacts of typical modernised cities, although the speed at which this is happening varies greatly in different areas. The processes are clearest in those very large cities which one American sociologist has called ‘cities of the main street of the world’. These are cities tied closely into the world economy and active in furthering the process of modernisation. They are also cities, which tend to weaken traditional local cultures and may eventually create citizens whose social and economic life is shaped by cosmopolitan rather than local influences. The visible expression of this cultural convergence is the prevalence of such things as international clothing fashions, well-known consumer products (Coca Cola is a

classic example) and the whole-hearted acceptance, by the young at least, of modern popular music.

On the other hand, these observations cannot be pressed too far, since the modernised cities of the developing world are still evolving. They are unlikely to become completely identical with the typical western city, since they represent a mixture of cultures; and in terms of urban planning they appear to be drawing stimuli both from the methods used in the democratic world and also from more authoritarian traditions. As a result it is too early to say whether socially they will diverge from or converge towards the social patterns found in the western city.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- large urban populations could now be fed cheaply and reliably
- the industrial cities are not restricted to locally-grown food or to supplying a limited region with its products and services
- great improvements in agricultural productivity is fundamental to urban growth
- improvement in transportation is having an impact on wider regions as well as individual cities
- improvement in internal transport within urban areas has removed restriction to the growth of cities
- improved passenger transport within cities had more subtle morphological effects than the simple expansion of the urban areas
- in large cities, shopping has extended along main roads
- other services besides transport were making life in urban centres more viable
- the expansion of the urban population was permitted during the nineteenth century by change in urban transport, services and food supply
- the underlying force behind growth was the economic advantage enjoyed by enterprises operating in an urban environment
- although large-scale manufacturing was fundamental to urban growth, not all large cities were dominated by industry.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Describe the impact of modern transportation systems on the form of urban growth.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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