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E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxx**Article Type:****Full Length Research****ISSN 2469-3928****Abstract**

This paper explores how colonial authorities sustained the development of urban life in Ibadan city during the colonial period. Colonial authorities did not sustain urban planning through the provision of infrastructures and urban services, such as environmental hygiene, public health, housing, recreational services and employment, which encouraged people to live in Ibadan. Data for this paper were retrieved from archival materials from the Ibadan office of the Nigerian National Archives. Ibadan served as the capital city and the administrative headquarters of colonial Ibadan. It did not sustainably improve urban life with the provision of infrastructures such as housing, municipal transportation services, road construction, telecommunications, water supply, employment opportunities as well creation of ultra-modern markets and industries. The paper concludes that colonial authorities did not provide sufficient infrastructures and urban services to achieve sustainable development in the city of Ibadan throughout colonial rule.

Keywords: Urban livability, Colonial rule, Sustainable Development, Transformation, Ibadan.

INTRODUCTION

Urban livability and sustainable development in this study is operationally defined as factors associated with living, which attract people to urban cities in order such as employment, potable water supply, integrated transportation system and traffic management, waste management, functional energy and power supply. Sustainable development entails protection and safeguarding of the environment against hazards. It is an attempt to articulate and harness environmental and human needs in the pursuit of economic growth and development of the society. In this article, it is conceived as the legitimate use of resources, investments and application of technology to improve the quality of life of people under colonial rule and meet the needs and aspiration of the people in the future. Sustaining the livelihood of inhabitants of Ibadan covers physical development of the landscape, better social conditions, and maintaining environmental hygiene. However, this paper, which is of the view that sustainable development predates its eventual conceptualization, sees development through the lens of the phenomenon concerned with improvement of town planning. Since sustainability can cover a particular point in time, the research questions which this study seeks to answer is finding out the extent to which the colonial town planning regulations were sustainable and effective in Ibadan with respect to waste and sanitation, transportation, water

supply, road network, markets organization, industrialization, and town planning administration.

In order to achieve this objective, this paper is divided into eight sections. The introductory section sets the tone of the entire study; the second examines the pre-colonial urbanization patterns in Ibadan. The third discusses the administration of town planning services in Ibadan metropolis and sustainable development. The fourth discusses some selected social services in Ibadan and how they are harnessed for sustainable growth of the city. While the fifth highlights crime and its control, the sixth analyses the roles of market and industrialization. The seventh examines the challenges in the distribution of social services in Ibadan. The paper finally analyses the colonial responses towards achieving sustainable development of the city and the challenges experienced in the distribution of social services in Ibadan.

It has to be noted that the process of urbanization during colonial Ibadan was anchored on sustainable development. The pattern of urbanization in Ibadan was largely dictated by the colonial authorities in the political planning, organisational structure and distribution of social services within the town. The annexation of Ibadan as a British protectorate took place in 1893, and Ibadan developed as a provincial headquarters of Southwest Nigeria. Apart from the colony of Lagos, Ibadan never had a local authority that consisted of a

town council which raised its own revenue, made its own laws and prepared an annual budget as it was in Lagos colony then. Ibadan only had the privilege of enjoying second class township status and, therefore, played advisory roles to board officials that possessed a first class status and who levied rates, prepared annual budgets and used the public works department for the maintenance of public utilities like roads, pipe-borne water, electricity distribution, healthcare services, education, public health and environmental hygiene (Oyesiku, 2010).

During colonialism, the British adopted a policy of indirect rule in which ordinances were passed to strengthen city administration. Some of these included the Public Health Act of 1909, which laid the foundations for improved health management. This period also saw the introduction of sanitary inspectors, who went house to house to ensure that the houses and their surroundings were clean and, saw to the sanction of recalcitrant residents. The Township Ordinance of 1917, which classified townships into three categories and set up different municipal arrangements for first-order cities; the Town, and the Country Planning Act of 1947, which recognized the need for a separate establishment to complement the local-government councils (Udoh, 2014).

Oyesiku (2010) notes that under colonial rule the cities in Nigeria were categorised broadly into first, second and third class categories. The most important criterion for this categorisation related to the number of British officials residing in the city. First Class Township contained the highest proportions of European settlers while those of the second and third had lower Europeans. In Ibadan, the colonial authorities made new laws, regulating land use patterns in the European reservation areas. In other words, land was divided into three broad areas: the European Reservation Areas (ERAs); the Non-European Reservation Areas (NERAs) which were set aside for Nigerian Migrants workers, traders, civil servants and labourers working directly with the colonial authorities; while the Native Areas were inhabited by the indigenous population. The main distinction between the European Reservation Areas and the non-European Reservation Areas was that the ERAs were separated by a distinct non-residential area kept clear of undergrowth but used for garden allotments and a measure of stratification between the working class Europeans from the middle class members of the British colonial administrators (Oyesiku, 2010).

It is pertinent to note that urbanization in Ibadan, as elsewhere in Nigeria, was favoured by colonialism. Indeed, the advantage to Nigeria in general was an accident of colonialism. Nathaniel (2014) has contended that there was no deliberate policy or programme by the colonial government to develop urban centres and generally provide needed social and economic infrastructures except when that enhanced the exploitation and exportation of primary products. It was the economic activities of the colonialists that led to the emergence of urban centres like Calabar, Lagos,

Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto, Jos, Aba, Onitsha, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Lokoja, Makurdi and others which later sprang up after independence. This selfish economic interest also influenced the construction of railways, airports, seaports, Trunk 'A' roads and many other means of communication. For example, the rail line passed through Port Harcourt to Enugu for bulk movement of palm products; to Kano for cotton and groundnuts; and to Ibadan for cocoa and to sea through Lagos to Britain. Thus, the provision of social amenities under colonial administration was mostly restricted to certain areas within the European Quarters otherwise called GRAs. Trading devoid of industrialization became the basic dominating occupation in our urban centres during this period since the British colonial government had no development plan for industrialization and the concomitant urbanization problems. (Onibokun and Kumuyi, 1991)

The colonial administrative policy on settlement patterns in Ibadan gave the city a segregated and fragmented structure in the physical layout of the city. With this arrangement, the natives of the town were kept geographically separate from the Europeans in European Reservation areas as well as the non-European Reservation areas. Perhaps, this explains the reasons for the development of some parts of the city to look more modern than the traditional core areas of the city where most of the houses were built with mud and thatched roofs (Oyesiku, 2010). According to the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) (1999), certain factors have been identified for rapid urbanization in Ibadan Area. They include political factors, institutional factors, economic factors and social factors.

The take-over of the administration of Ibadan City in 1893 by the British colonial government marked the emergence of a new labour market in Ibadan. As Ibadan became the seat of government, it assumed the status of a major administrative and commercial centre. Similarly, there was a boost in employment opportunities when Ibadan became the headquarters of the defunct Western Region in 1946, leading to massive migration of people to Ibadan. Indeed, Ibadan has retained its status as the seat of government since the advent of colonial administration, and has continued to hold attraction for immigrants. This significantly created avenues for accelerated bureaucratic infrastructure and personnel, hence employment opportunities in government and ancillary services. Located in the heart of the cocoa-producing area of Western Nigeria, and being accessible and close to Lagos, the economic and commercial importance of Ibadan cannot be over-emphasised as a veritable factor of urbanization in the area. Moreover, the extension of railway from Lagos to Ibadan in 1901 accentuated the socio-economic attraction of Ibadan. Thus, by 1903, various European firms had been given leasehold to settle in Ibadan, and this led to the establishment of a modern business centre and a European reservation area. The extension of the railways to Ibadan, as well as the arrival of Europeans in

the city, marked the beginning of large-scale immigration of various ethnic groups such as the Ibo, the Ibibio, the Edo, the Urhobo, the Hausa, the Fulani, etc. into Ibadan. Perhaps, the greatest asset possessed by Ibadan derives from the heterogeneous roots of its founding population. Thus, since the founding of the city, the indigenous population has learnt to be tolerant, understanding and accommodating to strangers. As a result of this, the city rarely experience social and ethnic conflicts. This factor has contributed immensely to the rapid growth of Ibadan Area (CBN, 1999).

Sustaining urban development in Ibadan during the colonial period assisted the city to grow in size and population. It was marked by vitality, solidarity and a sense of commonwealth. It was not characterized with violence or violent inter-group conflict or a conspicuous spatial segregation or chronic political instability. As the population of the community continued to increase, colonial authorities began to build roads, built industrial estates and established merchant trading companies in Ibadan. Other specific actions of colonial administration towards sustainable urban development directed inputs and resources into road constructions, transportation services, provision of social amenities such as electricity, telecommunications, water and sanitation and town planning.

Colonial road transport system created new opportunities for wealth and other European manufactured goods. The construction of roads made it possible for European manufactured goods to reach the markets in the interior areas of Ibadan. Markets such as Oja'ba and Dugbe in Ibadan received large quantities of imported goods and traders patronized the markets from far and near.

URBANIZATION PATTERNS IN PRE-COLONIAL IBADAN, 1820-1892

Ibadan was a war camp and its settlement pattern was military-oriented. Hence, the military factor in the urban history of Ibadan cannot be skimmed-over. Studying the role of the military factor in the pre-colonial urban history of Ibadan, Watson (1999) maintains that warfare generated an idea of political community. On the battlefield, warriors led their soldiers on in the name of Ibadan. Warfare generated an idea of political community. The military sanctuary expanded even further when refugees began arriving in large numbers from northern Oyo following raids by Fulani warriors. Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centre so much that by the beginning of colonialism, Ibadan had become an important town.

Hugh Clapperton (1829) and Richard Landers (1832), in their travel writings across the Yoruba country in the nineteenth century, observed that urbanism in Ibadan was determined by the remarkable sizes and layout of the town, the types of residential structures, commercial activities and aspects of political culture in the town. The

formation patterns of the settlement was determined by its size, density, permanence, function, spatial organisation of residential buildings and the hierarchies of relationship among the settlers (Williams, 2005). The scheme for our understanding of the historical trajectories of urbanization in Ibadan was derived from the transformation from the lowest "aba" to the highest "Ilu" level. This observation confirms the remark of Williams (2005 see also Sudarkasa: 1973) that most pre-colonial Yoruba towns (Ibadan inclusive) developed through "nucleation processes". This implies that the contiguous independent villages coalesced into a nucleated settlement, emerging as an urban centre under one recognizable monarch. Ibadan is a good example of one of the Yoruba cities which developed with the amalgamation of Ijaiye, Makun, Lalupon and Erunmu to mention but a few.

According to Onibokun and Kumuyi (1991), as pre-colonial urban communities were fairly simple, the indigenous system of administration was appropriate for the rudimentary management of these folk urban communities. Public places were swept in rotation by groups of women; household and other refuse was deposited in surrounding bushes, where it decomposed. However, the native physical planning methods were inadequate to handle the extent and rate of future developments and thus inadvertently sowed the seeds of later chaos.

Ibadan was largely a rural and agrarian community where people who lived in the settlement strictly engaged in farming, craft production and wood carving. In addition, trading activities played important roles in the spatial distribution of settlers within the town. Buying and selling of food items and other agricultural products attracted larger population to the town and therefore boosted the population growth, economic activities and economic development. As the population of the community continued to grow, market and trading activities developed (Falola, 1984).

The market served as the point of convergence for all kinds of traders. Hausa migrants found around the traditional heart of the town in Ojaba area engaged in kolanut and cattle trade within the city. The markets got products from varying ecological zones. The traders in Ibadan went as far as neighbouring villages in Egba and Ife kingdoms to buy corn, yam and pepper to supplement the food produced in Ibadan. Many traders became wealthy through exchange of local products and generated informal employment for several people. Movement and transportation of goods was mainly by road, on footpaths linking different areas of the town. The inhabitants saw no cogent reason for leaving spaces for roads, squares, light and air (Hodder, 1959).

The movement of goods from one destination to another was carried out with human portage along numerous footpaths in the town. Water supplies in the town relied on rain water collected during the rainy season. Hand dug well were mostly utilised to fetch water and those collected from streams and dams

flowing within the community (Ayoade and Oyebande, 1978). Economically, the settlers in the town were predominantly farmers, military warlords, craftsmen and adventurous politicians. The political structure of the town encouraged local and regional inter-urban trading activities in the entrepreneurial activities of trading within the town. Ibadan served as the centre of commerce, trading in goods such as hand-woven clothes produced from Iseyin, dye used in the waxing of colour produced in Abeokuta and bead-making made from Bida and Ilorin (Falola, 1984). Maxwell Fry-Farm captures the pre-colonial urbanization pattern in the following words: "for more than hundred years development has proceeded with very little control and resulted in the creation of fantastic street system of formless roads and winding packs, in fact in many cases the street are nothing more than spaces left over after house building has taken place" (NAI:1950).

SUSTAINING URBAN DEVELOPMENT UNDER COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN IBADAN.

Urbanization pattern in Ibadan as elsewhere in Nigeria during colonialism transited from traditional to the western model. However, the urban history of Ibadan reinforced the position of the city in the Yoruba urban network. From 1901-1913, the city witnessed a small boom in the rubber business and later the region became the main centre for cocoa produce in the region. These consequently made the region attractive to European, Lebanese and Indian traders from Lagos and Kano (Fouchard, 2001). These traders imported manufactured goods and exported local agricultural produce like cocoa, palm oil, palm kernels, rubber, hides and skins (Mabogunje, 1968:195). As a matter of fact, urbanization under colonial administration was a turning point in the transformation of Yoruba towns, especially Ibadan. These culminated in the rise and expansion of the town exponentially. The railway line from the North reached Ibadan by 1901 and all road traffic from Lagos to the North passed through Ibadan. According to Labinjoh (1991), the phenomenal growth of Ibadan attracted many people. Among such were the Syrian and Lebanese traders who came there with the arrival of the railway. Initially, there were only twelve of them and they all lived in Gbagi Street because that was the business centre of Ibadan. By 1930, fifty-six Lebanese were resident in Ibadan and by that time, they had become major middlemen in Ibadan economy.

For a city like Ibadan which urbanized so rapidly, an adequate and efficient intra-city transport system is a basic facility that would need to be quickly established. It was necessary among other things for the viability of the economy. So, very early in 1946, the Local Council in Ibadan began to work on the idea of a municipal bus service. Thus the Ibadan Bus Service Limited was established with the purchase of five buses in 1948. However, by 1960, the IBS had failed. This was as a

result of competition from private transporter, bad maintenance of the buses and bad road (Labinjoh, 1991). The colonial authorities introduced the town improvement ordinance in 1863 in Lagos to control development and urban sanitation. This ordinance was later extended to cover all the colonial towns in the country (NAI: 1950). The township ordinance was instituted in 1917. Thus Government intervention in housing development started in 1917 when Jericho and Iyaganku Government Reserve Areas were created (Afolayan, YR?). Be that as it may, the main objective of the ordinance was to establish the broad principle of municipal responsibility of the administrative and public works department. In 1945, it was obvious to the colonial administration that urban planning was missing from the country's constitution and this omission called for urgent attention. Thus, a year later, the town and country planning law, Cap. 155 (Ordinance No. 4 of 1946) was promulgated. This law was made to 'make provision for the re-planning, improvement and development of different areas of Nigeria' by means of planning schemes and planning authorities (NAI, 1950).

The 1946 Ordinance Act provided the legal framework in which the town planning authorities operated under the colonial administration. According to Oyesiku (2010), this act was restricted to the European Reservation Areas to the detriment of settlers living in the interior areas or traditional heart of the city. Except for the ERAs, other parts of the city were unplanned and segregated without access to social infrastructures and services, improved welfare of the people and organised land use planning.

The colonial government empowered town planning authorities to ensure that adequate provisions were made for roads, buildings, and other social amenities such as transportation, communication and other utility services used by people in the community. For example, water supply shortage during this period was a major challenge facing the colonial authorities. So also was pollution in various parts of the country. To overcome these challenges, the colonialists established structures such as the water development corporations to increase the supply and quality of potable water to the people. However, it should be noted that the supply of water by the colonial administration was inadequate. This was due to financial constraints on the part of the colonial government, especially in the provision of modern water supplies to the community. In the words of Mabogunje (1965), the provision of water supply was concentrated more in areas that were favourably located along the major trade and transportation route with export-oriented colonial economy in Ibadan.

ADMINISTRATION AND TOWN PLANNING OF IBADAN METROPOLIS.

In Nigeria, the idea of town planning was first adopted during the colonial era with the introduction of the Town

and Country Planning Act of 1946. This Act was geared towards the effective exploitation of the Nigerian resources and also to bring comfort to the few Europeans sent by Britain to carry out colonial policies. Thus the 1946 Planning Act was restricted to the European Reservation Areas to the detriment of those living in native towns. As such, it was difficult to see how the Act ever prepared the country for modern planning scheme in all settlements in the country (Oyesiku, 2007). However, the Act was more elaborative on the scope and content of the schemes and emphasis on development control that will ensure that "adequate provisions were made for roads, buildings and other structures amenities, public utility services, transport communications and other uses to which land is put, harmonized interrelationship among these competing land uses through the principle of zoning" (Oyesiku, 1998). An important area of significance of the 1946 Act was essentially the institutionalization of Local Planning Authorities to be responsible for all aspects of planning but through approved planning scheme, and for the administration of existing Town and Country Planning laws.

Effective administration and town planning in Ibadan began in the 1940s when a report proposal was presented to the Works Planning and Tenders Committee of the Ibadan provisional council. In 1949, the colonial government appointed the following persons as members of the Ibadan Town Planning Authority. These persons comprised the Senior District Officer, Ibadan, as chairman; Mr Hughes, the District Officer (Lands) as the secretary; Mr Thompson, the Medical Officer of Health as a member; Mr Bruce, the Town Engineer as a member; Mr Keast, who is the Regional Assistant Director (Surveys) and the Town Planning Officer as a member. Other natives of Ibadan who were nominated by the Ibadan native authority to represent the Olubadan, Chiefs and the people of Ibadan in the Town Planning scheme included Chief Salami Agbaje, the OtunBalogun, Ibadan; Chief I.B.Akinyele, the OsiBalogun, Ibadan; Chief B. A .Akinwale, Chief J..B.Ogunsola, Mr T L.Oyesina, Mr.D.T.Akinbiyi, Mr A. Obisesan and Mr B.A.Sanda (NAI, 1950 Iba Div. File No. 1400 vol.II). The Town Planning Authority held its maiden meeting on the 23rd December, 1949. It was agreed upon that town planning should be established in areas such as Ijebu Bye Pass, Oyo Road, Hammock Road and Adeoyo where there was still room for a control of development.

Ibadan Town Planning Authority was fortunate to have valuable advice of experts on Town planning given by Mr E. Maxwell Fry, an Architect, and Mr K.W. Farms who came to Ibadan and made preliminary investigation. He subsequently advised on how to commence effective town planning in the city. The advice assisted the Ibadan Town Planning Authorities, which proposed a town planning scheme in specific areas dealing with land utilisation and layouts, tarring of major town roads, proposed new roads market development, refuse

collection, drainage of streams and swamps, conservancy service and sewerage scheme, car parks, improvement and extension of water supply, control of advertising and control of building. Responding to the proposal presented by the Ibadan Town Planning Authority by the colonial government, the District Officer noted that there was a little hope of carrying out some of the laudable town planning programmes initiated because of limited funds. He also noted that not much would be done unless financial support comes from the colonial government, tax payers and or people from the division concerned (NAI, 1950 Iba Div. File No 1400 Vol. II).

The Town Planning authorities needed huge financial support from the local authority to meet up with its demand. In fact, the main responsibility awaiting the town planning includes re-planning of the roads, markets and motor parks in order to reduce the occurrence of road accidents in the metropolis. The administration and organisation of town planning regulation is an important feature of colonial administration in the town. The colonial government, through the Ibadan Town Planning authority, was entrusted with the power to declare certain areas of the town as marked for planning. This must have been published in government gazettes, and that any development of land, construction, demolition, alteration or repairs must cease until a scheme had been made and approved or until an interim development order had been made (NAI, 1950 Iba Div. File No 1400 ,Vol.II).

At this point, it is necessary to highlight the roles of planning authorities and the discharge of their duties. The Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance No.4 of 1946, which was enacted on 28th March, 1946 states that the authority had the power by the laws of the land to zoning, reserving and using land in towns, as well as control the development of new areas in towns in accordance with the approved plan of a particular location. The town planning authorities were expected to regulate the construction and development of new areas in towns. Frame schemes for any planned area were published in a gazette. The authority had the power to make general development orders by prohibiting or restricting building operations in new areas. In addition, the authority had the power to acquire land by agreement or compulsorily and determine the terms of compensation, legal procedure and finance of the town planning development scheme. It had the power to levy rates, prepare estimates and borrow to assist in town planning development scheme. Besides, it had the power to determine Re-housing scheme, redistribution of holdings and crown lands (NAI, 1950, Iba Div. File No 1400 vol.II).

SUSTAINABILITY OF SOME SELECTED URBAN SERVICES IN IBADAN

The availability of urban services in the city facilitated the

movements of migrants from neighbouring Yoruba communities and trade opportunities, making many to settle in the town. Urban services constituted water supply, electricity supply, road network, efficient transport system and waste management. The availability of potable water was one of the major factors that contributed to the increase in population in the town. The provision of water was desirable in its own right because of the important roles it played in eradicating water-borne diseases and improving the health conditions of the people. It was one of the vital resources needed by people to survive in the city.

Besides individuals, industries and manufacturing companies like Coca-Cola Bottling Company, food industries and manufacturing companies needed water to run their businesses. Water supply by the colonial authorities was regarded as an important urban service that should be provided by the state. It is essential to public health, safety and well-being of the people. Other key areas that water was supplied to included the University College, Ibadan, University College Hospital and other government public institutions in the city.

At this point, the question may be raised is: was the provision of water supply during the colonial period sustainable, adequate and sufficient for the inhabitants of Ibadan? It may be difficult to state with precision whether or not the supply of water to the indigenes of Ibadan was sustainable, adequate and sufficient. This is because accessibility and availability of water was difficult to in the traditional heart of the town, as opposed to planned areas of Agodi Government Secretariat, Bodija, Mokola and other Government Reserve Areas in the town. In addition, electricity supply was another important factor that contributed significantly to the increase in the population of urban cities like Ibadan in Southwest Nigeria. Electricity is vital to economic growth and development of any nation. It is used for illumination, running heavy and light machines in the industries and contributing effectively to national development. According to Akintola (1978), the generation of electric power began in Lagos in 1896. Between 1923 and 1940, new generating plants were created with wood and coal to generate electricity in Port Harcourt, Enugu, Abeokuta, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Ibadan.

Transport was another vital service considered as one of the main prerequisites to the functioning of a city. Efficient transport system within the society has a great impact on people's interaction with the hinterland. With the development of road network in Ibadan, the city serves as an emporium of trade and a commercial city with highly distributive network where imported and exported goods were distributed in the colonial economy of the city. By 1901, the railway line from Lagos reached Ibadan. Through the rail line, goods and agricultural produce such as Cocoa, Kolanuts found their ways into the northern part of the country in commercial quantity while livestock animals such as sheep, goats, cattle, and crops such as groundnuts, beans and guinea corn found their ways into Ibadan markets. These goods were later

distributed to other markets in and around other feeder markets in the town. The development of the transport sector with the opening of new roads facilitated better traffic management and economic growth of the city. It boasted a large fleet of privately owned taxi cabs and mini buses, and regular bus services were operated within the city by private individuals (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1978, 143). At this point, the question may be raised: to what extent did the colonial authorities sustain road construction and transportation services in Ibadan during the colonial period? Indeed, the colonial government aided the construction of roads where there were none, strengthened and widened the existing ones. It is instructive to note that the Ibadan Native Administration Authority carried out some works on road construction but the cost of carrying out the full development plan on road construction that was considered necessary by the colonial authorities' was beyond the resources of the Ibadan Native Administration. It is therefore against this background that permanent drainage system for the roads constructed was practically non-existent. Similarly, tarring, which was desirable in every way, was not considered essential. This inability to provide funds and resources for road construction partly explains how the colonial authorities did not sustain road construction in the city. In transportation services, no records of mass transit services were provided by the colonial authorities to sustain the movement of persons and goods from one location of the town to another NAI, Oyo Prof. 1, File No. 4504/4

WASTE AND SANITATION

In the core traditional areas in Ibadan, waste and sanitation was uncontrolled. Archival evidence suggests that in the 1940s slaughtering of animals such as cattle, sheep and goats was carried out at five recognised slaughter slabs. The best of these was primitive and unhygienic while the principal one, situated at Gegeloshe in the centre of the town, was disgusting. It had to be seen and smelt to be believed. Commenting on the state of abattoir in Ibadan, a senior health officer in Ibadan in his letter dated 28th of May, 1937 noted that:

...about sixty head of cattle are being killed on a ruinous slab, measuring 50 feet by 30 feet, jammed in among dirty houses, with close against it a filthy, dilapidated latrine, and dirty little wooden tables as Butchers 'stalls'. Slabs crowded with butchers, buyers, skimmers, and loafers paddling about in the blood, manure, and tramping on the carcasses. Manure in quantity is deposited on the ground, and the earth must behave with fly maggots. Blood and 'washings' flow into the adjacent stream, a source of drinking water all the year round.

The senior health officer, in his concluding remark about the state of sanitation in the abattoir in Ibadan, observed that it was a serious challenge to public health and therefore needed an urgent attention. Although efforts were made to improve the situation by the colonial authorities, limited financial resources affected the sustainability and development of new abattoir in the city (NAI, 1950, Oyo Prof. 1, File No 4504/4. p.54).

Besides, solid wastes of vegetable materials from garbage lorries, slaughter- house, and refuse from individual households and cattle dung from railway tracks were improperly disposed. According to Tokun (1999), Ibadan never had a central sewage system throughout the colonial period. Pit latrines and dunghills used to be the main centres of defecation. The lack of central sewage system made Ibadan a dirty city. The inner city is much worse than the outer planned areas which had septic tank and soak-away system of sanitation. With the introduction of a new city layout upon the recommendation and approval of town planning authorities, new European style of housing, hospital, nursing station, educational, recreational and religious facilities were built to serve the British colonialists and prominent European business community residing in the town. It became necessary to provide urban sanitation for expatriates and the colonial authorities living in the European Reservation Areas (Mabogunje, 1968). At this point, it becomes necessary to ask the question: to what extent did the colonial authorities sustain sanitation management during the colonial period of Ibadan history? The answer to this question can be answered in two ways. First, the colonial authorities attempted to sustain sanitation management in the town by enacting sanitation laws through the Ibadan Town Planning Authorities, prosecute offenders with the imposition of fines on those who flout environmental laws, establishment of health committee in alliance with the health department to make appropriate recommendations on the improvement of sanitation, as well as introducing health educational programmes to train environmental and public health officials in the city. Secondly, it is evident from archival records that Ibadan natives indicted the colonial officials on 28th March 1943 for failure to provide basic sanitary facilities like public latrines and incinerators for the inhabitants (NAI, Ibadan div 1/1 file 1978. Vol.1). The District Officer, Mr A.F. Abell who represented the colonial authorities in a meeting held with the Oluokun Hill Ward Committee, explained that financial constraints confronting the colonial government prevented it from building adequate incinerators and latrines all over the town. He noted that the public latrines were only intended for market people and visitors passing through the town. He advised the people of Ibadan to get private latrines and incinerators in the absence of none provided by the colonial authorities (NAI, Ibadiv, 1/1 file 1978. Vol.1.).

Besides, available evidence also shows that the Ibadan Natives' Health Committee also requested from the colonial government the provision of proper sanitary

meat stalls as well as slab for the abattoir at Gege. Although the colonial authorities promised to give the request due consideration but there was no evidence to show that these were carried out. Throughout the colonial period, the Gege market was notorious for its filth and nauseating odour (NAI, Ibadiv, 1/1 File 1978. Vol.1.). The absence of public latrines, abattoir and incinerators in the market partly explains how sanitation management was not sustained under British rule.

The stream that was very close to the Gege market was converted to a refuse dump and latrine for defecation and urination. This point suggests the fact that the colonial authorities did not sustain sanitation management in Ibadan due to financial wherewithal and political will to enforce sanitary laws by prosecuting offenders. One of the laws enacted by the Ibadan and District Native Authority stipulated that '... No person shall deposit any matter whatsoever in any stream or water course nor dig or otherwise interfere with any land lying within 6 feet of either bank of any stream or water course' (NAI, Iba div, 1/1 file 1978. Vol.1.). This law was at best in theory; there was no evidence of corresponding punishment or prosecution of offenders who breached this law.

Markets and Industrialization

Markets and industries formed an important nucleus of the city during the colonial period. Virtually every street and corner in the traditional core and inner suburbs of the city is a market square or stall, with articles of trade displayed in front of houses or in separate rooms within them, which face the streets. Within the city, there were two eight-day periodic markets- Ibuko (Bode) and Oje and over thirty daily markets. The largest daily market, Oja'ba, stretches in a belt from the railway station in the west to the centre of the city, and it was Ibadan's commercial core. It constituted the major day market where food items were sold. It also doubled as the central motor park (Hodder, 1973). According to (Heap, 1997) the first European owned commercial house was opened in 1900. Other European owned firms like Leventis, United Africa Company (UAC), John Holt Ollivant's, Paterson Zochonis (PZ), Russell's United Trading Company (UTC) etc. were granted leasehold to land for an annual rent of between 5 and 8 shillings per acre. The pegging out of the boundaries of these plots was seen as a novelty in the Yoruba eyes such that the district was named Gbagi ('to peg') (Elgee, 1914). This new commercial focal point opened up business activities around imported goods by the Lebanese, Indians and Syrian merchants who settled in Ibadan. The area then became known as the Central Business District (CBD), which pumped economic life into the city. Dugbe, the third largest market after Oja'ba and Oje. was founded in 1919 and, because of its location around the central business district areas, quickly developed into a congested, bustling market place with little or no

control from the Ibadan Municipal Authorities (Ogunsanwo, 1988).

As the society continued to grow in population, there was a corresponding rise and increasing demand for foreign goods. It therefore became necessary to establish an industry in colonial Ibadan city. The first of these was Kapok industry, established by the United Trading Company in 1933. It engaged in the processing of Kapok fibres as well as crushing of bones used in producing textile materials and ceramics for the making of fine plates. Similarly, from 1936-1942, the Nigerian Tobacco Company (NTC) and the Ibadan Sawmill and Timber Export Limited were also established. The Second World War (1939-1945) marked the second phase of industrialisation in the city. Two plausible reasons were attributed to this development. One, the Second World War created an obstruction in the export and import of goods during the inter war years, and this greatly affected indigenous entrepreneurs. Two, there were agitations by the nationalists coupled with post-war economic problems in Europe itself. This led the colonial authorities to draw up plans to revive the colonial economy under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1946 (Oketoki, 1998). This Act facilitated the involvement of colonial government in the economy and provision of public utilities that would encourage private industries to flourish. This led to the establishment of import-substitution manufacturing industries. The United African Company and John Holt became the other new industries that later engaged in manufacturing of goods in 1948. This was followed with the establishment of printing press and newspaper publishing in 1949 (Oketoki, 1998).

By 1950, the colonial authorities had laid the foundation for industrial development by encouraging the growth of private entrepreneurs through the provision of capital, finance, technical as well as other advisory services to local entrepreneurs. Through these initiatives, private individuals and companies began to participate in the industrialisation of the town. Examples of some of these industries included Fruits canning, soap and Detergents, Plastics, Metal Fabrication, Foam-Rubber, Printing and publishing, Agricultural machinery, Concrete Tiles, and tyre and Rubber products. These industries were owned by private individuals, Lebanese business community as well as the Western Nigerian Development Corporations, before Nigeria got her independence in 1960 (Oketoki, 1998).

However, the question may be asked: how did the colonial authorities sustain markets and industries in Ibadan during the colonial period? As earlier mentioned, the colonial authorities did not make serious efforts to improve on markets' condition in the city. Most of the markets in the city were traditional markets and were as old as the city. Public parking space, latrines and refuse disposal sites were not maintained. Besides, adequate provision to clear refuse bins close to the market by the colonial authorities were not instituted. There was no attempt to build ultra-modern market. The markets in

Dugbe and Lebanon Streets where foreign and European manufactured goods were sold was not created by the colonial authorities. The only attempt that was made by the colonial authorities was the expansion of the market with the creation of a road in the 1950's linking it to inner areas of the city. The colonial authorities did not collaborate or initiate any drive for industrial development in the city. This was evidenced in the fact that the British never established any single industry managed and financed by the Crown Colony of the British Empire. The industries in the city were agro allied, food and rubber industries and were managed by Syrians, Lebanese and Indian entrepreneurs. In theory and practice there was no sustainable development plan by the colonial government for the growth of industries in the city.

CRIME AND ITS CONTROL IN IBADAN

In most urban cities of the world, crime is one of the most observable phenomena. With the development of Ibadan as a market and monetized economy, the wave of crime increased significantly. Deviant individuals and groups formed their own subculture around such phenomena like pick pocketing, burgling and delinquency (such as sex offences and alcoholism). Under the colonial rule, criminal-minded deviants explore street life to support their livelihood in the city with regard to food, housing and transportation, which were found to be expensive in urban areas. Ibadan environment offered possibilities of collaboration with criminals, as well as opportunities for disposing of stolen goods and protection from interference by law enforcers (Heap, 1997).

Cohen (1973) noted that the Northern elements of Hausa migrants in Ibadan had always been troublemakers and exploiters and had harboured among them thieves, ex-convicts, prostitutes, gamblers and other types of undesirables running away from the North. To keep them under control, the Yoruba chiefs of the city decided to segregate them from the rest of Ibadan by confining them within an enclosed area. During the first quarter of the 20th century, a wave of burglaries swept the city of Ibadan, and a number of Yoruba chiefs held the Hausa responsible for them. To reduce the occurrence of burglary in the city, in 1906, the Olubadan in council resolved that all the Hausa had to be under the control of 'an approved headman of their race' who would be held responsible for his people since they were scattered in different parts of the city. The British officials in colonial Ibadan vetoed this decision and it was not approved. In the following six years, the wave of burglary crime continued to increase and the problem of the 'Hausa burglars' was discussed a number of times and some decisions were taken by the Olubadan in Council for the expulsion of notorious, foreign burglars of Hausa origin.

Apart from the Hausa gangs who engaged in burglary,

colonial Barclay Bank, where they congregated in gangs of twos and threes, waiting for their prey. There was a great deal of interaction between the potential pick pockets and victims in the area.

The control of the menace of burglary and pick-pocketing during the colonial period was handled by the indigenous rulers as well as the colonial authorities. Both authorities deemed it necessary to curb the menace of pick pocketing and burglary that became virtually a daily occurrence. In view of this, a law was enacted to deal with the problem. In the colonial statute book, an ordinance of 1933 empowered the Native Authorities (NA) to expel bad characters:

It shall be lawful for a NA to order any person who, Although subject to the jurisdiction of the NA, is not A member of the NA community living in the area of The authority, to produce reasonable proof to the NA, That his means an legitimate labour are sufficient for the adequate support for himself and his dependants, t leave such an area within such time after the order has been communicated to him, not being less than fourteen days, as the NA may direct.

The Ordinance No 43 of 1933 provided the native authorities with power to expel vagabonds or miscreants found in Ibadan metropolis. These pick pockets and burglars were unable to be prosecuted in a court of law by the Commissioner of Police due to insufficient evidence to convict offenders. However, the Police Commissioner saw an opportunity of ridding the city of miscreants by using the expulsion powers invested in the Native Authority to order the banishment of persons believed to be of bad behaviour to leave the city immediately. This was carried out on a number of people found to be pick pockets as well as burglars. At this point, the question may be asked: to what extent did the colonial authorities reduce the level of crime in the city? The colonial authorities tried to regulate crime through the effort of the police to maintain public peace and order in the society. Whenever arrests were made, interrogations were conducted and offenders were taken to courts. The power of expulsion invested in Ibadan Native Authority was strongly supported by the colonial government to extradite persons with bad behaviour from the city. The banishment of convict was not sustained till the end of colonial rule due to the ill health of OlubadanAbbassOkunolaAlesinloye who was at that time the head of the town and Judge on matters relating to misdemeanor and bad behaviour in the city.

CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINING URBAN SERVICES IN IBADAN

The urban city of Ibadan during the colonial period was faced with several challenges in the distribution of urban

services to its people. This was due to limited financial resources, poor technical skills, and the unplanned structure of the society, which imposed considerable limitations on waste disposal and waste management. For example, in densely populated areas of the city, such as Oje, Beere, Ojoo, Agbowo (Oyenyi, 2011), town planning regulations were underutilized in building construction. There were no allowance for setbacks and sewage in some modern buildings. The official complicity and graft by Ibadan town planning authority staffers accounted for these problems as most houses found even in town planning areas had no town planning approval. These, inadvertently, increased liquid waste, most of which were not disposed of properly. Consequently, some of these behaviours caused serious health and environmental pollution.

In addition, water shortage and water pollution posed acute problems. The increase in the demand for water was outstripping the supply; during the dry season some sections may receive no water for weeks at a time. Poor sewage and refuse disposal methods had led to badly polluted streams that were generally infested with bilharzias, a tropical parasitic worm harmful to person (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1978). Similarly, the modern housing scheme equipped with modern amenities was expensive and costly to maintain. Some of the roads were still earth-surfaced or undeveloped. The roads were overcrowded and traffic jams were frequent (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1978). Due to poverty and the great depression of the 1930s, colonial and mortgage banks did not encourage housing scheme, which could reduce the problem of accommodation in the city. Other problems faced by people in the urban city included crowded accommodation, congested streets and Boys' quarters settlements, sporadic refuse dumps and breakdown in waste disposal arrangements, as well as electricity failures, poverty and crime. Above all, no serious effort or measures were introduced by the colonial authorities to achieve sustainable development in the provision of urban services with respect to water supply, electricity, road networks, poverty alleviation, housing development and maintenance of public health hygiene and safety for the inhabitants of the city.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that colonial rule aided the development of planning in Ibadan since the 1940s. The colonial authorities created the ordinance necessary for town planning to operate in the city to improve the standard of living of the people. The sustenance of planning was affected by limited funds and resources to maintain public utilities like water, electricity supply, transport services, sanitation, and road network. Although the colonial administration brought significant transformation to the city in terms of introduction of town planning management it did not sustain the legacy for physical development and infrastructural planning of the

city of Ibadan in terms of road construction, industrial growth and housing for the then and future generations of the city.

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