

Colonialism, Migration, and the Emergence of Urban Spaces in Colonial Nigeria

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Arguably, urbanisation, which entails spatial, social, and temporal phenomena, is social process that describes the manner in which cities grow and societies become more complex. From this point of view, urbanisation is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria in particular, and Africa in general. The process of urbanisation in Nigeria began in the pre-colonial period and continued during colonial and post-colonial periods. However, the factors or conditions that facilitated urbanisation in each historical epoch of urbanisation in Nigeria have changed over time. This paper, therefore, interrogates the effect of colonialism on the emergence of urban spaces in Nigeria between 1900 and 1960. It argues that migration, which constituted one of the main drivers of the emergence of urban spaces in Nigeria during this period, was promoted by the introduction of the British colonial policy of administration. Of the three main trends of internal migration during colonial Nigeria, our focus in this paper is the third trend, which involves a drift from the rural areas and the lesser towns to the new urban centres of commerce and administration that developed in response to the establishment of formal colonial rule in the country. This trend of internal migration was witnessed in different parts of Nigeria such as Lagos, Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Osogbo, Benin City (all in Western Nigeria); Onitsha, Enugu, Calabar, Port Harcourt (all in Eastern Nigeria); Kano, Jos, Makurdi, Zaria, Sokoto and Kaduna (all in Northern Nigeria) between 1900 and 1960. It concludes that the physical spaces in these cities have had a fundamental significance for the host communities, migrants and for host/migrant relations. The methodological approach adopted in this paper is historical, thematic, and analytical, utilising materials from both primary and secondary sources.

[Colonialism; Migration; Space; Nigeria; Urbanization]

Introduction

Existing studies have revealed that the socio-economic relations in different parts of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general are shaped

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by trans-local patterns of migration, exchange and identity.³ The dynamic nature of migration constitutes major factor responsible for geographical distribution of population in every human settlement. Fundamentally, the history of human race is rooted in migration. In other words, the emergence of every society is a product of migration. This is why migration is generally referred to as a global phenomenon. By nature, man is designed to be mobile. He moves, as the need arises, from one location to another in search of a variety of things,⁴ which could be socio-economic opportunities available in the place of destination.

Nigeria, like other countries of the world has a long history of population mobility. In historical perspective, the study of migration patterns in Nigeria falls into three distinct periods, namely pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial. Meanwhile, each of these periods reflects the people's response to widely divergent social, political, and economic conditions.⁵ The movement of people in these historical epochs of migration took forms of regional, occupational, and seasonal rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural patterns of internal migration. Importantly, the decision to migrate, migration stream/wave and paths which are major processes involved in internal migration is based on place utility in terms of the environment and the information received from previous migrants.

Arguably, migration constitutes one of the main drivers of city building in any society. Although the process towards this development has begun in Nigeria since the pre-colonial period, it became unprecedented and took different dimensions during colonial and post-colonial periods. In fact, it was during the last two periods that rural-urban and urban-urban patterns of migration were more pronounced. The dynamic nature

³ See O. OTITE, Rural Migrants as Catalysts in Rural Development: The Urhobo in Ondo State, in: *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 49, 3, 1979, pp. 226–234; O. OGEN, Urhobo Migrants and the Ikalé Palm Oil Industry, 1850–1968, in: *The Nigerian Journal of Economic History*, 5&6, 2003, pp. 1–17; R. O. OLANIYI, Approaching the Study of the Yoruba Diaspora in Northern Nigeria, in: T. FALOLA – A. GENOVA (eds.), *Yoruba Identity and Power Politics*, Rochester 2006, pp. 231–250.

⁴ N. F. AKAI, National integration and the Niger Delta Question, in: J. MANGNUT – D. O. EGBEFO (eds.), *The Fourth Republic and National Integration in Nigeria, 1999–2009*, Markurdi 2010, p. 20.

⁵ For details see S. A. ADESOTE, *Plantation Agriculture and the Growth of Migrant Settlements in Ondo Division, Southwestern Nigeria, 1947–1986*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Department of History, University of Ibadan 2016, p. 15; P. K. MAKINWA, *Internal Migration and Rural Development in Nigeria: Lessons from Bendel State*, Ibadan 1981, p. 19.

of urbanization during these periods was hinged on socio-economic development that attended colonialism. In other words, economic opportunities and the availability of social infrastructure prevalent in many cities and towns in Nigeria during colonial period stimulated rural-urban and urban-urban migration. As argued in the literature, one of the consequences of colonialism in Nigeria was the growth and transformation of some cities and towns between 1900 and 1960.⁶ Notable among them were Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Osogbo, Benin City (all in Western Nigeria); Onitsha, Enugu, Calabar, Port Harcourt (all in Eastern Nigeria); Kano, Jos, Makurdi, Zaria, Sokoto and Kaduna (all in Northern Nigeria). However, it is imperative to point out here that, the physical spaces in these cities and towns had a fundamental significance for the host communities, migrants, and host/migrant relations.

It is against this background that this paper interrogates the relationship between colonialism, migration, and urbanization in Nigeria between 1900 and 1960. This paper is divided into six sections. The first section is introduction and the methodology adopted for the study; the second section deals with conceptual clarification and theoretical framework for the study; the third discusses city building in the pre-colonial period; fourth is colonialism, migration and the emergence of urban spaces in colonial Nigeria; the fifth part examines the impact of physical spaces in new urban centres on host communities, migrants and host/migrant relations; while the sixth section is the concluding remarks. The methodology adopted in this study is basically historical, thematic, and analytical, utilising materials from both primary and secondary sources.

Conceptual Clarifications

Colonialism

Colonialism can be viewed from different perspectives. Generally, it refers to as the domination of one country by another, which is mainly achieved through aggressive and military actions or means. From the

⁶ See M. O. MURITALA, Urban Livelihood in Lagos 1861–1960, in: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 20, 2011, pp. 193–200; S. FOX, Urbanization as a Global Historical Process: Theory and Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa, in: *Population and Development Review*, 38, 2, 2012, pp. 285–310; W. T. UJI, Migrant Groups and the Development of Urbanization in Tiv Society of Central Nigeria: Colonial Period to Post Colonial Era, in: *International Research Journal of Arts and social Science*, 4, 2, 2015, pp. 37–42.

African experience, it deals with the practise of invading African lands & territories by the Europeans for the purpose of settlement and/or resource exploitation.⁷

Migration

Generally, migration refers to the movement of people from one geographical location to another, either on a temporary or permanent basis. Migration could either be voluntary or involuntary or forced migration. While voluntary migration centres mainly on the movement of people based on willingness and desire, forced migration refers to as the mass movement of people caused principally by social and political problems such as armed conflicts, human rights violations, natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.⁸ There are two main categories of migration, namely, internal, and external. While internal migration involves movement between one community and another, external migration refers to the movement between countries. For this paper, our major focus is internal migration which according to Osoba is categorised into three main trends in Nigeria.⁹ The first trend deals with the movement of people from rural areas of less economic activity to those of greater economic activity within the same region. A good example of this was the movement of people from their places in Abeokuta, Ijebu and Oyo Provinces to Ondo Province within the Western Region in search of suitable land and employment on farms. The second trend deals with the movement of people, whether on a seasonal, temporary or permanent basis across regional frontiers. A good example of this was the movement of people from the Northern and Eastern Regions to the Western Region and, vice versa. The third trend involved a drift from the rural areas and the lesser towns to the new urban centres of commerce and industrialisation caused by colonial policy of administration. A good example of this was the movement of people from different areas within Nigerian territory into places like Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Jos, Port Harcourt, Onitsha and so on in search of

⁷ M. H. Y. KANIKI, The colonial economy: The former British zones, in: A. A. BOAHEN (ed.), *General history of Africa. VII. Africa under colonial domination, 1880–1935*, Paris 1985, pp. 382–419.

⁸ ADESOTE, p. 10.

⁹ S. O. OSOBA, The Phenomenon of Labour Migration in the Era of British Colonial Rule: A Neglected Aspect of Nigeria's Social History, in: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, IV, 4, 1969, pp. 515–516.

employment, education, better conditions of living and so on. Of these trends of internal migration, our main focus is the third.

Urbanisation

The concept has been viewed from different perspectives by historians, social anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, demographers, and other social scientists. According to Fadayomi, urbanization is a process that bring with it rapid social change and new behavioural pattern that effects social institutions like marriage and the family.¹⁰ Lious Worth observes that urbanization is simply “an urban centre. And that a town that has population that is below the minimum of 4000 inhabitants cannot classified as urbanized”.¹¹ Also, Sackville sees urbanization from the perspective of population density, and thus argues that a town with more than 5,000 people is an urban area.¹² In all, urbanisation means the physical growth of an area in terms of population and socio-economic infrastructure such as transportation, communication and so on.

Theoretical Framework for the Study

It is imperative to point out here that a theoretical framework is a guide to perception. Besides, it is useful in ensuring that analyses of a more qualitative nature (like this paper) can be better organised within a framework to add conceptual richness to the work. The two main theories require in this paper centre on migration and urbanization. Basically, migration theories present two main perspectives, economic and non-economic as the determinants of migration. According to the economic perspective, individual migrants are viewed as rationally optimising the costs and benefits of their decision to migrate. Economists generally regard the decision to migrate as one which invariably leads migrants from rural, low-income areas with job prospects to urban areas where they can improve their economic standing by employment in the formal salary sector.¹³ The non-economic perspective consists of other social scientists like geographers, sociologists, anthropologists among others and thus

¹⁰ T. O. FADAYOMI, *Migrations, Development and Urbanization Policies in Sub-Saharan African*, Codesria Books 1998, p. 15.

¹¹ W. LIOUS, *Perspective on Urbanism as a way of life* cited by UJI, p. 37.

¹² Sackville cited by A. F. AHOKEGH, *Colonialism, development of infrastructure and urbanization in Tivland of Central Nigeria*, in: *Ilorin Journal of History & International Studies*, 2, 1, 2011, pp. 232–250.

¹³ MAKINWA, p. 6.

pose that migration decision consists of two stages. The first decision to migrate preceding a second decision regarding the choice of destination. The former, though usually heavily predicated on economic factors, is seen as necessarily moderated by various non-economic considerations such as means of transport, presence of relatives, friends and/co-villagers at destination, ethnic compatibility and residual environmental factors at both places of origin and destination.¹⁴ These two perspectives of migration are represented in various theories of migration. Notable among these migration theories are Ravenstein's Laws of Migration (1885); Everett Lee's push and pull theory of migration (1966); Charles Tilly's three determinants of migration (1974); Mabogunje's (1970) systems approach to rural-urban migration among others.¹⁵ The paper adopts the Everett Lee's push and pulls theory of migration, which mainly emphasises rural-urban migration. The theory is constructed around some fundamental factors (economic, social, and political hardships in the sending regions) and factors of attraction (comparative economic and social advantages in the receiving regions).

Also, there are socio-economic and demographic theories of urbanisation. The traditional economic theory of urbanization, which has dominated in both academic and policy circles since the 1950s, revolves around the relationship between structural economic change and the spatial dynamics of the labour market. In other words, as the modern urban sector (i.e., manufacturing and services) expands, surplus labour from the "backward rural economy" (i.e., agriculture) is drawn to towns and cities, attracted by higher wages.¹⁶ This is illustrated in the Lewis theory of dualistic economic model of urbanization which explains that surplus labour from traditional agricultural sector is transferred to modern industrial sector whose growth over time absorbs surplus labour, promotes industrialisation and stimulates sustained development.¹⁷ In other words, the economic model suggests that urbanization is fundamentally driven by rural-urban labour migration (that is labour transition between two sectors, namely the capitalist sector and the subsistence

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ For details on theories of migration see A. E. ADEPOJU, *Internal Migration in Nigeria*, Ile-Ife 1976.

¹⁶ FOX, pp. 285–310.

¹⁷ W. A. LEWIS, Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour, in: *Manchester School*, 22, 2, 1954, pp. 139–191; D. GOLLIN, The Lewis Model: A 60-Year Retrospective, in: *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 28, 3, 2014, pp. 71–88.

sector) stimulated by a wage gap between rural and urban areas due to industrialisation. The demographers see urbanization from the perspective of population growth caused by either natural increase in urban areas or rural-urban migration.¹⁸ They explain that the onset of mortality decline ahead of fertility decline in urban areas raises the rate of urban natural increase, and urban populations expand regardless of whether they are net recipients of rural migrants. They content that population growth could occur in a place without rural-urban migration if urban natural increase exceeded rural natural increase over a sustained period.¹⁹ From these above perspectives, the paper argues that urbanization during colonial rule was mainly caused by rural-urban migration.

Historicising City Building/Urbanization in the pre-colonial Nigeria: A Discourse

Generally, city building or urbanization is viewed as a global historical process mostly driven by population dynamics associated with technological and institutional change.²⁰ In other words, the emergence of urban spaces in Nigeria is a product of historical phases, which comprised pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Each historical phase was shaped by different factors. With respect to the pre-colonial period, evidence from the existing studies revealed that the origin of city building or urbanization in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general began during the pre-colonial period. While Sesan observes that urban settlements emerged in many regions in the nineteenth century,²¹ Southall submits that development predated 19th century and started with the process of state formation.²²

The pre-colonial urban or physical structure in Nigeria has been attributed to the factors of migration, politics, and trade. Politically, the development actually began with the process of state formation, which made up of the origin of a state and the emergence of dynasty in that state (occasioned by conquest, migration, assimilation and integration).²³ This

¹⁸ C. COHEN, Urban growth in developing countries: A review of current trends a caution regarding existing forecasts, in: *World Development*, 32, 1, 2003, pp. 23–51.

¹⁹ FOX, pp. 285–310.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² A. SOUTHALL, State Formation in Africa, in: *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 3, 1974, pp. 153–165.

²³ Ibid.

was witnessed in different parts of Nigeria in the pre-colonial period. Here, we will only restrict ourselves to a few of these developments. For example, in Yorubaland, there was the existence of pre-Oduduwa societies in Ondo, Egba, Ijebu-Ode, Ilesa, Akure and so on.²⁴ For instance, in Ondo, there was the presence of three aborigines namely the Oka, Ifore and Idoko. These were autochthonous people that initially settled in the place that is now known as “Ondo”. They were later conquered by the coming of Oduduwa’s group led by *Pupupu* (the first and only female *Osemawe* of Ondo) who came from Ife/Oyo²⁵ to Epe, Ile-Oluji and Ode-Ondo. The conquest led to the establishment of a new dynasty (known as *Osemawe* Dynasty) in Ondo²⁶ as well as successful integration between the aborigines and the newly migrated groups, which took forms of either absorption or assimilation. This further followed by the emergence of different quarters (streets) such as Oke Lisa, Odo Jomu, Oke Odunwo, Odotu, Oke Dibo, Oreretu, Oke Otunba, Okerowo and so on.²⁷ Also, in the 19th century, generally described as “a century of revolution in Yorubaland”, there were series of political crises, which ended in the fall of the Old Oyo Empire. The fall of the empire resulted in the outbreak of other civil wars such as Owu war, Egba-Dahomey war and Ekiti-Parapo war by other Yoruba states for political ascendancy. We are not interested in the factors responsible for the outbreak of these wars as they had been thoroughly examined in the literature.²⁸ Our main focus is the impact of the wars on city building in Yorubaland. Thus, the immediate consequences of the wars were forced migration or mass movement of people (which altered the demographic pattern of Yorubaland) leading to the establishment of new towns and cities like Ibadan, Aiyede, New Oyo and Ijaye; and the expansion of old ones (which became homes of large-scale mixture of Yoruba peoples).²⁹

²⁴ See I. A. AKINJOGBIN, *Yorubaland Before Oduduwa*, in: *Ife Journal of History*, 1, 1, 1993, p. 18; J. A. ATANDA, *An Introduction to Yoruba History*, Ibadan 1980, p. 8.

²⁵ There are two versions of the migration traditions, but what is important in this study is the fact of pre-colonial migration (from wherever).

²⁶ P. OGUNSAKIN, *Ondo, the People, their Custom and Traditions*, Lagos 1967, pp. 2–3.

²⁷ M. C. ADEYEMI, *Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture*, Ibadan 1993, pp. 46–47.

²⁸ For details see J. F. A. AJAYI – R. SMITH, *Yoruba warfare in the 19th century*, Cambridge 1964; D. OGUNTOMISIN – T. FALOLA, *Refugees in Yorubaland in the 19th century*, in: *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 21, 1987, p. 56; S. A. AKINTOYE, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840–1893*, Ibadan 1987.

²⁹ T. FALOLA – A. MAHADI – M. UHOMOIBHI et al., *History of Nigeria 2. Nigeria in the 19th century*, Ibadan 1991, pp. 69–85.

Also, in Northern Nigeria, there was the evidence of state formation process which initially began with the Bayajidda legend. Although there are versions with regards to Bayajidda legend, there is a general consensus among scholars that societies existed in Hausaland with a distinctive form of government [known as *Sarauta* (kinship) system] prior to the 1804 Uthman dan Fodio Jihad.³⁰ Notable among societies that emerged in Hausaland in the pre-jihad period were Daura, Kano, Zauzau, Gobir, Rano, Biram, Kastina, Zamfara, Kwararafa, Gwari and so on.³¹ The expansion of Northern part of Nigeria during this period was later facilitated by the 1804 jihad. Aside political changes leading to the emergence of new dynasty, the jihad had tremendous effect on the demography of the area in particular. It resulted in the emergence of new settlements, towns and cities and the expansion of the old ones. For example, the emergence of towns like Gombe, Yola, Bauchi, Kontagora and Sokoto was as a result of the jihad.³²

The second factor responsible for pre-colonial urban structure in Nigeria was trade. Trade was a major factor that facilitated inter-group relations among Nigerian peoples during this period. Both internal and external trade developed in different parts of pre-colonial Nigeria. The first major form of external trade in the pre-colonial period in West Africa (Nigeria inclusive) was trans-Saharan trade. The trade flourished in Northern Nigeria during this period. Several cities were said to have developed for the purpose of supporting Saharan and trans-Saharan trade routes. The main trans-Saharan trade route in Northern Nigeria had its centre in Bornu. It connected Tripoli, Cairo, and the Kingdoms South of Egypt. The development of the trade attracted many traders and migrants from outside (mostly Arabs) and surrounding areas, who later settled in different areas like Kano, Katsina, which eventually acted as central citadels and political capitals³³ and Kukawa.³⁴ The areas were exposed to international trade as early as the 14th century and resulted in the growth of cities and towns in other parts of Northern Region. Inter-regional trade

³⁰ See R. A. ADELEYE, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804–1906*, London 1971, p. 16; FALOLA – MAHADI – UHOMOIBHI et al., p. 12.

³¹ ADELEYE, p. 13.

³² FALOLA – MAHADI – UHOMOIBHI et al., p. 15.

³³ J. B. OGUNSOLA, *West African History (A.D 1000 to Present day)*, Ibadan 1971, p. 44.

³⁴ Ibid.; G. OGUNREMI, The Pre-colonial economy and transportation in Northern Nigeria, in: I. A. AKINJOGBIN – S. O. OSOBA (eds.), *Topics on economic and social history*, Ile-Ife 1980, pp. 35–54.

relations between traders from Northern Nigeria and those of Southern part during this period equally facilitated urbanization.

Another major external trade that contributed to urban spaces prior to the establishment of colonial rule was the contact with Europe, which began during the Atlantic Slave trade in the 15th century. It was after the abolition of slave trade and the transition to legitimate trade and commerce in the 19th century that external trade relations between peoples of Nigeria was well developed. Several trade routes emerged in different parts of Nigeria. For instance, in Yorubaland, there was trade route from Egbado (in Western Yorubaland) through Igan or Ilogun to Iseyin, Shaki, Igboho, Kishi and to Oyo (all in Northern Yorubaland). From Oyo, this same route continued through Raba on the Niger to Kano. This development enabled Egbado to trade with Hausaland and Bornu. There was also the trade route, which linked Central and Northern Egbado with Abeokuta to the east and Ketu to the West. In the Ketu market, there were usually found some 4,000 traders from Shaki, Kishi, Igboho, Bariba, Dahomey and Porto Novo. This led to the rise of the Egba state.³⁵ The development of legitimate trade in the 19th century promoted effective trade relations between the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria, which resulted in the emergence of new settlements and growth of towns in both areas. In both areas, separate quarters emerged to host stranger migrant traders. While in the south, the new quarters were referred to as 'Sabo' (stranger settlement) and hosted the Hausa population, in the north, new quarters were referred to as 'Sabon Gari' (literally, new town) and hosted inhabitants who were not from the north such as the Yoruba.³⁶ The most commodities that promoted trade relations between Hausa traders and Yoruba traders were kolanuts, textiles and leather. Yoruba traders exchanged kolanuts for textiles and leather. During this period, some Northern cities had specific quarters for each group of specialised craft manufacturers. Also, in the Niger Delta area, a number of places like Bonny, Nembe, Brass, Warri, Duke town, Ebrohimi among others became not only major commercial centres, but also emerged as cities during legitimate trade.³⁷ Okpeh later argues that it was in these towns that

³⁵ K. FOLAYAN, Trade routes in Egbado in the 19th century, in: I. A. AKINJOGBIN – S. O. OSOBA (eds.), *Topics on economic and social history*, Ile-Ife 1980, pp. 83–87.

³⁶ R. O. OLANIYI, *Diaspora Is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912–1999*, Muenchen 2008, p. 11.

³⁷ K. O. DIKE, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830–1885*, Oxford 1956, p. 23.

besides trade, other forms of interaction took place all of which generated the sense of awareness in among these diverse groups.³⁸

The above analysis shows that the process towards city building in Nigeria actually began in the pre-colonial or pre-industrial era. The development was mostly facilitated by migration, politics and trade. This was later popularised by the establishment of colonial rule from the 1900. This will be the focus of next section.

Colonialism, Migration, and the Emergence of Urban Spaces in Nigeria

The British occupation of Nigeria was a product of two major phases, namely first (1851–1900) and second (1900–1914). While the first phase was characterised by aggressive acquisition of territories through the adoption of military conquest, signing of treaties and gunboat diplomacy (which could be grouped into two measures-violent and non-violent), which lasted till 1900,³⁹ the efforts of the British during the second phase were geared towards bring different parts of Nigeria together under a single political entity for easy administration. According to Tamuno, the desire to achieve a total and effective control over the Nigeria area constituted the prime objective of British colonial administrators between 1900 and 1914.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, by 1900, Nigeria had been recognised as “a British colony” by other European colonialists.⁴¹ However, despite this, it was not until 1914 that a formal establishment of colonial rule was impose on the whole of Nigeria. Thus, having successfully conquered Nigeria during this phase, the desire of the British was to open markets for the products of British industries and as well to control the important raw materials available in the country.⁴² There were two main conflicting arguments with respect to the British interests in Nigeria. They were Eurocentric and Afrocentric scholars. While Eurocentric scholars such as

³⁸ O. O. OKPEH, Jr., Patterns and dynamics of inter-group relations in Nigeria, 1800–1900, in: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 17, 2007/2008, p. 129.

³⁹ A. BARKINDO – M. OMOLEWA – G. BABALOLA, *Africa and the wider World 3: Africa since the scramble*, Lagos 1994, p. 28; T. FALOLA – A. MAHADI – M. UHOMOIBHI et al., *History of Nigeria 3. Nigeria in the 20th century*, Ibadan 1991, p. 2.

⁴⁰ See T. N. TAMUNO, British Colonial Administration in Nigeria in the twentieth century, in: O. IKIME (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan 1980, pp. 393–409.

⁴¹ FALOLA – MAHADI – UHOMOIBHI et al., *History of Nigeria 3*, p. 1.

⁴² A. T. AJAYI, *Colonial Policies and the Textile Industry in Eastern Yorubaland, 1900–1980*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Department of History, University of Ibadan 2005, p. 5.

D. K. Fieldhouse and Arthur Norton Cook argue that the British colonial interests in Nigeria were motivated mainly by social and political intentions, Afrocentric scholars such as Toyin Falola, Walter Rodney, Kwame Nkrumah and Aime Cesaire posit that British enterprise was motivated to a large degree by the economic factors.⁴³ For example, Fieldhouse while criticizing Marxist explanations of colonial expansion and exploration argues that it was colonialism not economic enterprise that precipitated Europe's political impulses and military rivalries. Fieldhouse further explains that the missionaries, explorers, and adventurers who had exerted pressure on European countries to search for colonies had no economic interests as such at heart. The economic interests of the merchants were merely accidental⁴⁴ His argument was later challenged by African scholars. For example, Toyin Falola argues that British enterprise in Nigeria was majorly motivated by economic forces. He posits that the British managed the Nigerian economy to the advantage of the metropolis through a variety of direct and indirect means among which were the creation of modern transport, the incorporation of Nigeria into the British monetary system.⁴⁵ The various colonial policies of administration introduced by the British justified the various arguments of the African scholars that Nigerian society was governed for the benefit of the metropolis. Here, we will restrict ourselves to just few of the policies that facilitated migration and urbanization.

Colonial agricultural policy was one of the main colonial economic policies introduced by the British which facilitated migration and the emergence of urban spaces in Nigeria. The colonial agricultural policy emphasised the cultivation of "cash crops" at the expense of food crops (the traditional economy of the Nigerian peoples). Emphasis on the new colonial economy led to the search for suitable fertile land and the emergence of wage labour, which invariably resulted in forced migration. As pointed out elsewhere in this paper, the movement of people from rural areas of less economic activity to those of greater economic activity within the same region, which occurred in different parts of Nigeria during this period, was mostly caused by emphasis on the production

⁴³ Ibid.; O. C. ADESINA, *A Historical Evaluation on the Western Nigerian Government Agricultural Policy, 1951–1966*. Unpublished M.A Thesis. Department of History. Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife 1989, p. 13.

⁴⁴ D. K. FIELDHOUSE, *Colonialism, 1870–1945*, London 1983, p. 3.

⁴⁵ J. IHONVBERE – T. FALOLA, Introduction: Colonialism and Exploitation, in: T. FALOLA (ed.), *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?*, New Jersey 1987, p. 8.

of cash crops. Both migrant farmers and labourers were affected by this development. While migrant farmers were searching for suitable fertile land for the cultivation of newly introduced export crops such as cocoa, migrant labours sought for work on the plantations. Between 1920s and 1950s, there was aggressive colonial campaign for expansion in cash crop production.⁴⁶ The demand for cocoa, rubber and palm oil increased during this period. This led to the search for land by the Nigerian farmers. In Ondo Division for instance, there was influx of Yoruba Cocoa migrant farmers from Oyo, Ilorin, and Abeokuta Provinces into the division. They penetrated the interior parts of Ondo Division and acquired large tract of land from the indigenes through their traditional rulers such *Osemawe* of Ondo and *Jegun* of Ile-Oluji⁴⁷ for the establishment of cocoa farmers. Berry observes that the genesis of the influx of cocoa migrant farmers in the division was traced to the 1930s.⁴⁸ The availability of suitable fertile land and its easy accessibility in the division coupled with colonial land policy, which encouraged commercialisation of rural land facilitated the influx of migrant farmers to the area.⁴⁹ The same experience was witnessed in West Niger Igboland. Onyekpe argues that migrant capitalist farmers, who were mostly Urhobo and Ukwuani planters penetrated West Niger Igboland and acquired expansive virgin lands from both individual peasants and communities for the purpose of setting up rubber plantations.⁵⁰ This further led to the influx of migrant labourers into the two areas. While cocoa migrant farmers in Ondo Division drew their migrant labourers from the places of origin of the farmers and middle belt such as *Agatu*, *Igede*, *Ebira*⁵¹ and so on, the Urhobo rubber planters in West Niger Igboland depended on the wage labour of migrants from Urhoboland

⁴⁶ E. K. FALUYI, *A history of agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900–1960*. Ph.D. Thesis. Department of History. University of Lagos 1994, pp. 40–55.

⁴⁷ S. A. ADESOTE, Cocoa migrant farmers and Rural Development in Ondo Division, 1940s and 1980s, in: *Keffi Journal of Historical Studies*, 2017, p. 27.

⁴⁸ S. S. BERRY, The Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria, in: *The Journal of African History*, 15, 1, 1974, p. 86.

⁴⁹ S. A. ADESOTE – R. O. OLANIYI, Land Acquisition, Cocoa farming and Internal Migration in Ondo Division, 1947–1972, in: *Lagos Historical Review*, 16, 1, 2016, pp. 107–126.

⁵⁰ J. G. N. ONYEKPE, Land disputes and inter-group relations in Western Niger Igboland, in: C. B. N. OGBOGBO – R. O. OLANIYI – O. G. MUOJAMA (eds.), *The dynamics of inter-group relations in Nigeria since 1960: Essays in honour of Obaro Ikime @ 70*, Ibadan 2012, pp. 188–191.

⁵¹ ADESOTE – OLANIYI, pp. 107–126.

and the East Niger Igbo districts (a good number of them were Efik.⁵² The effect of the establishment of rubber plantation on labour migration was put by I. A. Asiwaju in this way: “*The establishment of rubber plantation led to the popularisation of wage labour. It was a gigantic concern employing hundreds of labourers in its various services. Apart from the clearing, planting, watering and later the tapping of the rubber plants, such labourers were employed in erecting the various buildings of both the factory and residential quarters adjoined to the plantation.*”⁵³

In Ondo Division, for example, paid labourers in cocoa, rubber and timber industry included the Ebira, Agatu, Ibo, Urhobo, Edo and Osun people. This could be corroborated with the Annual Report on Ondo Division of 1946 which states that: “*Ibo labourers still continue to provide most of the manual labour for timber, cocoa and public works. Indeed, it is difficult to know how trade and industry could possibly carry on without them.*”⁵⁴

The place of infrastructural development on migration and urbanisation during colonial rule cannot be overemphasized. Infrastructure can be classified into two groups of services, namely economic infrastructure, and social infrastructure. While social infrastructure embraces health, education and water supply, economic infrastructure includes transportation (roads, railways, and seaports) and communication. With respect to the economic infrastructure, the period between 1900 and 1960 witnessed considerable investment of resources in the development of modern transport infrastructure. Before we interrogate the impact of infrastructure on migration and urbanisation, it is imperative to have glimpse of the evolution and development of each economic infrastructure. During this period, there was a rapid transformation of transport facilities especially railways, roads and seaports.⁵⁵ Improvement of economic infrastructure in the colonial period was in line with the prevailing philosophy of the European imperialist power, which saw transport development as the key to colonial exploitation. Oluwasanmi observes that the expansion in the production of agricultural materials for the export market was facilitated by the building of a modern transport

⁵² ONYEKPE, p. 190.

⁵³ A. I. ASIWAJU, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889–1945. A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London 1976, p. 168.

⁵⁴ National Archives Ibadan (hereinafter NAI), Ondo Prof. 1/120C Piece. Annual Report on Ondo District, 1946, p. 12.

⁵⁵ B. OGUNDANA, The Development of Seaport in Colonial Nigeria, in: I. A. AKINJOGBIN – S. O. OSOBA (eds.), *Topics on economic and social history*, Ile-Ife 1980, pp. 159–163.

system.⁵⁶ All the three means of transportation railway, road and seaport transport were developed during this period. Fundamentally, two main reasons facilitated the early development of transportation system in Nigeria. First was the need to establish effective territorial administrative machinery. The colonial government held the view that in a vast territory like Nigeria without adequate transport facilities easy movement in the territory would be difficult. Second, the vast interior of the country could not be fully exploited without putting in place efficient system of transportation.⁵⁷ Railway was the first to be developed. Following the establishment and consolidation of British administrative control in Nigeria, the British began to embark on the construction of the railway system. Although the official history of the Nigerian Railway was concentrated on the period after 1901 when the Iddo-Ibadan line was opened and when Railway policy was adopted, efforts to construct them began in the late 19th century.⁵⁸ The railway received the most important and urgent consideration. The demand for railway to link Lagos with the hinterland antedated the imposition of colonial rule.⁵⁹ As early as 1875, a European traveller, John Whitford had suggested the construction of a line from Lagos to Lokoja, romanticising the political economic and religious advantages derivable from it. Similar calls were also made by many other European and Africans. Despite all these calls, nothing was done before the 1890s.⁶⁰ The actual construction railway line did not commence until March 1896.⁶¹ It was designed as an arrow standard colonial gauge of 3'6,⁶² which was to pass through the region where cash crops were available for quick transportation to Lagos.⁶³ The approved line from Iddo to Ibadan was not completed until the end of 1900. This completed railway line was formally opened on March 4, 1901.⁶⁴ It was

⁵⁶ OLUWASANMI, p. 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ O. OMOSINI, *The Background to Railway Policy in Nigeria*, in: I. A. AKINJOGBIN – S. O. OSOBA (eds.), *Topics on economic and social history*, Ile-Ife 1980, p. 10.

⁵⁹ FALOLA, *The Political Economy*, p. 167.

⁶⁰ See O. O. OLUBOMEHIN, *Road transportation in Western Nigeria, 1900–1960: Its role, Nature and Impact*, Saarbrücken 2011, p. 16.

⁶¹ See J. O. OYEMAKINDE, *A History of Indigenous Labour on the Nigerian Railway, 1885–1945*. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan 1970.

⁶² OMOSINI, p. 157.

⁶³ FALOLA, *The Political Economy*, p. 167.

⁶⁴ OLANIYAN, p. 14.

later extended to the Northern and Eastern Regions.⁶⁵ For example, the Bauchi Light Railway reached Bukuru in 1915.⁶⁶

The advent of motor transport created a greater economic revolution than that of the railroads because motor vehicle as a means of conveyance have a range which far exceeds that commanded by the railways.⁶⁷ The colonial government designed the building of trunk roads to run horizontally across the country so as to link the regional capitals to facilitate the movement of commodities.⁶⁸ The first motorable road in Nigeria was built in 1906 from Ibadan to Oyo and it was linked to the railways by a railway-operated road transport service.⁶⁹ Before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, over 2000 miles of roads had been built.⁷⁰ In the 1920s, the colonial government took frantic effort towards road construction on the fact the railway was inadequate for the economic needs of Nigeria. The railway network tapped comparatively small areas in the vast territory. Roads were required to carry the agricultural produce from areas not reached by railways to the coast and consuming areas.⁷¹ Although the construction of roads was interrupted by the First World War, it resumed from 1922.⁷² In Southwestern Nigeria for example, roads were constructed between Ibadan and Lagos; Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode; Ilesa and Akure to Ondo among others.⁷³ While Olaniyan argues that by 1926, the construction and maintenance of roads were the joint responsibility of the Native Administrations and the Public Works Department⁷⁴, Olubomehin posits that with respect to Western Nigeria, road development in the region from the 1920 involved the government,

⁶⁵ S. A. AGBOOLA, Agricultural Changes in Western Nigeria, 1850–1910, in: I. A. AKINJOGBIN – S. O. OSOBA (eds.), *Topics on economic and social history*, Ile-Ife 1980, p. 142.

⁶⁶ W. M. FREUND, Labour Migration to the Northern Nigerian Tin Mines, 1903–1945, in: *The Journal of African History*, 22, 1, 1981, pp. 73–84.

⁶⁷ OLANIYAN, p. 86.

⁶⁸ O. O. OLUBOMEHIN, Road transportation as lifeline of the economy in Western Nigeria, 1920 to 1952, in: *African Journal of History and Culture*, 4, 3, 2012, p. 39.

⁶⁹ OLANIYAN, p. 87.

⁷⁰ G. K. HELLEINER, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria*, Illinois 1966, p. 14.

⁷¹ OLUWASANMI, p. 15.

⁷² OLUBOMEHIN, p. 39.

⁷³ OLUBOMEHIN, p. 40.

⁷⁴ OLANIYAN, p. 40.

the people and the missionaries.⁷⁵ With respect to seaport transport, the years 1914 to 1954 could be described as the colonial phase in seaport development in Nigeria. Port concentration was centred on Lagos (the leading port in Nigeria), Port Harcourt, Sapele, Warri, Calabar, Bonny, Opopo, Burutu and so on. Lagos and Port Harcourt ports were the main ports actually financed by the government. Others were managed by the private European firms.⁷⁶ In the period between 1907 and 1938, while a total capital expenditure of £4.8 million was incurred by the government on port facilities in Lagos and Port Harcourt, the public expenditure in facilities during the same period in all other Nigerian ports combined was under £20,000.⁷⁷

The impact of infrastructural development on migration and urbanization in Nigeria was significant. Although the railway was mainly constructed to facilitate effective transformation of goods from the hinterland to the coastal areas, it enhanced an influx of migrant labourers from the hinterland particularly from the Northern, Eastern and Western parts of Nigeria. The genesis of labour migration occasioned by the development of railway system started with its construction. Generally, railway construction in Nigeria involved the conscription of massive amounts of peasant labour (forced labour) minimally paid. The widespread use of forced labour was deployed for the construction of roads, rail and harbour as well as mining works in all British colonies in West Africa.⁷⁸ The great impact of forced railway labour was much appreciated by mining firms: The system under which the Government has found labour for the building of railways has a strong influence towards developing the native.⁷⁹ The construction of railway from the Northern part to Western and Eastern parts of Nigeria led to the influx of migrant labourers from the regions into Jos and Kano.⁸⁰ The connection of railway line from Lagos to Kano and other areas in Northern Nigeria led to mass movement of labour

⁷⁵ OLUBOMEHIN, p. 39.

⁷⁶ OGUNDANA, pp. 159–163.

⁷⁷ NAI, Report of Accountant-General to Financial Secretary, Federal Ministry of Transport File T. 0204, dated 29th December 1934, Lagos.

⁷⁸ A. O. BRITWUM, *Labour in African History: Trends and Organisational forms*. A Paper Presented at the Second ITUC-Africa New Year School, Kisumu, Kenya, January 22–27, s. d.

⁷⁹ FREUND, pp. 73–84.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

migrants from the latter to former. As observed by Edo and Muritala, railway facilitated the movement of people to Lagos than goods it meant to convey. They further explain that passengers carried on board railway rose from 7,015,000 in 1959 to 7,881,000 in 1960.⁸¹ Olaniyi argues that with the emergence of railway, the movement of Hausa migrants into Ibadan basically for trade in kolanut and cattle increased dramatically. He also explained that the presence of railway in Ibadan accounted for the massive settlements migrants in different parts of the city. For example, while the Ijebu largely settled around Oke-Ado, migrants from Lagos settled around Ekotedo and Mokola.⁸²

The creation of administrative headquarters in some areas also facilitated migration and urbanisation. These administrative headquarters attracted the establishment of social infrastructure such as telegraph and telephone services, health, education, and water supply. Most of the headquarters of the European private firms such as United African Company (UAC), John Holts among others were equally set up in the administrative headquarters of the colonial administration. This development facilitated the growth of rural-urban migration. While some came in search of jobs, others came purposely for the acquisition of western education. Osoba observes that the phenomenon of labour migration from rural areas and lesser towns to new urban centres of commerce and administration such as Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Onitsha, Kano, Kastina, Jos, Enugu, Benin City among others between 1911 and 1963 became unprecedented.⁸³ This could be corroborated with the submission of Ahokegh that rural-urban migration in the 1940s and 1950s was exacerbated as there was strong desire by migrants for the acquisition of western education in the new areas designated as commercial and administrative centres. He identified areas like Makurdi, Gboko, Katsina-Ala and Adikpo in Tivland of Central Nigeria which grew into urban centres due to the influx of migrants occasioned by the above-mentioned factor.⁸⁴ Other areas that were designated as administrative headquarters by the colonial authorities were Warri, Ondo town, Ijebu-Ode, Ogbomoso and so on.

⁸¹ V. O. EDO – M. Muritala, Overcrowding and disease epidemics in Colonial Lagos: Rethinking road and railway infrastructure, in: *The Nigerian Journal of Economic History*, 11 & 12, 2014, p. 181.

⁸² R. O. OLANIYI, Landmarks in Economic History of Ibadan, 1830–1930, in: *Sokoto Journal of History*, 3, 2014, pp. 195–212.

⁸³ OSOBA, pp. 515–516.

⁸⁴ AHOKEGH, pp. 232–250.

The Impact of Physical Spaces in New Urban Centres on Host Communities, Migrants, and Host/Migrant Relations

The emergence of physical spaces in the newly urban centres caused by colonialism was not without its socio-economic impact (which were both positive and negative) on the host communities, migrants and host/migrant relations. It is practically impossible to exhaust all the socio-economic effects of this phenomenon in a discourse of this nature. Therefore, efforts would be made to interrogate just a few of them.

Population explosion was a major impact of physical spaces in new urban centres caused by colonialism. The colonial economic policy and the development of social and economic infrastructure stimulated migration. It is true that high rate of fertility and decline of mortality can contribute to population increase as argued by demographers. During this period, high density of population in new urban centres in Nigeria like Lagos, Makurdi, Gboko, Ibadan, Jos, Warri, Enugu, Calabar, Port Harcourt and Kano was mainly caused by the influx of migrants occasioned by colonialism. For example, Ahokegh observes that while population of Makurdi rose from 7,500 in 1939 to 10,000 in 1948 and to 16,270 in 1952.⁸⁵ As pointed out elsewhere in the paper, Edo and Muritala reveal those passengers carried by railway to Lagos from the Northern part rose from 7,015,000 in 1959 to 7,881,000 in 1960.⁸⁶ As opined by Ake, the phenomenon of urbanization during colonial rule was born out of the contradictions created by capital accumulation, which encouraged the socialisation of production and the spatial and social concentration of producers caused colonialism.⁸⁷

The attendant problems associated with population explosion in these colonial urban centres such as overcrowding or congestion, outbreak of diseases, enormous pressure on land, poor sanitation and housing arrangement were other negative consequences of urbanization caused by colonialism. With respect to Lagos, Olukoju observes that the high density of population that resided in the indigenous part of the Lagos Island and the congestion associated with it had negative effects on the living conditions of the people.⁸⁸ Edo and Muritala corroborate the effect

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ EDO – MURITALA, p. 181.

⁸⁷ C. AKE, *A political economy of Africa*, London 1981, p. 78.

⁸⁸ A. OLUKOJU, Population pressure, housing and sanitation in Metropolitan Lagos, 1900–1939, in: L. OLAKUNLE (ed.), *Urban Transition in Africa. Aspects of urbanization and Change in Lagos*, Lagos 2004, p. 37.

of population explosion on the livelihood of the people living in Lagos during this period in this way: “*the enormous pressure on land occasioned by rapid growth of population forced many people to resort to erecting buildings in swampy areas such as Elegbata, Alakoro, Anikantanmo, Oko Awo and Sangrouse, which were ordinarily inhabitable.*”⁸⁹

The above new settlements experienced outbreak of epidemics such as tuberculosis from 1919.⁹⁰ Olukoju explains that the high incidence of the epidemic in the city of Lagos caused steady rise in death and infant mortality rate between 1912 and 1922.⁹¹ Edo and Muritala reveal that while total death in 1912 was 29, it increased to 42 in 1913 and to 78 in 1922. They further explain that incidence attracted negative reactions and protest of the elite in the city.⁹² Ahokegh argues that congestion in colonial urban areas caused the spread of European diseases such as gonorrhoea, syphilis, influenza; and the emergence of social vices such as stealing and theft, prostitution, and other crimes in Tivland of Central Nigeria.⁹³

There was the emergence of inter-communal disputes over land between the host and migrants. Although inter-communal dispute was not a new phenomenon in the history of inter-group relations in Nigeria, it took a new dimension during colonial period. In the pre-colonial, inter-communal disputes mainly occurred because of the process of state formation. Colonial agricultural policy (which emphasised cash crop production) and the commercialization of rural land [occasioned by the Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance of 1917 (formerly known as the Public Lands Ordinance of 1876 and which was initially restricted to the Colony of Lagos)],⁹⁴ accelerated intra and inter communal disputes over land. With respect to the West Niger Igboland, Onyekpe argues that fierce struggles for farmlands in the area occurred at two levels. First, within the communities (that is intra-community struggles and disputes); and second between communities (that is inter-community struggles and disputes). He further explains that the phenomenon which began

⁸⁹ EDO – MURITALA, p. 181.

⁹⁰ *Lagos Weekly Record*, September 13, 1919. Editorial: “Overcrowding and Tuberculosis”.

⁹¹ OLUKOJU, p. 37.

⁹² EDO – MURITALA, p. 181.

⁹³ AHOKEGH, pp. 232–250.

⁹⁴ T. O. ELIAS, *Nigerian Land Law*, London 1971, p. 51.

during colonial period was accelerated in the post-colonial period.⁹⁵ He observes that the disputes involved the cases between the historically stranger communities, which began to reject their status as strangers or tenant communities and their host communities, which naturally insisted on their status as owners and landlord communities. He identifies notable examples of inter-communal disputes over land in this area. For example, the loss of large areas of land to rubber and later to the production of cassava on commercial scale in Agbor Alidimma and Igumpe communities led to dispute between them in 1940s-1960s. Also, the logical results of extreme scarcity in land in the aftermath of large-scale land expropriations led to disputes between Ejeme Aniogor and Ekuku Agbor in 1939–1960s; and Umutu and Urhonigbe in the 1950s and 1960.⁹⁶

The transformation of new colonial urban centres constituted one of the positive effects of colonialism. Undoubtedly, major areas that served as colonial administrative headquarters experienced major transformation. For instance, seaports as focal points in international and national transport services became advantageous locations for secondary and tertiary economic activities like manufacturing, assemblage of goods, wholesaling, and distribution. For example, port concentration enabled Lagos, Port Harcourt, Calabar and Warri to grow as large centres of commerce and industry. In fact, in the immediate post-colonial period, Lagos and Port Harcourt in particular became fastest growing industrial centres in Nigeria.⁹⁷ There was also the emergence of new settlements and the transformation of some hamlets into villages as well as some villages into towns. Although the influx of migrants into some areas contributed to population explosion as argued earlier, in the others, it resulted in their transformation from towns into cities. As observed by Ifediora, the history of many of Nigeria's urban centres situated along the coast is coterminous with the period of colonial rule, 1900–1960. He further explains that though these coastal states had had their origin as centres of Afro-European commerce in the period before the imposition of colonial rule, they were later popularised and grew rapidly because of their emergence as centres of colonial administration. He concludes that the effort of the colonial government to develop the urban centres of Nigeria

⁹⁵ ONYEKPE, pp. 198–199.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 200–202.

⁹⁷ OGUNDANA, p. 163.

through the setting up of social and economic infrastructure was the foundation of modern urban growth and spatial development in the country.⁹⁸ The presence of these migrants resulted in the emergence of new settlements as well as the transformation of some rural settlements to urban centres. Aside the proto settlements and their offshoots, which are the secondary settlements (described as the indigenous settlements with rightful claims of autochthony), new settlements emerged and classified as migrant communities in Ondo Division and West Niger Igboland.⁹⁹

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing examined colonialism, migration, and the emergence of urban spaces in colonial Nigeria. It argued that the process of city building or urbanization began during pre-colonial period. However, the phenomenon assumed a new dimension during colonial period. It analysed the effect of the colonial policy of administration on rural-urban migration, which has now become a permanent feature since the post-colonial period. The discourse is also situated within the existing socio-economic and demographic theories of urbanization and migration. The paper submitted that while push and pull theory of migration was the main theory of migration that facilitated rural-urban migration during this period of study; socio-economic theories of urbanization were the major urbanization theories. It observed that the socio-economic expansion in some Nigerian communities caused by the colonial authorities stimulated rural-urban migration, which invariably resulted in their emergence as urban centres. The socio-economic effects (which were both positive and negative) of physical spaces in the new urban centres on the host communities, migrants and host/migrant relations were equally analysed. The paper concludes that every policy no matter how well thought tends to produce unintended results. Therefore, the British colonial policy in Nigeria was no exception to this general tendency. Hence, the British Administration of Nigeria was a mixed blessing to the people.

⁹⁸ A. O. IFEDIORA, Impact of the physical environment on the growth and development of Warri, 1891–1999. In: *Ilorin Journal of History & International Studies*, 2, 1, 2011, p. 83.

⁹⁹ ADESOTE, p. 45; ONYEKPE, p. 184.