

# THE CITY STATE OF IBADAN

Texts and Contexts



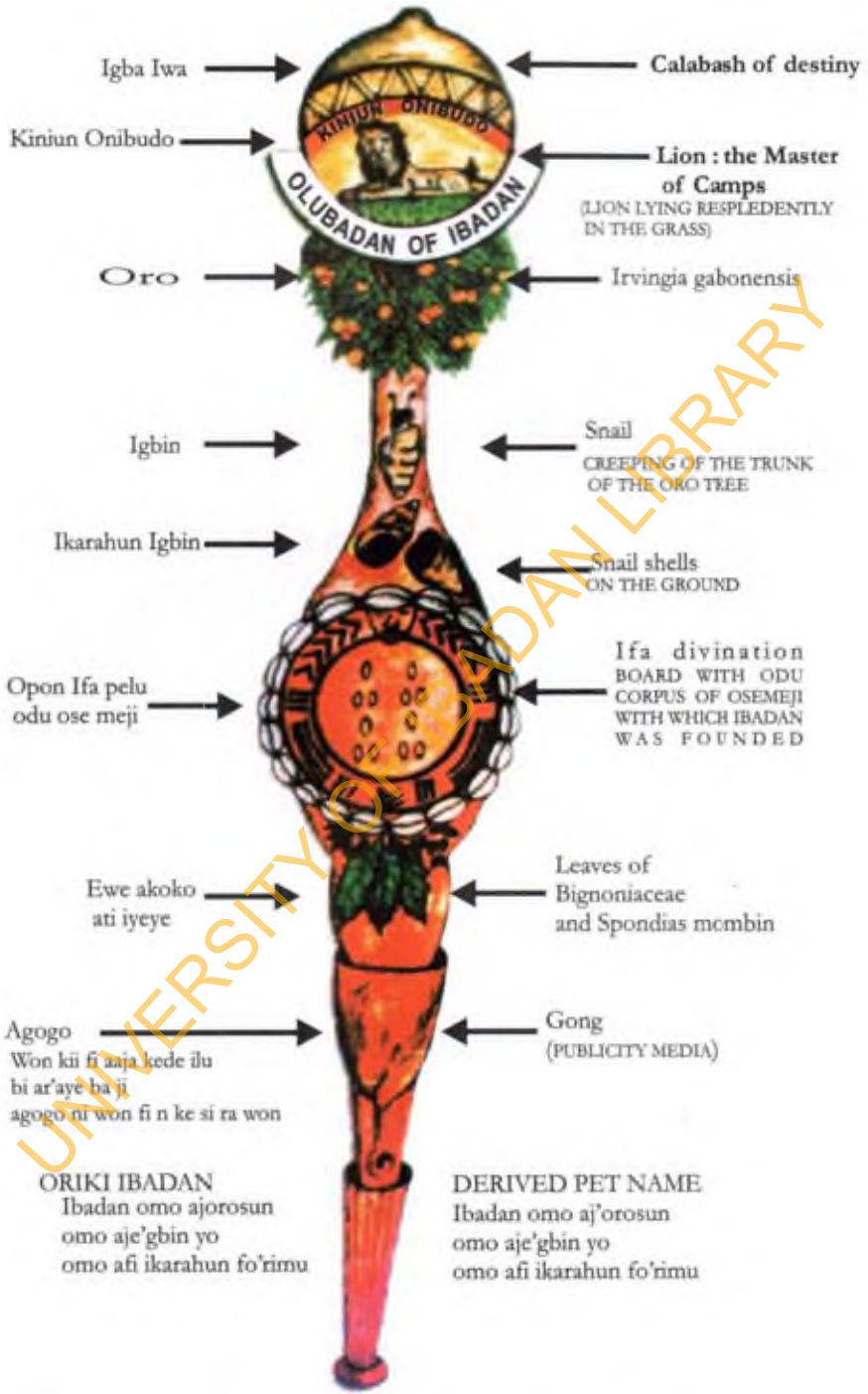
edited by  
DELE LAYIWOLA



**THE CITY STATE OF IBADAN**

**Texts and Contexts**

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BY LATE CHIEF J.A. AYORINDE, D.LITT (HONS) IFE, MFR, MBE, JP

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*edited by*

**'Dele Layiwola**

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THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN



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*In memory of those good souls who  
either directly or indirectly  
helped to shape this publication*

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## FOREWORD

It is an honour and privilege to be given the opportunity to view the invaluable contributions on Ibadan in this book by distinguished Africanists. The papers present vivid and fascinating pictures of Ibadan. However, there is this well known parlance, "iwo t'anwo Ibadan, apakan laari". When translated, this means, "irrespective of the perspective from which one views Ibadan, one can only see a side of it". This is true not only of its geographical spread but also of its socio-cultural features. This observation by no means discounts the invaluable contributions in this book. It is nevertheless important to make some comments which hopefully might provide some signposts for research.

The historical origins of Ibadan has never been in doubt. But when was Ibadan founded? This remains an open question. In *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (1930) by the highly revered Chief, later, Oba Akinyele, it was related how Lagelu, a warrior and a hunter, alias Oro Apata Maja, his family, and associates left Ile-Ife and founded a new settlement situated between a forest and the savannah which they called Eba Odan. This later came to be known as Ibadan. The first settlement was reported to have been destroyed at the behest of Alaafin Sango of Oyo following the desecration of an Egungun (a shrouded ancestral spirit) at an Egungun festival. The Olowo of Owo, the Awujale of Ijebu, the Alake of Abeokuta, Owa Ilesha, Orangun Ile Ila and others were reportedly involved in the destruction campaign that was said to have lasted for three years. It was reported that the incident took place long before the reign of Ajagbo, the 16th Alaafin.

If M.D.W. Jeffery is correct, then Ile Ife was founded by Oduduwa, the legendary father of the Yoruba, around 1050 - 80A.D. (*The Nigerian Field* vol. 23, 1958) Oduduwa was the first Oba and the first Alaafin. (*Old Oyo Empire* by Kolawole Balogun, 1985). Should Jeffery's estimation that each Alaafin would, on the average, have reigned for 20 years be correct, then Alaafin Oduduwa would have reigned around 1080 A.D.; Sango the fourth Alaafin would have reigned around 1160 A.D.; while Alaafin Ajagbo, the 16th Alaafin would have reigned around 1500 A.D., long after Lagelu whose reign and Sango's would



appear contemporaneous. It can, therefore, be assumed that Lagelu founded Ibadan before 1500 A.D., probably about the 12th century. These are historical probabilities which are subject to further research.

A number of writers ascribed the original site of Ibadan's first settlement to Egba Forest. According to Biobaku (1991), there were in Egba Forest Ilugun, with 72 towns and Agura, with 72 towns. (*Egba and their Neighbours*—S. Biobaku, 1991). Ilugun was one of the towns founded by the veterans of Owu War after 1829 (*Iwe Itan Ibadan*—I.B. Akinyele 1930). Ilugun is situated along Ibadan-Abeokuta Road, Ido, in Ido Local Government. Then, Ibadan was inhabited by the Agura. At various locations in Akinyele Local Government, Ibadan were: Ilawo, Ojoo (Ojoho), Oje, Ikereku, Ika, Ijaye, Owe, etc. All these participated in the Owu war. Some of the allies who identified with Ibadan during the war decided to settle in Ibadan. A number of these decided to join the Ibadan third settlement at Ori "Yangi". Others settled at Oke Ofa, Isale Ijebu, and Opopo Yeosa. These settlements could not be called war camps. That would undermine Ibadan militarism. Ibadan at that stage should rightly be graded a military state as aptly described by Johnson. (*The History of the Yorubas*—Samuel Johnson 1921).

Among the settlers were two archrivals, namely, Ege, an Ife warrior, and Lamodi, who was said to be an Egba warlord. At a gathering at Isale Ijebu, Lamodi shot Ege dead and was himself slain in the scuffle which ensued thereafter. After the tussle, Lamodi's followers retired to settle at the other side of Ona River. Fearing reprisals and not quite trusting the Ibadan warriors, the settlers under Sodeke migrated to Abeokuta, then a village farm of an Itoko man and a resting place for Oke Ogun traders. Thus, the immigrants contributed substantially to the founding of the present-day Abeokuta around 1830. The immigrants carried with them marks of their original homes. Hence, one finds at Abeokuta quarters like Ago Owe, Ago Ijaiye, Ago Ika, Ikereku, etc.

In a brief overview like this, one can only touch on a few issues. For example, one wonders if there was any ethnic group at the time of Lagelu's adventure in the 12th century to which the term Egba could be applied. The term Egba, according to Biobaku, probably derived from the following:

- Egbalugbo, which may be rendered as "wanderers through the forest."

## FOREWORD

- Egbaluwe, which E.P. Colton, in his report on Egba boundary in 1905, gave as “wanderers towards the river.”
- Another conjecture is that the Egba people were led into the forest by an Esagba from whom they took their name or
- E gba won, the most popular derivation of the name connotes open handed generosity which is considered to be the distinguishing trait of the Egba.

These derivations could only apply at the time the migrants under Sodeke arrived at Abeokuta and not earlier. On the one hand, it would appear anachronistic to apply the term Egba to the Eba Odan community which hosted the settlement which Lagelu founded in the 12th century. On the other hand, a 19th century Oba Alake could not possibly be involved in the destruction of the first Ibadan settlement in the 12th century.

The chaotic state of road transportation in Ibadan metropolis is indeed an issue of concern to all law-abiding citizens. There is perennial traffic congestion especially in commercial centres. Ancient settlements in the town are virtually inaccessible to motor vehicles as unauthorized structures obstruct the flow of traffic everywhere on proposed roads. Often, the situation is further compounded by official and semi official vehicles with mounted sirens that force their way through heavy traffic, creating chaos where there is no emergency—shouting cries of “great battles where there had been no fighting”. Almost all the available roads are littered with refuse. And this is the same Ibadan described more than a century ago by Ivan Milson, assistant colonial secretary as the London of Negroland. What a retrogression! Lack of necessary political will makes enforcement of traffic regulations impossible. The foregoing certainly demands concerted attention from the authorities at state and local government levels. Intensive community education is necessary. Above all, the vehicle speed limit should be enforced. With determined efforts and strong commitment on all sides, the hope for a greater tomorrow could be realized.

All the papers in this book are relevant to contemporary Ibadan. The authors deserve commendation for jobs well done.

Chief M.I. Okunola

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This book would have remained a lofty dream were it not for the research grant from the Senate Research Grant Committee of the University of Ibadan. For this, we are immensely grateful to the university.

Professor Cornelius Oyeleke Adepegba, former director of the Institute of African Studies, offered to coordinate the research. His unfortunate and sudden demise on 1st October, 2002 drew a wary pall on the project, which was eventually passed onto me. My colleagues and I remain indebted to the enthusiasm and humane leadership of Professor Adepegba.

Having inherited the data collected over one decade ago, inflicted a number of false starts on the project. Indeed a number of the researchers have retired. For this, I have fallen into the debt of all the scholars whose works are here represented. I sincerely apologize to them.

The work was further delayed by the unfortunate loss of much of the illustrative materials I had earlier gathered for the publishers. I therefore, had to return to the field at a time of heavy administrative responsibility as director of the Institute of African Studies. In re-collating and re-aggregating the illustrations and photographs in this book, I enlisted the help of Chief Itanola Okunola (now late) Professor (Mrs.) Bolanle Awe, Chief Adegboyega Arulogun, Chief Bayo Oyero, Professor Adeniyi Jaiyeola, Dr Kehinde Adekunle, Mr. Ayo Opakunbi, Mr Imal Silva, Mr Yomi Layinka and Akogun Lekan Alabi. The following officials of the Oyo State Ministry of Information and Orientation were extremely helpful and provided hands-on assistance and support: Messrs D.O. Abioje and S.O. Ayoade as well as Mrs. Bukola Bakare. Professor Emeritus Martin Banham and Professor Emeritus Lalage Bown, who were lecturers at the University of Ibadan between 1956 and 1966, have not only been wonderful mentors but veritable sources of reprographic detail and encouragement.

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Finally, our Creator had always been there in the all-pervasive backdrop and foregoing cloud watching, as it were, amidst the primal mist of all primordial beginnings. Unto them we sing *déjà vu*. The past resides in the future and, in the end, nothing is lost but all regained.

D.L.

Easter, 2015

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# INTRODUCTION

## The City-State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts

Since the publication of *The City of Ibadan* in 1967,<sup>1</sup> quite a number of books have emerged on the city which has now become a sub-Saharan urban and cosmopolitan phenomenon. The new theory emerging is that the 19th century city of Ibadan which became a war camp and successor to the great Oyo Empire was actually the third emergence of a primordial city state. The first and second had been destroyed by successive revolts and civil strife arising from the denizens' disrespect for cultural institutions. This view, though as controversial as it is anachronistic, has now gained currency and authority.<sup>2</sup> In our present circumstances, it has become a logical and historical necessity given the phenomenal expanse of the megalopolis. The theory rests on the hypothesis that it broke into village settlements which subsequently became the primordial satellite settlements which are believed to be the recognized village settlements of all who lay claim to being authentic natives of Ibadan.

The rise of Ibadan as a successor empire to Oyo had been exhaustively studied by Bolanle Awe in her D.Phil. thesis at Oxford University.<sup>3</sup> Indeed the supremacy of Ibadan in the 19th century became the basis for its being the headquarters of the colonial settlement in Western Nigeria, though Oyo remained the titular headquarters of the empire. There is a very interesting point here because Ibadan was the last bastion of Yoruba warhead and military campaigns. Ibadan warriors

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1 P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje & B. Awe (editors), *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

2 See, for instance, Jide Fatokun, *Ibadanland: Facts and Figures* (Ibadan: Positive Press, 2011), p. 1-25. But compare the group sponsored anthology, G.O. Ogunremi, ed. *Ibadan: An Historical, Cultural and Socioeconomic Study of an African City* (Lagos: Oluyole Club, 2000).

3 Bolanle Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the Nineteenth Century," Unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1963.

effectively put paid to the ambitious southward advancement of the Fulani and was on the verge of liberating Ilorin before the colonial incursion of the late 19th century. The popularity of Ibadan has advanced since the period. In effect, Ibadan, like the solar system, continues to expand without borders aided by her symbolic role as a campaign headquarters.

There is copious evidence of settlers and traders who had sought social and economic refuge in the Savannah belt since the early 20th century. Hausa, Igbo and Nupe settlements have found ready acceptance in Ibadan as a centre for trade and socialization. Interestingly, these settlements have all been around the Mokola and Ekotedo axis of the city. This downtown district remains the nerve centre for trade and commerce from the 1920s to the present day. Etymologically, the Mokola area which subtends these settlements is "Omo kun inu Ola". That is to say "Children abide in wealth" or wherever there is wealth, there are to be denizen. This, in a nutshell, encapsulates the story of Ibadan to her neighbours.

The settlement from the outside gracefully complements the settlement of the varied indigenous subgroups of Southwestern Nigeria because adjacent to Mokola is Ekotedo where Lagosians and Afro-Brazilians found a new home and there are districts marked out for the Ijebu at Isale Ijebu, later around Oke-Ado, Imalefalafia, and the Lagos bye-pass area; the Egba at Opopo Yeosa and Idi-Ikan areas. The Oyo natives have always lived in the market areas of Beere, Ayeye, Ita-merin, Kudeti, Molete and Bode and Oke-Foko. These are the produce areas for indigenous farmers and merchants. The main Anglican and Wesleyan cathedrals have also emerged close to these settlements. The Roman Catholic Church arrived later and would seem to be closer to the uptown highbrow government reservation areas. In tropical Africa, it is amazing to see the rate at which Ibadan has grown not as an artificial city but as a natural urban settlement which has grown faster than planners and settlers could effectively control or manage. The result is a spectacular mass that is as variegated as it is overwhelming. The over six hundred village settlements of Ibadan have melted into an unmanageable megalopolis. The great beauty, however, is the dispersed plurality of her rainbow coalition. There are middle easterners of Lebanese origin who run fabric stores, restaurants and supermarkets side-by-side with other Nigerian nationalities. There is some magic in the population and the undulating land mass. The present size confirms the claim of geographers that it is the largest city in west and central Africa.



## Landscapes

The early settlers of Ibadan were warriors, republicans, refugees and deviants. They thus found the hilly surroundings a perfect place for insurrectional activity, strategic planning and cover. The hills undulate with the valleys and the Savannah vegetation sometimes merges with forest vegetation where huge trees and lush outgrowths abound. Some of the quarters are defined by the landmark trees of the area—Idi Ose is the port of the Ose or baobab tree; Idi Ikan is the port of the the Ikan tree. Others are Idi Arere, Idi Moli; Idi Obi, Idi Igba; Idi Ape, etc. The undulating hills and dales also provide glades for markets and community meetings, which gives it a perfect setting as obtains for stereotypical Yoruba towns and settlements. Today, centuries after her first settlements, the city combines both the old, traditional features of an indigenous town as well as the newer patterns of modern settlements and renewed urban centres.

Trade and commerce have always been the peculiar hallmark of major sub-Saharan cities, and Ibadan is not an exception to this. There are also licensed purveyors of ram fights in the city of Ibadan akin to what we find in Geertz's report on Balinese cockfights. Ayo Adeduntan has made a detailed report of this primitive sport in a city noted for its political effervescence and volatility.

Ibadan has moved from just being a city into becoming a city-state given its hydra-headed and profound political influence. The extensive and deep study of its economic history from about 1830 by Rasheed Olaniyi, has helped to shape the understanding of both the development of trade and its elite corps. But by far the greatest institutional and cultural influence comes from the founding of Nigeria's first University College in 1948. This has given rise to a chain of firsts in terms of being the headquarters of regional government in the old Western Region and the consortium of its publishing houses and centres of learning, research and culture. Though it is difficult to dissociate these developments from the serendipitous founding of the first television station and the prestigious university college teaching hospital. In this volume, Toriola Oyewo has done two studies which centre on community health service and education and a second on the management and administration of local governments before the changes brought about by a new democratic ethos. Osunwole's study of traditional medical association balances the study of orthodox community health services.



The growth of an urban centre must have its corollary in terms of population and housing. These strata are accounted for in this volume by two town planners, Tunde Agbola and Charles Olatubara. Major urban facilities like water, road networks and transportation are tackled by two geographers Akintola and Adesanya, while Albert via a historical account of peace and migration studies, did a representative piece on Hausa-Yoruba relations in Ibadan from early through the mid twentieth century.

Issues relating to faith and worship are not to be left out of any Nigerian studies of traditional or modern settlements and city formation, so Ajayi, Adekola, Jimoh and Oladimeji have taken up nearly a fifth of this study in their discussions of faith and religious worship in Ibadan from the mid-nineteenth century to the early part of the twenty-first century.

Whenever issues of faith and religious development are discussed, the growth of its flip side could not but be art and creativity, so the sedentary culture of woodcarving is discussed by Dr Peju Layiwola, while Layiwola discusses the performance and media arts in the context of the social development of Ibadan as one of Africa's cosmopolitan centres of the spectacular and the serendipitous.

With regard to the growth and development of Ibadan as conceptualized above, it is hoped that we have been able to present the Kaleidoscope of an Ibadan eye within the cultural development of Nigeria as a whole. Given the eclectic nature of this study, it is difficult to devote a chapter solely to the traditional governance of Ibadan, the peculiar nature of its traditional rulership because this would veer the focus of the study from its 'pan' concept. Without prejudice, a study devoted to chieftaincy and succession in Ibadan will prefer an endogenous approach which will do justice to the peculiarity of the chieftaincy structure. For instance, Ibadan is fiercely republican in that its pattern of succession gives room for all-comers rather than a rigid, monarchical style. Besides, the chieftaincy line is carefully balanced with the Balogun or warlord line whereby one is political and the other is purely military. This governance style creates a balance that is unique in traditional African governance structure. The chieftaincy line is always long, organized and painstakingly hierarchical, guaranteeing precision and predictability. Inevitably, the long line of succession imposes longevity, even gerontocracy, almost as a precondition of that succession line. This presents a peculiar case study in the patterns of chieftaincy succession in Yorubaland.

This unique pattern is borne out of the fact that the scions of Ibadan emerged from republican elements from the old Yoruba dynasty of Oyo which insists that governance must be purged of the inbreeding characteristic of a supremacist monarchy. The outlaws and rebels from the centre of the empire, therefore, became the first settlers in the peripheral outpost of the early Ibadan. This is why Ibadan claims to be a freer cosmopolis, guaranteeing licence, personal prowess and democratic objectivity than the more rigid centre of the parent empire. This claim formed the basis of revolt for the legendary Oyo war leader, Kurunmi. It is also logical that among the settlers who are genuinely republican and fiercely democratic would be found fugitives, felons, outlaws and minor offenders fleeing justice from Oyo, Ife and surrounding towns. This is also partly responsible for the chaotic and effervescent temper of the city in its earlier days. The freedom and self-assertion of the citizenry was often taken to the extreme, given their varied backgrounds and their tendency towards licence and the subversion or deconstruction of empires.

As Chief Okunola has pointed out, the founding Odu or Ifa sign for the city (each and every legitimate Yoruba town always has its founding Odu) is *Ose meji*, a uniform, binary accreditation which predicted that like the totemic snail, the emerging city of Ibadan would unfold slowly but progressively until it subsumes its own ramifying suburbs. This prediction and fact is represented on the traditional staff of the city's rulers. This is analogous to its Coat of Arms.

This traditional staff is surmounted by the replica of a calabash which, in most Yoruba kingdoms, is known as *Igba Iwa*, or the 'receptacle of destiny'. There are a number of calabashes each containing a symbolic item from which an incoming king must choose. The three or four calabashes are similar and the newly elected king, by a supposed game of chance, is led into a room where he chooses one. The quality of his tenure, it is believed, would be determined by the symbolic content of the calabash of his choice. Such items are contrasted between totems of war and peace. For instance a receptacle containing gun powder may be placed side by side with that which contains honey or sugarcane or cowry shells, as the case may be. The choice of the hero will determine the tone or colour of his regime or tenure. The pattern is almost always the same in Yoruba kingship rites. This, of course, does not foreclose the deployment of strategic wisdom whereby the candidate seeks prior intelligence as to which calabash contains what, after all, no leader would wish to draw a bad card. But the presumption is that of chance and fair play. On the Olubadan calabash surmounting the royal staff, is the figure of a lion resplendent



on a savannah plain. The Lion is widely accredited to be a symbol of royalty and conquest.

In quick succession is the representation of the African apple (*oro*) or *vingia Gabonensis simanubaceae*, an aboriginal fruit which fed the leading settlers of the town. The animal protein available during their ordeals was from snails which has now become a totemic symbol of the city. The leaves of *Akoko* (*Bignomacene*) and those of *Iyeye* (*Newboldia*) also appear on the traditional staff. The leaves of *akoko* stand for honour, endurance and recognition while that of *Iyeye* symbolizes survival and life. The image of the gong, an aerophonic traditional medium represents the butt of the staff. It is believed that these qualities answer for the aspirations of the denizens of the Savannah town.

As predicted from the Ifa ministrations at the founding of the town, it would be a hospitable abode for visitors and settlers. Even vagrants might find prosperity in this liberal, conducive town. Its chieftaincy line has been liberal and generous to both aborigines and settlers. It is thus a cosmopolitan and representative Yoruba town; hospitality being its mainspring. There has never been a time when strangers and settlers have had cause for anxiety about the safety of their lives and property.

The republican nature of Ibadan civil and military population partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded Oyo as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century. It was an all-comers community which did not foreclose the participation of a pan-Yoruba community in its military service. This helped to build an influential and popular army which pushed the frontiers of Oyo military expeditions. This singular fact remains the basis of her cosmopolitan composition. The population continues to increase and there appears to be a new continental experiment on state making and urban conurbation. It is, therefore, our hope that this seminal study would pave pathways for other studies on culture and identity development in post-colonial African states and nations.

## Ibadan: Its Beginnings to the Close of the 20th Century

### The Performing Arts and the Changing Identity of an African Subgroup

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Dele Layiwola

#### Background

The etymology of the name of West Africa's largest city, Ibadan derives from the compound word *Eba-Odan*. This means 'savannah fringe'. Up until 1837, before the collapse of old Oyo,<sup>1</sup> an Egba village occupied the present site of Ibadan. From about the 1820s, however, when internal strife and external aggression laid siege on the integrity of the great Yoruba empire, migrants trickled into the fringes of the southern savannah zone.

Around this period, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South America had gained independence and there were demands for more slaves from the coast of West Africa to work on their plantations.<sup>2</sup> With the Fulani firmly entrenched in Ilorin, which had hitherto served as the gateway to the ready supply of slaves from the northern savannah zones, ready access was interrupted. The Yoruba people thereby turned on themselves to meet the

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1 See Robert Smith, "The Alafin in Exile: A Study of the Igboho Period in Oyo History", *Journal of African History*, 1965, 5 (1): 57.

2 Bolanle Awe, "Ibadan, Its Early Beginnings", in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and Bolanle Awe, editors, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967), p. 11 – 25.; also see Bolanle Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the Nineteenth Century," Unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1963, p. 70.

demand for more slaves. The Yoruba sub-group exclusively near the coast were the Ijebu people, and they usually undertook the brokerage in the trans-Atlantic trade. This sub-group dropped the hint to their neighbours about the increase in the demand for slaves. Their hinterland neighbour, the Ife people, took the cue and allied themselves with the Ijebu to attack Owu. The Owu war was not as direct as it would ordinarily appear, but there were antecedents whereby the Owu seemed to have offended both the Ife and Ijebu on matters relating to the trading post at Apomu.<sup>3</sup>

It was not difficult for the Ife people to rally the Oyo migrants, who had fled the scourge of the Fulani from northern Yorubaland, and the Egba people as allies to do battle against the formidable Owu Kingdom. It took consistent efforts and considerable resources to bring Owu to its knees. Samuel Johnson affirmed that this became a decisive period in Yoruba history. A series of intra-ethnic feuds were to further destabilize southern Yorubaland. This led to the mushrooming of army camps of which Ibadan became a grand beneficiary. For the first time, gunpowder became an accessory for war and for slave raiding.<sup>4</sup> The allied forces, either for reasons of centrality and accessibility, or for the strategic nature of the hills, chose Ibadan, an erstwhile Egba settlement as their camp. This happened between 1828 and 1829. Gradually, other soldiers from Ile-Ife, Ijebu and Oyo settled at Ibadan. Bolanle Awe established that Oyo leaders like *Oluwole* and *Oluwoyi*, as well as *Labosinde* from Ile-Ife settled with their men around *Mapo* and *Oja'ba*, some Ijebu soldiers settled at Isale Ijebu and the Egba warriors at Iyecosu.<sup>5</sup>

The heterogeneity of the new town became both a source of remarkable strength as well as inherent weakness. Though an amalgam of subcultures were cohabiting and growing as a variegated *ethnos*, there was always a seminal struggle for supremacy. The belligerent nature of the settlers did not help matters. But it was sufficient that each group founded a settlement and home base by choice rather than by coercion. What finally put paid to this rivalry was

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3 Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, (Lagos: CSS Bookshops, 1921, Reprinted 1937), p. 206 – 207.

4 *Ibid*, p.210.

5 Awe, 1967, p. 14.



the mass exodus of people from the northern fringes of the Oyo Empire. The emigrants found a home in Ibadan and gradually overwhelmed the population of the other sub-groups. It therefore meant that these Oyo groups, from a hitherto flourishing empire brought, wholesale, their culture and mores into their new environment.

A critical look into the early history of Oyo itself reveals that like most flourishing and established empires, there were set patterns to life and the grandeur of economic and military power gave rise to ceremonial and court traditions. It was from this and the ritualized aspects of culture that the vibrant development of theatrical instincts and gestural embellishments developed.

### Cultural settlements and developments

It was reported that an *Ifa* divination was performed when some traditional religious leaders arrived to sanctify Ibadan with sacrifices on the Oluyole hills. The resulting *odu* was “*Ose Meji*”, This sign became the guardian *Odu* of the new city. The city patriarch, Lagelu, and six diviner-priests were present on that first occasion. The same *odu* sign then appeared again on three critical occasions in the life of the city. According to Bolaji Idowu,<sup>6</sup> these were when:

- The populace sought divine blessings on the new settlement for prosperity. Then, the *Oke Ibadan* (or the spirit of Ibadan) was instituted as a totem of worship.
- The oracle was consulted on how to preserve the growing population and the emerging prosperity.
- A siege was laid on Ibadan and its expansion and security was threatened. *Ose Meji* (meaning double victory) appeared again to reassure the inhabitants of a slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of snails.

It seems, this is why the snail or its shell became the mascot of the city's coat of arms. A close study of *Ose Meji* reveals that under the major thematic and metrical divisions, the sign is concerned with (a) survival (b) wealth (c) fertility

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<sup>6</sup> Bolaji Idowu, “Religion in Ibadan: Traditional Religion and Christianity” in Bolanle Awe, et al, p. 235 – 247.

and (d) victory.<sup>7</sup> These are consistent with the preoccupations identified with the founders of the city in its early stages. The cultural importance of this point is that Ibadan, in spite of the pure serendipity connected with its location and founding, is still a traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants. It shows that all care was taken as to its establishment and, contrary to the manner of settlement, nothing was given up to chance. Any Yoruba settlement, thus inaugurated by solid tradition, is often assured of its safety and stability. The city was soon to attract settlers from the four winds, expanding by leaps and bounds. The cultural idealism of the founding fathers was balanced by the empirical arrangement of its migrant settlers. A war camp back then, was convenient and central to the rest of the Yoruba people. Moreover, it proved to be a crucial location between the forest and savannah belts, a suitable mercantilist base and a centre for the exchange of cultural links.

The more contemporary areas of the city lie to the west and north of the range of hills first traversed by the founding fathers. Some of the hills are *Oke Sapati*, *Oke Oluokun*, *Oke Seni*, *Oke Are*, *Oke Foko*, *Oke Mapo*, *Oke Ado*, *Oke Bola*, etc. The settlement patterns are marked out by the variation in architectural patterns and, to some extent, the social and economic stratification within the sprawling city. Mabogunje noted that the earlier crop of immigrants into Ibadan from about 1900 were from neighbouring Yoruba communities – Ijebu, Egba and Ijesha.<sup>8</sup> They were mostly traders who settled in parts of the western sector known as *Amunigun*, *Agbeni*, *Idikan*, *Oke-Padi* and *Oke Foko*. Though the housing units were built within compounds with central courtyards in the traditional fashion, these were modified into rectangular structures with isolated units subtending a courtyard. The new structures were inhabited by only the different immigrant families, who shared conveniences such as kitchens, bathrooms, toilets and wells. It also shows that the units were built for commercial purposes. Some of them were let to other immigrants arriving at different periods. Many of the immigrant quarters contrasted with the ‘native’ buildings, because they were of

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7 Wande Abimbola, “Ose Meji” in *Ifa Divination Poetry*, (New York: Nok Publishers, 1977), p. 142 – 149.

8 A. L. Mabogunje, “The Morphology of Ibadan” in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and Bolanle Awe, op.cit. p. 35 – 56.



higher standards, plastered with cement, and sometimes built with stones, even though the walls or mounds might have been built with clay.

An influx of settlers was noticeable with the arrival of the railway in 1901. A new suburb grew with the arrival of *Lagosians* and descendants of freed slaves who had settled in Lagos. This area, slightly north of the railway terminus, became known as *Ekotedo* or 'Lagos settlement'. The railway network also brought settlers who were originally from what later became known as the mid-west, southeastern and eastern Nigeria.

The Hausa from the North were granted a parcel of land which was christened *Sabo*, an abbreviation of *Sabon gari*. Sabo is often translated as new town or strangers' quarters. This is an indication that the area is a quarter for settlers, (more properly, strangers). Adjacent to this, the Nupe were settled in a portion of Mokola eponymously referred to as *Ago Tapa*, which translates as Nupe hamlets. Mabogunje rightly observed that the different appearances, as well as the architecture of the Hausa quarters were so impermanent as to suggest that they considered themselves sojourners rather than permanent settlers in the city. These settlements were about a mile and a half north of the railway terminus.

The foregoing description of Ibadan presents the picture of a city with an identity that is neither clear-cut nor easily negotiated. The original founders of Ibadan, early in the 18th century, were led by Lagelu, from the Degelu family of Ile-Ife. He and his group described those that they found on the site as brigands or ruffians.<sup>9</sup> The sojourn at the first site was short-lived because Lagelu's children disrespected an ancestral masquerade, *egungun*. Lagelu and his followers then regrouped and settled at *Eleyele* hill.

In the 19th century, Ibadan became a war camp and its central position attracted settlers from all over Yorubaland. In the 20th century, it turned out that many more settlers came from all over Nigeria and pitched their tents at different locations around the original city. Now Ibadan has become so metropolitan that besides Lagos, Nigeria's former capital city, there is scarcely any other city in Nigeria with the same scope of a post-colonial aggregation of nomadic

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9 Chief M. I. Okunola, "Ibadan and Some of Her Landmarks", Being an address given at the Nigerian Field Society, Ibadan Branch, on Tuesday, 4th March 1997.

identities.<sup>10</sup> The implication of this is that Ibadan has always been a land of multifarious citizenships—Oyo, Egba, Ife, Ijebu, Ijesha, Ekiti, Hausa, Nupe, Igbo, Edo, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Efik, etc. As the cityscape changes, so its nationalities and identities grow with unsurpassable robustness. As with all post-colonial concepts of identity, every immigrant is an Ibadan man or woman. The (sub) ethnic difference disappears as soon as each individual or group has settled down. This probably contributed to the city's ability to attract to itself Nigeria's premier university, an array of publishing houses, Africa's first television station in 1959 and a host of other missionary inspired centres. This is why it was often referred to in the 1960s as Nigeria's cultural capital.

It is clear that Ibadan's cultural diversity is matched by a certain notion of performance: the 'performance of personhood', of 'citizenship' and of 'history'. The fact that a myriad of sub-groups first came together in response to the displacement of group boundaries, occasioned by war and migration, turned the beneficiary city into a cultural panoply. It became a political as well as a cultural laboratory for the 'performance of citizenship' through avocation and in theatrical performance. This warrants a more detailed investigation as a theory of cultural performance.

### **The performing arts in Ibadan**

The Yoruba people, generally speaking, have always derived this aspect of culture from the trans-migrant concept that the living and the dead stand as a continuum, whereby a change in perceptual identity is likened to the change of physiological cloaks. Therefore, the human vessel is a disguise. This makes it possible for the dead, the ancestors or any beings from the netherworld to come to the world of the living, disguised. All they need do is to synchronize the moments of transition with those of the seasons so that mystically, they are part of the recurrence of greater world dramas. Most of these modes of entertainment or 'revelations' occur within the interface that is generally referred to as the season of harvest. It is, therefore, almost always analogous to renewal; there being an attendant afflatus. Ancestral incarnations do occur at other periods of

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10 May Joseph, *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).



exigency when stability or group identity is threatened. In his lecture on the landmarks of Ibadan, Chief M.I. Okunola indicated that the first settlement of Ibadan broke up as a sanction against Lagelu because of the disrespect his children showed towards *egungun*, an ancestral incarnation. Neighbouring rulers simply came together and sacked that settlement.

The indication in most Yoruba settlements is that the incarnation of an ancestral spirit is both a reality as well as a disguise. For the same reason, an *egungun* pronounces lofty, divine blessings and proffers mundane entertainment or revelry. This phenomenon is interesting in the adaptive mediation of contemporary dramatists of Yoruba extraction. In Wole Soyinka's *The Road*<sup>11</sup>, the eccentric character called Professor met his doom because he desecrated an ancestral figure in public. The element of disguise, innocuous as it may seem, recurs in many institutionalized arts. There is an example in the Igboho period of Oyo history. Following Samuel Johnson, both Robert Smith<sup>12</sup> and Joel Adedeji<sup>13</sup> remarked about the dramatic importance of the disguise figures that the councillors of Alaafin Abipa (c. 1590) used as phantoms to discourage the return from Igboho to Oyo Ile (Old Oyo). Six chiefs-in-council each presented physically-disabled persons with chalk and raffia costumes as spirits of the forests:

1. *Bashorun* presented a hunchback
2. *Alapinni* presented an albino
3. *Asipa* presented a leper
4. *Sanu* presented a prognathous (protruding jaw)
5. *Laguna* presented a dwarf

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11 Wole Soyinka, *The Road* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1973. See also Dele Layiwola, "Literature, Violence and the City: A Sociological Exploration of Wole Soyinka's *The Road*" in *Papers in Honour of Professor Dapo Adelugba at 60*, edited by Egbe Ife, (Ibadan: End-Time Publishing House, 2001), p. 200 – 208.

12 Robert Smith, op. cit.

13 J.A. Adedeji, "Alarinjo: The Traditional Yoruba Travelling Theatre" in Yemi Ogundibi, editor, *Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: A Critical Sourcebook* (Lagos: Nigeria Magazine, 1981), p. 221 – 247.

6. *Akiniku* presented a cripple.

These 'counterfeit' spirits were revealed as a mere disguise, but a memorable historical drama resulted from it. As Smith noted, it became something of a state performance during three religious festivals in Old Oyo. The first was during the *Orisa Oke* or farm god festival. The second was at the *Orisa Mole* festival and the third was at the Oduduwa festival.<sup>14</sup> Adedeji adds that it was also enacted at the installation of a new Alaafin, at a night reception in the *aganju* or palace foyer. The author reconfirmed Adedeji's claim in a private discussion with the late Oba (Dr) S.O. Babayemi (formerly of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, *Olufi* of *Gbongan*). Babayemi gave an eye witness account of one such enactment at the installation of Alaafin Olayiwola Adeyemi in 1971.

Though these enactments became customary about 1610, which was the year in which *Ogbolu* (same as *Abipa*) re-occupied Old Oyo, these dramatic enactments became a regular entertainment at the king's court in Oyo. It was not until some time later that the art became a widespread practice among the ordinary citizens of the kingdom. Adedeji has rightly identified this as the beginning of professionalism in traditional theatre in Yorubaland. Competition and the proliferation of groups further honed this craft. Beyond the entertainment value, they became status symbols for the royal courts and among the elite, men of influence and warlords. This was the situation when, in the 19th century, Ibadan gained military ascendancy and political independence from the stranglehold of the overbearing Oyo Empire. The Ibadan Empire, which became something of a surrogate to the erstwhile Oyo Empire, extended from southwestern Yorubaland to northeastern Yorubaland. Between 1830 and 1893, when Ibadan carved for itself an extensive and powerful empire, the new elite helped the theatre to flourish. Each *Ajele*, or resident overlord, had a standing troupe, which performed for his court and sometimes performed for the community. The rapport, which the court and the performer had, was exhibited in an unusual instance after the Kiriji war of 1877 - 1893.

Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun, the Ibadan war general resident in Ikirun, followed in the tradition of chieftains who enjoyed traditional theatrical performances. He invited the *Aiyelabola troupe* to perform at his behest. Olojede

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14 Smith, p.70.

Aiyelabola, the son of the late founder and performer of the same name then managed the troupe. Another protégé of the late Aiyelabola, Tijuku Ajangila was then the leader of the *Agbegijo troupe*, which had emerged as a rival troupe to that of his late mentor. He lost out on the commission and wanted vengeance. The usual ploy of performance groups in rivalry was usually to invoke the rain to ruin a rival's show. If this fails, they resort to the use of other forms of black magic. Tijuku invoked the rain but this failed. Tijuku then resorted to the second ploy against Olojede. It was a taboo in the egungun society for an actor playing the costume episode or *apada* to expose any of his features. Under Tijuku's spell, Olojede overplayed himself by unwittingly exposing his body just as he deftly overturned his costume in the *apada* dance. Thus came the opportunity for Ajangila to excise his pound of flesh.

The officials of the egungun society, in compliance with the dictates of their guild, quickly dispersed the crowd and summoned Olojede for trial at the sacred grove. Tijuku did not fail to instigate the supreme penalty, that is, the death penalty on his arch-rival. Olojede's bravery and stoicism stunned his admirers when he accepted the verdict with a promise to go round the town on a farewell performance. By the time he arrived at the palace where the Balogun of Ibadan resided, all the warlords were waiting with laurels and prizes. Inspired by this heroic treatment, he chanted, in melodic verse, the heroic exploits and tragic end of his father as an extended analogy of his own travails and anticipated end. Balogun Osungbekun of Ibadan remembered the detail of Aiyelabola's heroic performances and contribution to the success of the last war. He then adopted him as the Olubadan's masque-dramaturge from that moment onwards. That was how Olojede escaped the death penalty passed on him at the grove in Ikirun.<sup>15</sup>

I have adopted the Aiyelabola story in relation to the story of Ibadan to illustrate the extent to which the performing arts have shaped the tastes of elites in history; and the extent to which those elites have, in turn, shaped its efflorescence. It is equally crucial to note that the cultivation of those arts aided professionalism and the shaping of identities. Performance and its devices thereby transcend borders, as actors and guilds go from one town to the other strengthening cultural ties and interpretations.

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15 Adedeji, p. 232.



### Ibadan and the forging of a post-colonial identity

The most distinct aspect of Ibadan history in the 19th century was her position as a central war camp in which war heroes, slave raiders and ex-slaves came to settle. The identity complex of the city, therefore, lies in its plurality. According to Chief M. I. Okunola, Ibadan was not only central to those from the forests and the savannah belts alone, the site was blessed with the abundance of *Ipara* trees. Now the root of this unique tree was invaluable to warriors because it contains a stimulant called *odi*, which was used for hardiness in warfare. It was therefore convenient for warriors, marauders and criminals to return periodically to Ibadan for the supply of *odi*.<sup>16</sup> Since a settlement has emerged, however, leaders came together to establish the semblance of governance. According to Samuel Johnson,<sup>17</sup> Oluyedun, the son of the late *Afonja* of Ilorin, became the first *Aare Ona Kakanfo* (war general) of Ibadan. He preferred this title to that of *Baale* (administrative chieftain), because the former was his father's title and preference.

Lakanle, a brave warrior, could not take his favoured title of Balogun because *Kakanfo*, already taken by Oluyedun, was a supreme military title, so he deferred to Oluyedun on grounds of age and nobility. He therefore took the title of *Otun Kakanfo*, whilst the great Oluyole became the *Osi Kakanfo*. Thus was established other titles such as *Ekerin* (the fourth in command), *Ekarun* (the fifth in line) and *Ekefa* (sixth in line). There were other military titles such as *Aare Abese* and *Sarumi* (cavalry chief). These titles were more or less patterned after those of the Oyo empire, from which most of these warriors came. But given the ad hoc nature of the new city, these titles were less established and in a desultory fashion. The only Ife chief who remained in Ibadan was the great Labosinde, who was not only revered for his age, but also on account of his acumen. He declined the mantle of political leadership but was honoured with the title of *Baba Isale* or chief counsellor.

The story of Ibadan from the foregoing agglomeration of cultural facts and patterns points to one fact. What we call post-colonial identities in persons or settlements, towns or cities is a fluid, diverse phenomenon in the way a

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16 Okunola, p. 2.

17 Johnson, p.244.

community is welded together. In other words, our chosen or inherited identities partake of multitudes and are therefore nomadic or transnational in outlook.<sup>18</sup> We have earlier inferred that due to the anonymity in the status of migrant citizenship across Yorubaland in the 19th century, Ibadan's status as a cosmopolis was volatile. There was much rivalry and clashes over the control of influence and territory. There was a perennial search for authenticity and the establishment of citizenship. This was inevitable because the occupation and settling of a virgin territory created a sense of what May Joseph described as "inauthentic citizenship posed by the large and dispersed communities..."<sup>19</sup>

There must, of necessity, evolve a state of flux whereby social events and historical accidents will weld the varied amalgam into a nation-state with a peculiar identity. The nature of the violence of historical circumstances is of distinct types. The fact that slave raiders and burglars stole into the city regularly is only one aspect of the pervasive violence that attends new communities of varied composition which, for lack of homogeneity, often lacks in centrifuge. That, essentially, is the basis of the sprawling planlessness that is seen in the structure of the older parts of the city. A poet described Ibadan in the following lines:

Ibadan,  
Running splash of rust  
And gold – flung and scattered  
Among seven hills like broken  
China in the sun.<sup>20</sup>

Needless to say that the scattered nature of the irregular lines stand for the state of Ibadan in the poet's mind. A more regular, even sedentary kind of violence was that of domestic slave owners, as was typified by the dramatized episodes of Akinwumi Isola's *Efunsetan Aniwura*,<sup>21</sup> where a single woman, slave owner,

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18 Joseph, p.13 – 14.

19 *ibid.*, p. 2.

20 J.P. Clark, "Ibadan" in A.G. S. Momodu and Ulla Schild, editors, *Nigerian Writing* (Benin: Bendel Book Depot & Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1976), p.130.

21 Akinwumi Isola, *Efunsetan Aniwura: Iyalode Ibadan* (Ibadan: University Press, 1979).



initiated new, acquisitive values and held the whole of Ibadan to ransom. It took the intervention of the Baale, Aare Latoosa, and a detachment of soldiers to bring the situation under control.

The truth, in reality, was that the migrant population had become enamoured of the assertive values inherent in empire making and empire building. They therefore become unduly adventurous as they turn their acquired aggression inward against themselves. After all, soldiers were bred to go to war to subjugate territories and capture booty, not stay at home and idle away. Even at the time of Captain Bower, as late as 1893, when the British had subjugated the country, able-bodied men in Ibadan were still openly talking of re-opening the unfinished campaign against the intruding Fulanis who had retreated to Ilorin.<sup>22</sup> This means that the notion of dispersed nations seeking permanent amalgamation in new cultural and legal ties<sup>23</sup> is always the context of post-colonial identities. Pre-colonial identities are recognizable as statutorily cephalous, organically knit communities where lineage ties are sacrosanct. On the other hand, a post-colonial identity is acquired through choice or forced migrancy and by psychological participation in a newfangled set of values. Transnationality is therefore a granted notion of post-colonial, even post-industrial identity.

Ibadan, as a cosmopolis, occupies a unique centre in the history and politics of Nigeria from the latter half of the 19th century, because it presented itself as the savannah haven unto which all strangers came. Even today, its sprawling nature not only makes it the largest city in central Africa; it has become the most populous city in Nigeria. The other cities in Nigeria that rival it are Lagos (itself a conglomeration of towns), Kano and Aba. Lagos is the most ethnically variegated of the three because it is a coastal port.

By 1850, and within the Yoruba country, Ibadan had become the enchanted, neutral space into which an amorphous, 'inauthentic' mass of people aspired for citizenship. The network of demography and commerce matured over a century such that by 1950, Nigeria's premier university as well as the major multinational, publishing houses, theatres, cinema halls and missionary schools found their home therein. Given the educational and cultural facilities, performance guilds,

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22 Johnson, p. 643.

23 Joseph, p.14.

cultural troupes and entertainers moved into the rather desultory city made up of various sub-cultures. This multi-cultural trait helped creativity, improvisation and the spirit of discovery. The already established troupes of doyens such as Hubert Ogunde, Duro Ladipo and Kola Ogunmola had their bases in or near Ibadan. Ogunde, it must be said, preferred a more ubiquitous, touring approach, with his real base in Lagos rather than in Ibadan. Even though the Yoruba elite tended to live in cities, the concept of post-colonial urbanization and exploitative commerce, which set itself on the Nigerian soil about 1860, accelerated the pace of modern, proto-industrial development. This represented a new phase, which sometimes aids new unusual artistic development, but at other times subverts art forms and their archetypes. For instance, new modes of religious worship and the emergence of a new kind of civil service elite began to affect the production and discrimination of artistic and cultural performance. The erstwhile street and market place dances of the *egungun* had to be modified into new structures of theatrical sensibility and codes. New forms of pleasure were also being created as new forms of communication grew. The radio and the more recent development of television also re-structured and modified the production of traditional art and performance.

While popular forms of indigenous theatre flourished, the advent of a university in 1948, with a liberal arts curriculum brought a coterie of foreign as well as indigenous artists. The only major difference being that the artistic productions that emerged from the new citadels of British provenance were conceived and written in the English language. By the late 1950s, scores of young writers, artists and publishers who had rediscovered a new sense of nationalism had come together to found theatrical troupes which perfectly complement the tradition of the Yoruba doyens mentioned above. Wole Soyinka set up Orisun Theatre. Taiye Ayorinde set up what he called the Nigeria Theatre Group and Christopher Kolade set up The Players of the Dawn. Orisun was succeeded by the Unibadan Masques of 1960. A pan-cultural group that brought together all the artists, writers and poets emerged in 1960, under the patronage of Ulli Beier, called Mbari Club. Its publishing organ was the journal called *Black Orpheus*, in which writers like Christopher Okigbo, John Pepper Clark, Aig Higo and Wale Ogunyemi first published their seminal works. Artists in other media like Demas Nwoko, a sculptor and builder; Tunji Oyelana, a singer/composer; Segun Olusola, Femi Johnson, Dapo Adelugba, who were actors and impresarios along

with Wole Soyinka, were all part of the Mbari Club. Mbari, the club's name, is derived from the Igbo concept of artistic commune and creativity. The clubhouse, made up of a bar, a bandstand or dais, a small hall and dance floor was located first at Ogunpa Oyo when it started. The location was strategic. This is because the studio of the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC) was located at Dugbe, a mere three minutes walk from the clubhouse. The British Council Library and its courtyard, which serves as the rehearsal arena for the amateur theatre groups was directly across the road from the WNBC and four minutes from the Mbari Club. The university campus (UG) and the newly-established Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) would be about 6 and 4 kilometres north and east respectively of the Ibadan city. The Mbari Club replicated itself in Osogbo as the Mbari Mbayo Club under the leadership of Ulli Beier and Susanne Wenger, with Duro Ladipo and some other fine and visual artists as the central figures. The two Mbari centres at Ibadan and Osogbo stoked each other as complements. But while the Ibadan workshop promoted the performing arts, the Osogbo workshop promoted visual, textile and plastic arts. With the benefit of hindsight, the period was a cultural renaissance for Nigeria.

Ibadan was particularly privileged with this all-comers revivalist projects which coincided with political and cultural independence after a century of colonial subjugation and governance. A new set of literary and dramatic styles emerged with the help of the university and its new talents. The new publishing houses were both British and Nigerian, on the southwestern corner of the city, around Onireke and Jericho. Understandably, their locations were situated just a stone's throw from the temporary campus of the university at Eleyele. The new television station, the first of its kind in Africa sat on the southeastern part of the city at Agodi, near the seat of the Western Regional Government.

By the time of political independence in 1960, the conglomerate of 'nomadic citizenscapes' of the previous century, which Ibadan gathered, had forged a peculiar identity. Ibadan became the centre of political and cultural performance. It was in Ibadan that we had the violent political movements of 1964 – 1966, which ushered the military into Nigerian politics. It was also in Ibadan that the performance of art and the notion of citizenship became most ebullient. The situation was similar to what May Joseph described thus:

While theorists of participatory democracy may quibble about the degree of participation available or its progressive possibilities, none



disagrees that the inherently performative nature of citizenship is simultaneously learned, cultivated and improvised as a total work of citizenship in formation. Performance emerges as an implied sphere rather than an actually located process. It is the self-conscious enactment of the legal, cultural, and social structuring logic in post industrial citizenry.<sup>23</sup>

A new wave of nationalist consciousness brought forth a certain robust performance and affirmation of citizenship and of nationality. This stream of evolving consciousness was continuous, as it was segmental. Artistic communes would fragment and merge again as the Mbari Club of artists at Ibadan seemed to do. The camaraderie at Ogunpa broke up on account of the painful civil war of 1967 – 1970. Most of the artists were torn between the different sides of the war, and many talents and bonds were forcibly broken. Some remained in Ibadan but many went to Lagos, Nsukka, Jos, etc. The club itself relocated from Ogunpa to Adamasingba in 1969. This coincided with the rehearsal of Wole Soyinka's *Kongi's Harvest*. In fact, the play was premiered in the club at Adamasingba. By 1971, when the first film version of *Kongi's Harvest* by Calpenny Films began to make the rounds in Ibadan and its environs, the sheer success of the production caused the erstwhile Mbari Club to be re-named Kongi Club. The Nigerian civil war, which ended in 1970, had left a scar on the cultural and artistic landscape, and the artists who returned were full of wistful longing, but a little too much of anguish to allow for the re-remembering of Mbari or Kongi Clubs. The hollow shell of the cultural renaissance had taken on a new, self-consumptive materialism. That vacuum exists to this day.

The story of Ibadan's first set of migrants became the story of its variegated polity, as reflected in the various theatrical and performance troupes, numbering almost 200.<sup>24</sup> These troupes moved in and settled in the new cultural capital. They reflected a motley of sensibilities and attitudes like a mirror before an applique. Today, Ibadan remains a reflector of the diverse geographical space called the Nigerian state. Each ethnic group has at last permanently settled in its original quarters, with the Hausa group in Sabo and Sasa and the Ebara group largely at *Ago Tapa* and Mokola. The Igbo group is somewhat less isolated. They

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24 Biodun Jeyifo, "The Yoruba Popular Travelling Theatre of Nigeria", *Nigeria Magazine*, 1984, p. 200 – 203.

have settled in indigenous quarters and have stalls side by side with traders in the different markets in the city. The other south-west, south-south and south-east groups have also integrated with the people in the city. In the densely-populated sections of Agbowo, Akobo, Odo-Ona, Oluyole and Felele-Challenge layouts, the majority Yoruba group is complemented with settlers from other parts of the country. The indigenous areas of the 1830s and 1840s like *Oje, Oja'ba Foko, Isale Ijebu, Inalende, Oranyan, Oniyarin, Gege, etc.* are, however, still largely inhabited by the early settlers and their descendants. The great difference is that the founding elite of the 19th century were warriors, while the elite from the second half of the 20th century were the intelligentsia.

The cosmopolitan outlook of Ibadan continues to derive its legitimacy from the fact that the Yoruba people have always lived in large groups and urban centres. The Yoruba people, therefore, have escaped the problem of inbreeding, which is the result of treating others as strangers or intruders. This has also helped their mutant outlook, which, like their theatrical performances, 'are quick to adapt and appropriate from the skills and the repertoires of others'. This pride of place as a cultural melting pot has a large proportion of the nation's intellectual capital within its gates as well. The once symbol of a liberal cultural movement—the Mbari Mbayo Club—has now moved, though as a fragment, into a modern, post-industrial glass house called *Segi Restaurant*. The imposing business complex housing *Segi* is called Broking House and was established by Femi Johnson (now of blessed memory), who was himself an artistic connoisseur and accomplished actor with the Mbari and Kongi Clubs as well as with *The Players of the Dawn*. The present location of Broking House is southwest of the original Mbari Club. The name Kongi stands for the anti-hero. In Soyinka's play, *Kongi's Harvest*, the character with the name Kongi is an over-bloated egoist whose alter-ego in the same play is the fiercely feminist, Segi. What could be responsible for this proto-feminist 'about turn'? Is it the sensibility of an elite with cultural detritus flung over their shoulder? Or is it a matter of trying the flip side of a perplexing historical phenomenon? This is better left as a rhetorical aside.

The transmutation of the chauvinistic male symbol of Kongi into the equally profound Segi, a quarter of a century later, is perhaps a subtle pointer to the cultural transmutation of Ibadan and the identities of its pluralist, variegated denizens in the impending millenium. It is a millenium so subtle, so feminist as

to be ruthless and utterly demanding. The new pressures are no longer those of wars and gangsterism, but those of uneasy globalization, overpopulation, high fibre, low textured performance of citizenship and, in all sincerity, those of dire profligacy. In all of these, Ibadan is only a port from which to draw the cursor to the rest of our developing cultural capitals in West Africa. It is clear that the days of intense cultural affirmation in art and theatre are gone. They have been subtly replaced by the production of tawdry video films and loud, lurid television adverts. These are no longer 'classics' as we used to know them, but a ragbag of ideas from cultures far afield as South America, India, Southeast Asia, the United States and Britain. What outlets these would lead to are difficult to pinpoint, but a new kind of industrialization is well underway.

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## Economic History of Ibadan, 1830-1930

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Rasheed Olaniyi

### Introduction

In the nearly six decades that preceded the British conquest of Yorubaland, Ibadan had gained overwhelming political and economic hegemony over the extensive region. The nexus between warfare, slavery, agriculture, commerce and migration remarkably shaped the economic history of Ibadan, most significantly during the early phase of its existence. Warfare not only provided Ibadan its distinctive political structure and organization, but significantly influenced its economic character. The institutionalization of warfare was guaranteed by the invaluable use of slaves in the domestic economy and as export commodities in exchange for firearms and other European commodities. Labour relations of production were gendered, as women crafted an economic niche out of militarism. Robin Law makes the point that, “war, therefore, was an economic activity, by which both the labour needed for domestic purposes and the purchasing power needed to acquire foreign imports was mobilized.”<sup>25</sup> This paper is focussed on the economic changes that shaped the history of Ibadan between 1830 and 1930. The economic use of warfare was fundamental in the history of Ibadan. British conquest signalled the conflicts emanating from the modern economy, namely, the commercial rivalries between the Ibadan natives and migrant communities and the influence of cooperative associations in the informal sector.

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25 Robin Law, “Horses, Firearms, and Political Power in Pre-Colonial West Africa”, *Past and Present* 1976: 72.

In 1830, Ibadan emerged as the theatre of Yoruba political and economic modernity. The primacy of modernity that characterized warfare in the history of Ibadan was largely influenced by the political turbulence that followed the collapse of the Old Oyo Empire and the remarkable economic transitions. The Ibadan example set in motion new socioeconomic structures unprecedented in Yoruba history. Ibadan as a nineteenth century Yoruba town was a response to the series of external invasions in Yorubaland and the internal political upheavals. The modern city of Ibadan was built on the foundation of two earlier attempts. Ancient Ibadan settlements relied on foraging, hunting, farming and served as a trading outpost. Before the British overlordship, the internal economy of Ibadan had its foundation on the military power which the warriors possessed. Ibadan warrior chiefs relied on slaves for their private armies, agricultural workforce, commercial enterprises, social status and ultimately, political power.

The booty from the periodic warfare increased the economic strength of the warriors in the town. This was the reason for I. B. Akinyele's remark that "the leading enterprise was warfare, very few people were farmers, and traders were few".<sup>1</sup> This notion could be regarded as true, but not in absolute terms, as the military system only formed the basis of the economy. Bolanle Awe's description of the economy based on "fight, farm and trade" could be regarded as holistic in the discussion on the economic structure of Ibadan.<sup>2</sup> The gender dynamics of commerce in Ibadan prove that women displayed tremendous energy in the 'household industries', local market system and long-distance trade networks. In the 1850s for example, the women of Ibadan monopolized industries such as pottery making, resist pattern dyeing (*adire*), palm and nut oils processing and soap making.<sup>3</sup> Ibadan's attempt to accomplish these economic traits and strategic interests (fight, farm and trade) made her clash with other powerful Yoruba

1 I.B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (England: James Townsend & Son., 1951), p. 26.

2 This was the description given by Bolanle Awe, "Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example". *Journal of African History*, 1973, 14(1): 65-77; A. Oroge, "The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland with Particular Reference to the 19th Century", Ph.D Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1971: 158.

3 L. Denzer, "Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study". *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 1994, 27(1): 6.

states. The strategic interests underpinned Ibadan's foreign relations with the British.

The relationship between Ibadan and the British provided a solid foreign policy framework which had favoured Ibadan interests even before the Ekitiparapo War. Falola explains the perception of the British government on Ibadan thus:

... to the British, Ibadan was not an aggressor nation; but one that was conscious of the importance of trade and was willing to use force to achieve a commercial end.<sup>4</sup>

Ultimately, the monopolistic attitude of the Egba/Ijebu to possess absolute control of trade routes to Lagos, largely attracted British interest to Ibadan. This was because Ibadan preferred a laissez-faire economy, which was also the preference of the British to enhance easy access to other parts of Yorubaland. The convergence of interests between Ibadan and the British characterized the economy throughout the colonial period. The main thrust of this chapter is to examine the indigenous structure and composition of the economy, the impact of the 1893 British intervention in the Kiriji War, and the aftermath of colonial rule on the economy of Ibadan up till 1930.

### The foundation of Ibadan commerce

Before the advent of colonialism, the cultivation of the land towards the town gates manifested in the purposive division of the town into two sections. Much of the first section consisted of farmlands with fewer houses, while the other section was residential (along Oja'ba and Mapo areas). Awe's discussion on the economic life of Ibadan attached its sustenance to farming. The farmlands were categorized into two groups—*oko etile* (farmlands in the city surrounding) and *oko egan* (farmlands or plantations in remote areas outside of the city).<sup>5</sup> Oko etile was devoted to cultivation by the Ibadan indigenes, while the slaves and their families maintained the oko egan owned by their masters. The geographical division emanating from oko etile and oko egan accounted for the naming of settlements

4 T. Falola, *Politics and Economy in Ibadan 1830-1945* (Ibadan: Modelo Publishers, 1989), p.18.

5 Awe, 1963, 70.



and neighbourhoods in the city. For example, community names such as *Onireke* — shows that the community was synonymous with sugar-cane farming; *alalubosa* — shows that the community crop specialization was onions; *Idi-Osan* — shows that the community specialized in oranges, while *Idi-Ikan* — shows that the community specialized in the cultivation of the aubergines—a vegetable. These arrays of agricultural practices enabled Ibadan to feed itself, even though the city was constantly at war.<sup>6</sup>

Having established the fact that militarism was the foundation of the agrarian nature of Ibadan economy, commerce in the city also benefitted from the military nature of the city. Hodder and Ukwu's extensive work made Ibadan markets exemplary in market formation analysis.<sup>7</sup> The proceeds from *oko etile* and *oko egan*, which informed the naming of settlements, also paved the way for markets. The farm produce were brought to a central area at intervals of 3 - 8 days. They were displayed in front of a famous warrior or chief's house. The markets then were formed to maintain a balance between economic and social life, because the convergence at the market was an avenue to display the entertaining aspect of the Yoruba culture. More importantly, it was a space for women to display power in the community.<sup>8</sup> For instance, two of the earliest markets in Ibadan were *Oja-Oba* and *Oje*. *Oja-Oba* has been located around the territory of Basorun Oluyole (one of the famous warriors) since the 1840s. The second ancient market was *Oje*, which was named after the sap found in plants. One of the privileged or chief slaves, Oloye Delesoh, was in charge of this market. Both markets were central markets for all the village markets that existed in Ibadan and its environs.

The continued increase in the number of settlers facilitated commercialization. The liberalism afforded by the relative anarchy provided avenues for

6 R. Watson, *Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan, Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), p. 5.

7 B.W. Hodder, "The Markets of Ibadan" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje, and B. Awe, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967), p. 173-190.

8 The concept of 'Militarism' as the foundation of Ibadan commerce has concentrated on the role of men. The power relations of women in the society were expressed through the market space. N. Sudarkasa, *Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Market Place* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1973).

the flourishing of commerce and crafts which originated in other Yoruba towns. At first, the society was anarchical, as individuals displayed power based on military might. But the military power was gradually consolidated throughout the 1870s. The military factor became an important determinant in the allocation and distribution of power as well as resources. In this way, warriors constituted the privileged class, who had the means to control the newly-emerged town.<sup>9</sup> Of course, this militarism had socio-economic implications on the inhabitants. The military supported economic activities. Migrant traders were protected and enjoyed liberal accommodation until hostilities were encountered in the late 19th century. Since the survival of trade required security, nearly all strategic trading routes from the Yoruba hinterland linked Ibadan. For example, the trading routes through the Osun district to Ilorin, Igbomina and northern Ekiti through Ile-Ife and Ijesaland to Ekiti, Akoko, Owo and Benin converged at Ibadan.<sup>10</sup> Hence, Ibadan was not merely a powerful military city, but a commercial hub where local textiles and primary produce such as yam, beans, corn, kolanut and palm oil were exchanged for imported goods. From the south came firearms, European cloth and salt, while the north provided slaves, livestock, swords, ivory and onion.<sup>11</sup>

Out of militarism, women crafted their own economic niche. The commercial vacuum created by the large-scale conscription of men was occupied by women entrepreneurs. While men engaged in slave hunting, women sold cooked food, traded in other town markets and engaged in long-distance trade. The women also traded in arms and ammunition, cloth, kolanut and palm oil. Denzer makes the point that Yoruba women determined their own economic activities and controlled the accrued profits.<sup>12</sup> Accomplished women traders employed their own labour, composed of both slave and freeborn, fixed prices, controlled the movement of goods and organized trade associations.<sup>13</sup> The

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9 Johnson, p. 244.

10 O.C. Adesina, "Adebisi Sanusi Giwa (?-1938): The Life and Career of An Ibadan Entrepreneur and Community Leader". *Lagos Notes and Records*, 2006, xii: 29.

11 Watson p.5; and Awe, 1963, p. 71.

12 Denzer, p. 7.

13 Ibid.

commercial prowess of these wealthy women traders offered them powerful clout in politics. In Ibadan, both Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura and Madam Omosa had enormous political influence and trading networks that linked the Yoruba interior with the European traders along the coast. They maintained large private armies and slaves for agricultural plantations and trading in slaves, food, arms and ammunition. Both women were indispensable to the wars of Ibadan. They offered loans, and supplied food and ammunition during wars. Efunsetan's opposition to the incessant warfare of Aare Onakakanfo Latosa and the subsequent withdrawal of her financial support to the war efforts led to her assassination in 1874. Male-dominated crafts existed as well. They included weaving, tanning and blacksmithing. The male slave soldiers protected the trade routes patronized by the women traders.

The fall of the Old Oyo Empire, arising from the combination of internal constitutional debacles, power tussles and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin played significant roles in the emergence of Ibadan. Though they may appear as remote causes, they are facts that cannot be excluded from the discourse of Yoruba history. In contradistinction to the nature of traditional Yoruba towns, the emergence of Ibadan at the initial stage was not planned. The bid to explore and exploit available resources for livelihood accounted for the expansion and subjugation of communities. According to Atanda, communities are formed when discontented or enterprising members hive off to settle in new areas.<sup>14</sup>

In the case of Ibadan, the works of Akinyele, Awe and Falola substantiate the evolution of Ibadan as a product of the nineteenth century wars.<sup>15</sup> The evolution has been associated with an apt description of militarism. The town consisted of warriors that settled because of the geographical advantage the areas offered to further launch wars of conquest on surrounding communities. The hilltops and bushes around the settlement provided a hide-out that could prevent the invasion

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14 J. A. Atanda, *Political Systems of Nigerian Peoples up to 1900* (Ibadan: John Archers, 2006), p. 3.

15 A careful appraisal of all these works among others explained the general history of Ibadan as evolving from military system and ideologies.



of enemies. In Askari's description of the geographical advantage which Ibadan possessed, it was a military alliance that grew out of:

Its position on the edge of the grassland, and the protection which it was afforded by the large expanse of lateritic outcrop in the area, made it an ideal place of refuge from the Fulani Calvary attacking from the north and from the Egba in the neighbourhood. What was intended primarily as a camp therefore soon became a permanent settlement . . . The Oyo and Ile-Ife (soldiers) settled around the present Oja-Oba and Mapo, the Ijebu at Isale-Ijebu, while the remaining Egba settled around Iyeosa.<sup>16</sup>

Given the heterogeneous nature of the population, it might seem difficult to give a precise date to the formation of Ibadan, but the series of warfare and the activities of Ibadan war heroes in the battle against the invasion of the Fulani and Dahomey makes it imperative to date the emergence of Ibadan to the 1830s. The period after the collapse of the Oyo Empire and the shift to Ago-Oja could be upheld to have marked the foundation year.

To an individual in the new settlement, the ability to spur conflicts and disturbances or organize violence could determine the rise to power and economic influence. The rise to power thus enhanced the economic status of individuals in the society. The explanation given by Ajayi and Smith to Yoruba warfare was that at the initial stage, it emanated from class struggles which was a consequence of the breach of laws and customs.<sup>17</sup> According to Watson, ambitious soldiers used warfare for personal enrichment and as an economic enterprise.<sup>18</sup> The internal conflicts were aggravated by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The capture of slaves and the ability of warriors to increase their availability formed the economic basis that informed the wealth of the warriors in Ibadan. In Johnson's account:

. . . slave-raiding now became a trade to many who would get rich speedily, and hence those who felt themselves unlucky in one

16 E. K. Askari, *Yoruba Towns and Cities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 5.

17 J.F. Ade-Ajayi and R. S. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 63-75.

18 Watson, p. 32.

expedition, and others who quickly spent their ill-gotten gains in debauchery and all excesses would band together for a raiding expedition.<sup>19</sup>

For the purpose of slave-raiding, slave soldiers were never sold but integrated into the households of warriors.

The population was mainly dominated by the Oyo refugees. According to Awe, many of the Oyo refugees, who were dispersed from the Old Oyo Empire settled in neighbouring towns.<sup>20</sup> The settlement was quite easy, because the conservatism prominent in the traditions and customs of the ancient towns did not manifest in Ibadan. In other words, the founding of Ibadan followed the principle of political and economic liberalism. This was because the refugees were eager to associate with war chiefs in the neighbourhood, so as to provide some form of security and economic survival in the new settlement. The refugees (new migrants) settled according to their groups, especially where their warrior(s) settled. By the 1850s, the settlements were closely linked to one another. The town walls or boundaries were estimated to be about 10 miles in circumference. It comprised four main gates leading to other important territories of Ijebu, Abeokuta, Oyo and Iwo.<sup>21</sup>

The fact that other states in Yorubaland were engulfed by a series of internal and external wars contributed to the emergence of Ibadan as a famous state that could assist in repulsing the invasions. By the 1840s, the war accomplishments of Ibadan became a motivation for the expansionist drive. As described by Akinjogbin, at a point there was a perception that Ibadan might become the

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19 Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, (Lagos: CSS Bookshops, 1921, reprinted 1937), p. 321.

20 Bolanle Awe's seminal work on the formation of Ibadan: "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the 19th Century", her Ph. D Thesis, Oxford, 1964 remains a reference point for other scholars on Ibadan History.

21 S. A. Akintoye, "The Economic Foundations of Ibadan's Power in the Nineteenth Century" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Osoba, editors, *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History* (Ile Ife: University of Ife Press, 1986) p. 55.

"Master of the whole world."<sup>22</sup> This was because, the towns of Iwo, Ede, Ikire and so on, which had been under the threat of the Fulani, naturally submitted their allegiance to Ibadan as a sign of honour, gratitude and loyalty.<sup>23</sup> A similar notion was held by the Ijebu and Egba kingdoms. The only exceptions to this perception were the Ekiti and Ijesa kingdoms, which refused to accept subjugation under Ibadan.<sup>24</sup> It could be said that the resistance displayed by Ekiti and Ijesa kingdoms also contributed to political cooperation in Ibadan.

By 1877, the political cooperation and expansion by Ibadan warriors were met with rivalry and fear of domination. In order to bring the expansionism to a halt, the Ekiti, Ijesa and other neighbouring kingdoms aligned to form the Ekitiparapo to fight a war of independence from Ibadan. The war is referred to as the Kiriji War.<sup>25</sup>

The Kiriji War was a war of independence, a challenge to the hegemony of Ibadan over trading routes, slave raiding and excessive taxation. To the Ekitiparapo, the war was to avoid the subjugation of Ekiti-Ijesa territories, while to Ibadan, it was a war to sustain the economic gains that had been accrued since the 1840s. The differences in the political motives and ideologies of the Egba and Ijebu over the blockage of the routes that could link Ibadan to Lagos accounted for what could be termed an immediate cause to the war. The Ekitiparapo took advantage of the political differences between the Egba and the Ijebu people. Between 1830 and 1900, the economy of Ibadan was largely tied to its military power. This could be inferred from the praise poems (*oriki*) of some of the famous warriors, especially Balogun Ibikunle:

Ibikunle! The Lord of his Quarters  
 The Warrior! As regular as the Muslim prayers  
 The affluent with enough to spend and spare at the brewery  
 Owner of farmland at Ogbere  
 Ibikunle also has a farm at Odo-Ona

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22 J. A. Akinjogbin, "War and Peace in Yorubaland, 1793-1893" (Ibadan: Heinemann Books, 1998), p. 33-52.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.



A wide expanse of farmland

Extensive as far as the city wall at Adesegun

Ibikunle (A stock list of bullet and gun powder).<sup>26</sup>

This praise poem proffers an explanation on the economy of Ibadan in those days and the nature of the occupation in vogue then. The military strength of Ibadan had much impact on its economy. Most of the warriors acquired farmlands that extended to the borders of neighbouring towns. The Ibadan leaders built very large compounds that essentially accommodated the extended family life system. This implies that the size of the family or household determined the status of the warrior in the society. If the occupants in his compound were numerous, ultimately, the warriors would command a great deal of respect.

People captured as slaves were provided with accommodation and used as labourers on the warriors' farms. The ability of a warrior to acquire slaves, therefore, determined the extent of his wealth. The economic factor or the scale of wealth thus determined the political position a warrior was accorded in the chieftaincy hierarchy.<sup>27</sup> Gradually, the slaves were integrated into the warrior's compound by virtue of their loyalty. At this juncture, it is germane to emphasize the concepts of *iwofa* (pawnship), *oko mimu* (land distribution), and *Ise yiya* (allocation of work and responsibilities). The *iwofa* could be described as a temporary slave who enters into labour contract probably for a period of six days

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26 Awe, 1973, p. 167.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 66. There is also a correlation in T. Falola, "Power Relations and Social Interactions among Ibadan Slaves, 1850-1900". *African Economic History*, 1987; 16: p. 5-114.

to work for money borrowed from another person. As described by Johnson, the *iwofa* was a form of temporary slavery in the sense that it was not binding on the slave to live with the master.<sup>28</sup> It is important to bear in mind that those under slavery or pawnship worked on the warriors' farms. The plantations were divided based on crop viability, and from the groups, a chief slave or *iwofa* took charge of the plantation. Within the allotted farmland, young slaves took charge; this was referred to as *ise yiya*, whereby the individual ability of the young slaves determined the expanse of land allotted.

Falola's description of the power relations and social interactions among Ibadan slaves portrays the view that the political economy was sustained by the slaves.<sup>29</sup> Having participated in the wars of expansionism through the 1840s to the 1860s, the slaves became part of the political and economic structure, as they occupied prominent positions in Ibadan society. The subsequent organization of the political system transformed slaves into citizens who held political portfolios. Aside from the fact that they served as soldiers and assisted the famous warriors in warfare, their presence on the farm plantations also necessitated cooperation among the groups and craft guilds. Of course, as it was in every other African societies, the environment had much influence on craftsmanship. The need to develop the proceeds from the farm afforded blacksmiths, basket weavers, palm-oil producers and others prominence and prestige.

In the production of palm-oil and other byproducts from the palm-tree, female slaves became a force to reckon with. Beyond the social interaction that enabled marriage, it was also a source of integration and incorporation into the society. The young female slaves provided the labour needed at the palm-oil processing sites called *ebu*. Like the power relations among men, the husband of a female slave determined how influential such a woman was in the society. This might have generated some form of conflict, given the fact that the ambitions of hardworking slave women to assume management responsibilities at the worksites became jeopardized.

The chief slaves exercised power over their own slaves and those of their masters under their control. The chief slaves used the slaves for the primary purpose of wealth acquisition. The junior slaves were usually exploited. As

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28 S. Johnson, p. 126.

29 T. Falola, 1987, p. 97.

described above, the concept of *oko mimu* (land distribution), which afforded chief slaves the opportunity to own land created the need to exploit slaves and acquire wealth. The disposition to social life and materialism also influenced the need to acquire wealth. The revenue realized was used in the competitive display of the ability to marry more wives and go on tobacco and alcohol buying sprees.<sup>30</sup> This social life portrayed the excessiveness in the exploitation of slaves, since enormous revenue was accrued from the sale of farm produce or the booties of wars.

In a way, the structure of slavery and its integration into the society had a great impact on the concept of identity and citizenship, as well as the distribution of resources. The rise to power as a chief slave implied absolute integration because the ability to control younger slaves and the loyalty to the warrior (master) had much to do with the conferment of a chieftaincy title on such a chief slave. For instance, the position of Chief Delesolu of Oje can be described in this connection, in that he rose to power after being captured as a slave from Ijeru in Ogbomoso. The power structure in the course of time placed him as a senior chief and *mogaji* (head of compound) under Bashorun Oluyole.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, the rise to power of slaves in economic terms could be associated with the primitive accumulation and extravagance displayed by the freeborn. For example, the praise poetry (*oriki*) of Sanusi, one of the heirs of Aare Latoosa, reads thus:

Sanusi the courageous  
 The fearful one who can trouble anybody  
 He has a number of slaves just as his father  
 He can do and undo with his slave  
 He can use the skulls of fifty of them to drink palmwine.<sup>32</sup>

This pattern of social life was an opportunity for the chief slaves to attain an identity and acquire citizenship within the city. More fundamentally, the requirement involved, encompassed the need for absolute loyalty by capturing

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30 Falola, p. 102.

31 B. Awe, P. C. Lloyd and A. Mabogunje, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 59-60.

32 Falola, p. 102.



more slaves for the master. By implication, the success of a chief slave in managing the enterprise of the master gradually ushered in political control and economic emancipation. The loyalty of chief slaves in the 1870s earned them the position of *ajele* (resident tribute collector).<sup>33</sup>

Before the Kiriji War, the *ajele* were used by Ibadan warriors as representatives in conquered towns basically for economic reasons. The *ajele* was very important to Ibadan economy in the 1850s. They became residents in the territories and they discharged their duties with utmost responsibility. The communities/ territories were responsible for their welfare, while they performed their duties by demanding a proportionate tax from every house, which had to be paid on a weekly basis. Each town had one of the chiefs from Ibadan who acted as *babakekere*. The function of the *babakekere* (patron or guardian/junior chief) was to compile the tributes and send them to Ibadan. He also offered military protection that could sustain Ibadan strategic interests. The *babakekere* reserved some of the tributes for personal use. By Akintoye's description of the *ajele* and *babakekere* institutions, they were a form of political hegemony on the Ekiti towns, because the booties and tributes further increased the rise to power of Ibadan.<sup>34</sup> The external sources of revenue through these institutions also expanded trade networks.

Tributes collected from the conquered territories ensured the adequate supply of labour and other economic resources to Ibadan. Vassal states paid annual tribute in the form of foodstuff, cowries, manufactured goods and, most significantly, slaves (both male and female). Since Ibadan had no central treasury, much of the tributes were personalized by the *babakekere*. This form of revenue collection and personal enrichment often led to civil disorder and power struggles among the Ibadan political elite.<sup>35</sup> Booty from warfare and tributes from vassal states formed a principal part of the accumulation of wealth by the chiefs. The produce, especially from slave labour, enriched Ibadan markets and fed households.

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33 For further details see S.A. Akintoye, "The Economic Foundations of Ibadan's Power. . .", p. 60; and Falola, p. 101.

34 Akintoye, p. 60.

35 Watson, p. 31.

### Emergence of a new economic order

The process of military expansionism from the 1840s was the basic cause of the Kiriji War in the 1870s. According to Akinjogbin, Ibadan's need for a direct route to Lagos for the regular supply of arms and ammunition to maintain its army and Egba-Ijebu's fear of an emerging domination by Ibadan were the factors which the Ekitiparapo took advantage of, as it was realize that the war would exhaust the military and economic power of Ibadan. The war which lasted from 1877 to 1893 came to an end with British intervention. Though attempts had been made to end the war through peaceful dialogue, the Egba-Ijebu insistence till 1892 led the colonial government in Lagos to adopt a forceful model to resolve the conflicts.<sup>36</sup>

However, the British had their own motives for intervening in the war. From the 1860s, external commerce in Africa had become so competitive to the extent that there was Anglo-French commercial rivalry in export trade. In addition, the growing influence of Germany was another threat to the British and French traders. In the 1850s, Britain had already launched its plan in Lagos, which facilitated easy access to the Yoruba hinterland. The scramble to partition Africa thus gave way to British influence in Nigeria. The British intervention in the Kiriji War was to ensure continuity in external trade. The insistence of the Egba-Ijebu to disallow the Ibadan linkage to Lagos ushered in a new political and economic system in Yorubaland. At a stage in the war, the Ekitiparapo had the upper hand because the Ekiti elites in Lagos were ensuring the regular supply of firearms. In spite of this, there was the fear that British sympathy and support for Ibadan might place the town at a vantage position for economic development.

By 14 March 1893, Governor Gilbert Carter gathered the warring factions, comprising Ibadan, Ilorin and Ekiti to put an end to the conflict through a peace conference at Ikirun.<sup>37</sup> The agreements made on the part of Ibadan implied that their bid for domination would be restricted to areas that had a cultural and lingual affinity with Ibadan. These areas included Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, Iseyin, Ikirun, Ogbomoso and so on. It further implied that land would be made available to the colonial government in Ibadan. Amidst the series of agreements, the most cogent aspect that had to do with Ibadan was land availability. The

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36 Akintoye, p. 279-290.

37 For further details, see S. Johnson, *op. cit.*

expansion of British trade in Nigeria was interconnected with land acquisition. By 1900, the aftermath of the peace conference was the Native Land Acquisition Proclamation, which stipulated that:

The lands of the colonies and protectorates of West Africa belong to her royal majesty — the Queen of England, and any non-native who wishes to obtain land must first seek and obtain the consent of the High Commissioner.<sup>38</sup>

Arguably, the chiefs that agreed to the treaty had a myopic view of the future of the economy, but much resistance would not have been expected because the series of wars had already favoured trade and commerce from the traditional perspective. The military system had already provided a solid economic base. Therefore, it could be upheld that the land agreements facilitated urbanization in the early twentieth century.

### The changing value of the land

The first step towards the use of land was the development of a transportation system, most especially road and rail transport systems. On 4 March 1901, the 200 kilometres Lagos-Ibadan railway line was commissioned for commercial purposes. By 1906, it was possible to travel by train from Lagos to Ibadan. The treaty signed on 14 December 1900, was a follow-up to that of 1893. Specifically, it stated that “all the pieces of land near Iddo Gate shall belong to the Queen of England.” By implication, the railway, which had already been under construction under the Native Land Acquisition Proclamation was just a formality to secure the protection of British trade to other parts of Yorubaland.

Apart from the subsistence crops which were meant for local consumption and palm-produce, which was already being exported, cotton, cocoa and so on were part of the principal purpose for the new transportation system. This was used in networking all parts of Yorubaland to collect cash crops exported to feed the industrial economy in Europe. During World War I, some European companies established their subsidiaries in Ibadan.<sup>39</sup> The land acquisition

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38 NAT, *The Nigerian Daily Telegraph*, 10 June 1933.

39 Africa's interaction with the international economy can be found in J.F. Munro, *Africa and the International Economy, 1800-1960* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1976); and R.O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860 - 1960* (London: Methuen, 1973).



proclamation favoured the establishment of these companies, in addition to the proximity to the railways.

**Table 2.1** Business area allocation

Plot Number	Occupant/Holder
1	London and Kano Trading Company
2	John Walkden
3	African and Eastern Trading Company
4	John Holt and Co
5-7	A.J. Tangalakis & Co
8-16	Niger Company & Co
17-23	Ibadan Native Treasury

*Source.* NAI, Ibadan Div. 1/1, Ibadan Business Area.

The area around the business district spanned through *Onireke Aleshinloye, Dugbe, Ogunpa, Agbeni, Amunigun* and so on. Indigenous merchants and the Lebanese constituted the ownership of the land holdings in the other sections of the business area.<sup>40</sup> The business area was basically farmland. The owners were pacified by compensations to stand for a ninety-nine year lease.

**Table 2.2** List of farmers in the business area who received compensation

Name	Area in sq. ft.	Amount paid		
		£	s.	d.
Arogundade	4320	21	10	0
Kokumo	540	2	15	0
Arcago	180	1	0	0
Ojo	540	2	10	0
Osho	480	2	15	0
Lawani	200	1	0	0

<sup>40</sup> Other sections in the business area were shared between Europeans, Lebanese and indigenous merchants. They occupied the land as individuals.

Name	Area in sq. ft.	Amount paid		
		£	s.	d.
Otepola	648	3	5	0
James Fabiyi	720	3	10	0
Adeyoshun	1200	4	10	0
Ola (F)	500	2	10	0
Faruna (F)	625	2	0	0
Kayola	1200	5	0	0
Fasoyin	600	3	0	0
Fabisiye	1350	6	15	0
Oyeringde	2700	12	0	0
Kudayisi	300	1	10	0
Agbeni	480	2	10	0
Momo	300	1	10	0
Idowu	300	1	10	0
Oke	648	5	0	0
Aina	564	3	0	0
Fasanya	450	2	5	0
Osa	900	4	10	0
Akande	180	1	0	0
Latunde	300	1	0	0
		L97	15	0

**Table 2.3** List of farmers in the reservation area who received compensation

Name	Amount		
	£	s.	d.
Oso	4	0	0
Oyedeji	9	0	0
Sanni	57	13	0
Laogun	39	0	0

Name	Amount		
	£	s.	d.
Otokiti	0	8	0
Fasoyin	4	10	0
Ayigbe	4	18	0
Fabayo	3	2	0
Ilori	13	8	0
Ipaye	5	0	0
Fajenise	5	12	0
Oyerinde	12	5	0
Laojo	17	3	0
Sunmola	12	8	0
Idowu	8	2	0
Babalola	7	12	0
Ogundipe	6	4	0
Oyadiji	3	18	0
Kudayisi	33	8	0
Fasanya	63	15	0
Opakunle	10	0	0
Awoyemi	4	0	0
Layide	0	16	0
Momo	39	13	6
Amodu	10	13	0
Fatundun	18	5	0
Fatona	18	5	0
Okesiji	5	0	0
Babatunde	1	19	0
Owoade	8	19	0
Faleti	15	0	0



Name	Amount		
	£	s.	d.
Suberu	15	0	0
Ayenigun	1	10	0
Jinadu	2	0	0
Gbadamosi	3	10	0
Arogundade	11	0	0
Ojo I	13	0	0
Ojo II	9	8	0
Farinto	5	10	0
Salu	7	0	0
Oke	7	10	0
Ayeni	3	17	0
Awe	0	10	0
Tairu	2	10	0
Omoladun	7	6	0
Kekere Ekun	2	10	0
B.N. Phillips	7	12	0
Lawani	2	0	0
Buraimo	5	0	0
Adeosun	2	0	0
Bambi	2	8	0
Labisi	9	8	0
Oketoyin	1	13	0
Taiwo	103	13	0
Oyemuyiwa	1	4	0
Sanusi	2	2	0
Lagunju	5	8	0
Ajibola	0	10	0

Name	Amount		
	£	s.	d.
Akande	80	2	0
Latunji	8	6	0
Bakare	8	4	0
Adejumo	0	7	0
Oke	39	0	0
Idowu	38	1	0
Osu	117	12	0
Are-Ago	5	16	0

*Source:* NAI, Oyo Prof 1/1 544 Vol. I Native Administration in Dugbe Market

Before 1903, tolls were allowed as an important aspect of commerce. *Owo Onibode*, as the toll system was referred to, was one of the virile sources of revenue established through the *ajele* and *babakekere* institutions. The internal movement of goods from one town to another, especially for the purpose of market days necessitated the payment of tolls, which were used in traditional community development. It was also a source of revenue to the palace and chiefs. By the end of the *Kiriji War* in 1893, there ensued conflicts in the control of toll houses since the powers of Ibadan had been reduced. The traditional chiefs disagreed on how the proceeds should be shared and there were attempts at increasing duties on items to increase the revenue base.

In the bid to resolve the conflicts, Captain Bower of the Native Administration moved a motion to stop the operation of toll houses. However, the intricacies and fear of a recurring war ushered in the need for reforms, which started in 1897.<sup>41</sup> Efforts were made at converting the toll houses to custom gates. As discussed earlier in the geographical description of Ibadan, the city has four gates. *Iddo gate* was in close proximity to the railway. It therefore became a virile source of revenue. Furthermore, the incessant imposition of duties by the local toll collectors was curbed with the introduction of tariff duties. With the knowledge and cooperation of the chiefs, the duties were modified.

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41 Falola, p.78.

In spite of the modification, the chiefs were not satisfied because it was perceived as a measure to degrade their political status and economic power. Thus, the traditional toll system continued, which to the colonial government, was a hindrance to the free flow of goods. Furthermore, the toll reapers failed to recognize the need to exempt colonial agents from payment, while the European firms failed to cooperate. The problems generated from toll collection on the part of Ibadan chiefs were in a bid to attain economic security. On the part of the colonial government, the modification was planned to their advantage. In other words, both parties were concerned with economic security. In order to resolve the conflict, in 1903, Governor McGregor visited Ibadan and gave two options — the Ibadan chiefs should accept subsidies in the place of tolls or they should continue to collect tolls on six conditions:

- i. that the estimate of revenue and expenditure be submitted each year to the secretary of state for approval
- ii. that no increase in tolls as regulated in the new tariff be made without the previous sanction of the secretary of state
- iii. that all goods, that were not products of the Ibadan province, be exempted from dues in transit to the railway station
- iv. that draw back in full be allowed on goods re-exported
- v. that they employ a qualified inspector of dues to be selected by the governor and paid a sufficient salary
- vi. that the resident audit the toll accounts monthly.<sup>42</sup>

By implication, neither of the two options would have been agreed upon. It was feared that even with the two options, the French might have a stake in commerce in Ibadan. Hence, it was suggested that the custom gates should be abolished. However, it was considered that it could create problems from the interior of Yorubaland, because it was a means of generating revenue. Despite the fears, the first option of giving subsidies to chiefs and handing over the control of custom gates was adopted in 1904. The agreement decided to abolish the payment of tolls on all goods. The basic argument or reason behind the abolition was the need to internally generate revenue that could enhance colonial administration.

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42 Ibid, p.80.



On the contrary, new measures were innovated towards the establishment of colonial economy, with much emphasis on cash crops. The re-orientation necessitated the need for labour to facilitate all stages of production towards exportation. The need for land was far more important for cash crop cultivation, especially cotton, cocoa and rubber.<sup>43</sup> The British Cotton Growing Association was formed in 1902 for the purpose of sending cotton experts to examine the scientific and technological propensity for a plantation at *Olokemeji* village in Ibadan. However, the experiment was not as successful as expected and there was a shift to cocoa production. Cocoa production reached Ibadan through traders, members and agents of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).<sup>44</sup> The position of CMS in the production of cocoa could be described with the view that Christianity was also an agent of imperialism. Though it might not have had a manifest impact on the economy, yet it had much impact on culture. It was believed that economic development was a twin concept with evangelization, and both must be simultaneous. The role of CMS accounted for the involvement of early Christian converts in the production of cocoa.

Table 2.4 Cocoa plantation areas in Ibadan

Date	Village
Before 1892	Agbaakin
1890s	Otun-Agbaakin
c.1900	Arun
before 1907	Kute
1907 - 1910	Iroko
1892	Eripa
1890s	Onipe
1890s (after Eripa)	Isokun
1890s (after Isokun)	Gbedun
1901-1902	Olojuoro

43 For further readings on the colonial economy, see the following: R.O. Ekundare, op cit., and A.G. O. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London: Longman, 1973).

44 Falola, p. 103.

Date	Village
1901-1902	Ayorinde
c.1904	Idi-Ose
c.1905	Ogbere
c.1905	Alabidun
1904-1907	Alagutan
1907-1910	Olorunda
1907-1910	Aladun
1907-1910	Onimo
1907-1910	Akinboade
1910-1912	Laogun
1910-1912	Abalega
1911	Ajugbona
1914	Araromi-Aperin
1915	Amodu Afunsho

*Source:* T. Falola, *Politics and Economy in Ibadan 1830 - 1945* (Ibadan: Modelor Publishers), pp. 103-104.

Of the three cash crops, cocoa was given much concentration because it thrived very much on the land. There was also concentration on the production of corn, which also served numerous purposes in Britain.<sup>45</sup> Hence, the presence of European firms gave much relevance to commerce in Ibadan. The traditional crafts and industries were grappling with the new economy during this period.

### Migration and urbanization in Ibadan

Although colonial influence also manifested in the concentration of other crafts in Ibadan, the gradual urbanization of Ibadan, as described by Mabogunje, brought in migrants from other parts of Yorubaland. The presence of the migrants facilitated the expansion of local crafts, while also increasing the impact

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 105.

of modernization on its development.<sup>46</sup> In her early history, Ibadan could be seen as a convergence of migrants from various parts of Yorubaland. This also applied to non-Yoruba migrants, most especially the peoples from the northern region. In Abner Cohen's analysis, the Hausa communities in Yorubaland were formed in line with the development and organizational requirements of long distance trade, in which they were directly or indirectly involved.<sup>47</sup> The main commodities of the long distance trade between the Hausa and Yoruba were kolanut and cattle. These commodities had much cultural significance during festivals and ceremonies among African communities. Hausa migration can be dated to the early years of Ibadan history. Since the 16th century, Hausa traders and Muslim scholars have traversed Yorubaland. Many Hausa slaves were used to prosecute the Ibadan wars and constituted the workforce on the farm plantations.

With the emergence of the railway, the movement of Hausa people into Ibadan basically for trade in kolanuts and cattle increased dramatically. The increase at first did not mean that they were concentrated in a settlement; they were spread, especially to the rural areas.

The Hausa settlements existed in smaller communities. There is the possibility that their presence facilitated the expansion of village markets. In the period of economic transition following the end of the Yoruba wars, some of the Hausa under the patronage of some Ibadan chiefs were involved in burglary activities. In a large measure, they constituted a threat to the new urban life in the early 20th century in Ibadan. In the 1920s, the *Sarkin Hausa* demanded a separate area around Mokola, which is referred to as Sabo, in order to fully control the kolanuts and cattle trade, and the emergent criminal tendencies in the community.<sup>48</sup> The name Mokola, as described by Mabogunje, was derived from

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46 See A. L. Mabogunje, *Urbanisation in Nigeria* (London: University of London Press, 1968), and A. Callaway, "From Traditional Crafts to Modern Industries" in P. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, 1967, op cit.

47 A. Cohen, "Politics of Kola Trade. Some Processes of Tribal Community Formation among Migrants in West African Towns", *Journal of the International African Institute* 1996, 36(1): 19- 20.

48 National Archives Ibadan (NAI) Ibadan Div. 1/1, Hausa Settlement in Ibadan.



a Nupe language (Mokanla). They were early settlers in the area.<sup>49</sup> The Hausa migrants decided to settle there because of the conflicts arising from the accusations by the indigenes that they were a threat to peace and security in Ibadan. It was equally in the interest of the colonial state to create hierarchies and segregation between natives and migrants.

After the Kiriji War, Ibadan developed xenophobia towards all immigrants, including the Ijesa, Egba and Ijebu, who were conspirators against Ibadan during the war. Ibadan succeeded in expelling the Fante people who dominated the rubber industry in the city.<sup>50</sup> The presence of the railway along Dugbe could also have accounted for the massive settlement of migrants along these areas. The Ijebu were largely concentrated around Oke-Ado, and the Lagos migrants around Ekotedo and Mokola.<sup>51</sup> This geographical distribution and migrant cluster can be associated with the presence of modern trade and facilities that could enhance them. The railways, the European firms (trade stations) along Dugbe-Ogunpa and the migrant cluster, contributed to the emergence of the Old Gbagi Market. During the first three decades of colonial rule, the emergence of the market expanded the economic strength of Ibadan. Ultimately, Yoruba towns were very much connected with the new trade relations and the process of urbanization. The *Osomaalo* itinerant traders from Ijesa had much contact with the European firms, as well as Yoruba men from Ibadan, Ijebu and Lagos.<sup>52</sup>

### The rise of the modern Ibadan economic elite

The Ibadan economic elite adapted to the changing economic transition ushered in by colonialism. Some were involved in the distribution of European general

49 A. L. Mabogunje, "The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan" . *Geographical Review* 1962, 52(1): 68.

50 I. O. Albert "Urban Migrant Settlements in Nigeria: A Historical Comparison of the 'Sabon Garis' in Kano and Ibadan. 1893-1991" (Ibadan Ph.D Thesis, African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1994), p. 87.

51 As explained by Mabogunje, it is apparent that the 20th century migrants settled in different sections separate from the indigenous inhabitants. The migrants cluster in the same area (along the railway lines), suggesting that they all migrated for commercial purpose.

52 J.A. Aluko, *Osomaalo: The Early Exploits of the Ijesha Entrepreneur* (Ibadan: African Book Builders, 1993), p. 14, 15.

merchandise, while others engaged in the trading of locally-produced goods and foodstuff. Unlike in the past, merchants, not the military men, became the new revered citizens. In Ibadan, the likes of Chief Salami Agbaje and Chief Adebisi Idikan were some of the most prominent early traders in textiles. In addition, both of them were general merchants in the colonial economy. They served as middlemen between the European and the Ibadan people. In particular, Salami Agbaje was the first Ibadan native to operate a motor transport business, with the use of lorries to move imported goods between rural communities and Ibadan.<sup>53</sup> Agbaje established a mechanical workshop which possibly competed with the one established by the Railway Corporation. Part of his investment included estates and a printing press. He traded in timber, palm produce, maize and cocoa that offered cash income. He exported these locally produced commodities directly. On the other hand, he imported building materials, alcoholic drinks (spirits) and other European manufactured items. In the 1920s, he was considered Ibadan's richest native merchant.

Before his ascendancy to the throne of Ibadan, Okunola Abasi was an influential Muslim trader. He virtually monopolized trade in yam flour. By 1908, when the railway reached Jebba from Lagos, he pioneered the transportation of foodstuff from Jebba to Ibadan. He made substantial profits by selling for twice the price.<sup>54</sup> Akinpelu Obisesan, an Ibadan Christian merchant, started his career by working for the Lagos Railway and European mercantile firms. He subsequently engaged in produce buying. Many indigenous traders were involved in the importation of gold. Chief among them was Mr. I. M. Odunsi of Idepo Chambers, Ogunpa, Ibadan. He imported gold directly from England financed through the Bank of British West Africa. The value of his orders of gold carat ranged from £90 to £315 per importation.<sup>55</sup> Some raw gold found their way to Ibadan through Hausa traders. Ibadan had a sizeable number of goldsmiths who employed workers, women hawkers as well as trained apprentices. The goldsmiths established their workshops at *Oja-Igbo, Isale-Ijebu, Ekotedo, Oja-Iba,*

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53 The biography written by O.S. Ojo, "Life and Times of Chief Salami Agbaje", Unpublished B.A. History Project, Department of History, University of Ibadan, 1988 was found very useful.

54 Watson, p. 105.

55 NAI Oyo Prof. /153/EHLRIW/General Goods Department. The United Africa Company, Ibadan, 1935.

*Ayeye, Agbeni, Labiran, Aremo, Oluokun, Onidundu, Amunigun and Isale-Osi* areas of Ibadan. The new moneyed men and merchants of Ibadan played dramatic roles in the socioeconomic development and politics of the city. They formed community development organizations to articulate their positions on the development of the city, in relation with the colonial authority and the *Alaafin* of Oyo. Their conspicuous consumption and new culture of consumerism reshaped social life and class relations in Ibadan.

The textile, gold and jewellery industries did not directly boost the traditional economy, because the natural resources were not in the absolute control of the artisans.<sup>56</sup> The traditional apprenticeship system was subjugated under colonial control to ensure that its practice added to the revenue base of the colonial administration. Under the Goldsmith Ordinance, women had to obtain a hawker's licence. After the failure of the British Cattle Growers Association experiment, aimed towards exportation, textile training schemes were developed as a means of maintaining control of production.

In the case of gold mining, which was very prominent at Ilesa, the process of mining was restricted because it was lucrative for indigenous merchants and not for colonial merchants.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the concentration of miners in the goldfield was a threat to the availability of labour at the tin mines in the Bauchi-Plateau region.<sup>58</sup> Trade in gold was not viable for exportation, because of the huge investment involved in the process of mining; it was converted to a source of income for the colonial administration in Ibadan. This was done through the control and regulation of mining and smithing activities. The particular emphasis on the textile and gold industries among other crafts was because the raw materials were once viable for exportation.

However, the prosperity achieved by the traders and artisans was faced with commercial challenges from domestic and foreign middlemen traders. The internal rivalry was very much inherent with the Ijebu, Ijesa and Lagos migrants,

56 The particular reference to cotton and gold is to expose the nature or impact of colonial control on the artisanship and apprenticeship system, since both products were no more profitable for exportation, the trade practice was regulated to ensure that it contributed to the revenue base of colonial government.

57 NAI, Ibadan Div. 1/1 1354/1 Goldsmiths Ordinance/Licence.

58 NAI, CSO, 0164/s.1 Gold Mining in Nigeria.



who settled around the business area for the purpose of trade. Foreign competition was encountered with the presence of Lebanese and Syrian traders.<sup>59</sup> The Lebanese emerged as migrants in search of better opportunities, because there was economic depression in their home country. They became more prosperous because the European firms gave them better recognition, credit and preference as middlemen. The preference given to them could be associated with racism, monopolistic tendencies and attempts to undermine the entrepreneurial potentials of the indigenes.

The presence of the Lebanese generally subjugated indigenous participation in the modern economy. The Lebanese business empire expanded into various aspects of merchandising to the extent that they absolutely determined to buy on lease all developed and undeveloped lands along the market.<sup>60</sup> This further generated a series of conflicts and reactions beyond the 1930s.

## Conclusion

From a small war camp, Ibadan transformed into the focal point of modernity in Yorubaland. Trade and commerce in the early years of the town's formation till the end of the nineteenth century thrived as a result of the military system of government, which accounted for its rise to power among other towns in Yorubaland. The system of government that was clearly distinct from the Yoruba traditional political system provided an avenue for a laissez-faire society, providing a conducive atmosphere for the refugees and slaves to live a defined and settled life. They enjoyed geographical and military protection. Women controlled their own economic sphere despite militarism and patriarchal structures. It might have been imagined that the seeming victory of Ekitiparapo and other opponents would have led to the fall of Ibadan in the 1890s. However, it ushered in a new order of socio-political and economic power in the colonial period. Ibadan was the toast of the British imperialists and European merchants due to its impressive size, economic liberalism and, of course, military power. The existence of modern facilities, most especially the transport system, favoured

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59 T. Falola, "The Lebanese Traders in South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1960". *African Affairs*, 1990, 89(357): 524-525.

60 NAI, OY/1674, Lebanese in Ibadan.

internal and foreign immigrant settlements in Ibadan, all of which contributed largely to its urbanization.

Although, the abolition of the traditional toll system and the failure to pay tributes to the traditional authorities was to the disadvantage of the traditional economy, the traditional political system was also subjugated by the modern government. The series of conflicts and discontentment that emanated from the colonial imposition and the competition encountered with the migrants was responsible for the craft industries, farmers and traders making use of *egbe* (cooperative associations and social networks) as a means of articulating views and grievances in the colonial economy, most especially with the introduction of taxation, which was not totally alien in the traditional economy, though its modus operandi was different. The cooperative system could thus be defined as a redemption strategy that continued beyond the 1930s. The colonial economic transition equally gave impetus to the competition and construction of identities between indigenes and non-indigenes of Ibadan.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### Administration and Management of Local Government in Ibadan from 1954-1979

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Toriola A. Oyewo

#### Historical prelude

Before the advent of the British colonial government to Ibadan in 1893, the people of Ibadan were governed by the *Balogun* and his few elected chiefs. Therefore, when the British came in 1893, introducing changes in the management and administration of Ibadan, the idea of having residents who would work with the traditional council of chiefs to initiate the introduction of modern innovations and development was opposed by the *Balogun* and his elected chiefs, who considered the system as a means to weaken their powers by unwarranted usurpation.

However, through the system of indirect rule, the British came up with a solution. They introduced the strategy of effective administration through the inauguration of the Ibadan Town Council in August 1897. It must be noted that the indigenous chiefs worked in this council, although they functioned under the authority of the British administration.<sup>2</sup>

The atrocities perpetrated by Captain Ross (1913-1931) motivated the

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1 P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

2 A.T. Oyewo, "The Administration and Management of Ibadan Municipal Government, 1954 - 1979", MPhil thesis submitted to the Department of Public Administration, University of Ife, 1983.



formation of many associations in Ibadan like the *Egbe-Agba Ota* and the Committee of Gentlemen (otherwise called The Nature Aboriginal Society) in Ibadan. These associations helped to expose the bad policies of Captain Ross's administration and curb his excesses. He was eventually removed from Ibadan and effectively replaced by H.L. Ward Price.

Subsequent events showed that the Ibadan and District Native Authority was established and later replaced by the Ibadan Divisional Native Authority.<sup>3</sup> However, between 1931 and 1952, the Ibadan Progressive Union approached Ward Price to allow educated citizens to serve as councillors in the council. Thus, enlightened citizens of Ibadan became involved in the administration and management of their local affairs until the Local Government Law of 1953 democratized the composition of the council.

### **The Ibadan District Council in 1954**

Following the enactment of the Western Region Local Government Law of 1952 (No. 1 of 1953), the Ibadan District Council was established by the instrument on 20 November 1953 and came into being on 1 April 1954. It consisted of 93 members<sup>4</sup> 20 were traditional chiefs and 73 were elected councillors.

It is interesting to note that of these 73 members, the NCNC won 56 seats, while the Action Group won 17 seats. The total wards were as follows: 43 represented the town wards and 30 represented the district wards. The council was in opposition to the party that formed the Western Region.<sup>5</sup>

### **Party politics**

No government can succeed in either a parliamentary or federal system of government without party politics, which play a substantial role in the growth

3 Robert O. Collins, *Problems in the History of Colonial Africa, 1860 - 1960* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970). See also P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe., op. cit.

4 All facts recorded here were obtained from the National Archives in the University of Ibadan (NAI), Files No. R/X31 and No. 231824.

5 See also NAI File No. 3, Ibadan and District Council Organisation at Mapo, now South East Local Government, Ibadan. (pg 110A).

and strength of the art of government. To support this view, Okoli<sup>6</sup> remarked that participatory democracy and political responsibility cannot be achieved without the development of parties, factions or groups. According to Jean Blondel, no political regime can function effectively without parties unless there are few demands for the system to segregate.<sup>7</sup>

All these show that party politics is the centre and hub of Nigerian political education at the local level. It should therefore be the essential aim of any government in power at the state level to see that members of any particular council should be of the same political ideology.

The traditional rulers who normally wield sufficient influence over their subjects have been bought over by the state government. This is common even in contemporary times, where the government makes use of the traditional rulers who are supposed to wield sufficient influence over their subjects by persuading them to vote for the state government. Any council therefore with the same political ideology with the state government will receive its blessings and will be accorded the amenities it requires, while those in opposition to the government will be discriminated against and criticized by the government at every turn. Such was the position of the Ibadan District Council and the then Western Nigeria Government as of 1954.

### **The regional government and Ibadan District Council relations, 1954**

To start with, the council in 1954 found itself confronted by an unsympathetic regional government. Unfortunately, the council, rather than adopting a system of cooperative federalism—which needs the mutual understanding and healthy interaction of the two organs—adopted obstructionist tactics and open confrontation, which assumed the dimension of a zero-sum game.

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6 Ekueme Okoli. "Party Politics and Local Government in Nigeria: An Assessment", a paper at the National Conference on the New Local Government System in Nigeria at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. June, 26-27, 1980.

7 Jean Blondel. *An Introduction to Comparative Government* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969) p. 99.

Thus, the serious antagonism, which became the order of the day, adversely affected the lot of the common man and the possibility of delivering the goods and services expected from the local government. In fact, it nearly brought development to a stand still. Charges of threats of dissolution against the council were proven, and other allegations of victimization, intimidation, persecution and abuse of power were levied against the regional government by the chairman of the council.

Moreover, charges of acts of discrimination were levelled against the regional government, which was buttressed by the government policy on primary school buildings. The regional government allowed all councils in the region except the Ibadan District Council to construct primary school buildings.

The regional government began to act aggressively to the choice of the N.C.N.C. council before and during the election. The regional government made this known in its series of publications in the *Tribune* newspaper, which belonged to some members in the Action Group. The first publication of such reads as follows<sup>8</sup>:

The question which the people of Ibadan must ask themselves is whether they will vote into power a party with such an ignoble record as this. Indeed, there should be no doubt in any voter's mind that to vote for N.C.N.C. is to vote for corruption, dishonesty and confusion. Do the people of Ibadan want the council under a new dispensation to be ridden with corruption, leading ultimately to inevitable dissolution? We hope not.

In another write-up,<sup>9</sup> the paper reported that. . .

If the new N.C.N.C. councillors work for the interest of the people and serve them sincerely and honestly, they can confidently expect to remain in office throughout their three-year term. But if they choose to continue their fraudulent and corrupt practices in the new council as did their colleagues in the old Lagos council, they can rest equally satisfied that the council will be dissolved in the interest of good

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8 Editorial in the *Nigerian Tribune* two weeks before the election took place urging the electorate to vote for the Action Group Party. (March 3rd, 1954).

9 *Nigerian Tribune*, three days before the election. (Monday, March 23rd, 1954).



government, in either case the deciding factor is not party politics but the welfare of the people.

It is clear that the regional government had been threatening a council yet to be born with dissolution. It was too premature to accuse a council that was not yet in office of corruption and inefficiency. This shows patently that if the N.C.N.C. was elected as it was, the regional government would be hostile towards the council.

All this came to pass and adversely affected the effectiveness of the council's administration and management. About 48 days after the first meeting, another publication came out in the *Nigerian Tribune* newspaper.<sup>10</sup> The publication criticized the method adopted in promoting an employee who was considered by the publisher not fit for promotion and who was not recommended by his head of department. The publication reads:

For a council to promote an employee in spite of a definite adverse report on that employee by his head of department gives a semblance of corruption. The new councillors came into office only last month. How are they able to assess the ability of a man better than the superior officer with whom the man has been working? We think the affairs of the Ibadan District Council are reaching a stage where the regional government interference was necessary so very early in the council's existence...

Although one is not justifying the council's action of promoting the individual in question, one feels that the council should have been given time to settle down and shown the proper way to act, and not to be threatened with dissolution. It is apparent that whatever the council did was viewed by the opposing political party with a jaundiced eye, and a panel of inquiry was waiting at the door to flush out the councillors who were opposed to the party in power. Due to all these hostilities, the council had no time to settle down and undertake any meaningful projects. Hence, development was more or less at a stand still.

As already revealed, the allegation of corruption against the council within two months of its resumption in office should not have been sufficient to ban

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10 Another publication in the *Nigerian Tribune*. (Tuesday May 21st, 1954).

the council from implementing the primary school policy. The ruling party at the regional level disrupted the activities of the council; by inciting its members in the council against the chairman of the council on many occasions. For instance, it was alleged that the regional government at that time excised all pieces of land situated at SW8, Ibadan, belonging to its party supporters from the council's acquisition on school projects

Another problem that thwarted the council's efforts with regard to its realm of administration and management, was the fact that the council's estimates were usually left unattended to for at least three months longer than the normal time, and at times they were not even passed or approved by the regional government. For example, the regional government disapproved a vote of ₦30,000.00, as revealed by Nicholson, for the improvement of the Ibadan township for political reasons.<sup>11</sup> How then could the council achieve its objectives in terms of service delivery without the necessary funds?

No doubt, because of unhealthy relationships, political intolerance and lack of cooperation from both sides, the administration and management of the council was paralyzed. Moreover, the council failed in its administration for not making use of the informal line of communication as revealed by Storey, quoted in the Nicholson Report" as follows:

Both sides have yet to learn the immense value of mutual consultation through personal contact between ministers and committee chairmen at one level, and between civil servants and officers at the other. The explanatory conference, the personal visit to Agodi, the friendly telephone call or even the informal letter can achieve so much more than formal resolutions or the official jargon of administrative correspondence. These informal channels are widely and successfully used in England, and I should like to see far more use made of them in Nigeria.

### **Party politics in the council itself**

Party politics within the council itself adversely affected its administration and management in terms of service delivery and efficiency. For instance, members of the tax assessment unit were selected from the party line just to reward them.

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11 See *Report of Nicholson Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Ibadan District Council*, (Abingdon U.K: The Abbey Press, 1957).

The membership was thus not based on merit, but on being a member of the N.C.N.C. These members were often sent to areas of which they had no local knowledge, and indiscriminate taxes became the order of the day, so much so that the council lost a huge amount of its estimated revenue. There was also an apparent mismanagement and lack of coordination in this area, for example the number of tax units in the rural areas was doubled purposely to find "jobs for the boys." Finally, it was found that the council had embarked on a policy of down-grading the required assessment with a view to favouring the electorate and this adversely affected the financial management of the council.

The council was found on many occasions to be inconsistent with its own policies and directives. For instance, it made a rule forbidding the hiring of Mapo Hall for any political reasons and, as such, the premier of the then Western Region was prevented from hosting a party there on 4th September 1954. But curiously and to thwart its own administration, the N.C.N.C used the same Mapo Hall for a political meeting. This was a glaring example of double standards and strained the relationship between the council and the regional government.

### **Traditional members and the council**

Another factor which affected the administration and management of the council was the way in which the traditional chiefs were maltreated by the chairman. Thus, the advice and experience of the elders needed to manage the locality were denied the council. The traditional chiefs were treated with disrespect by the then chairman, Mr. Adegoke Adelabu. He was the chairman of the ten available standing committees of the council. He became so power intoxicated that he used to call these chiefs fags who were to be seen and not heard in the council's affairs.

The traditional members objected to Mr. Adelabu being the chairman of all the council's committees on the grounds that it would lead to autocracy. They further contended that him being appointed the chairman of all the committees would lead to the possible disruption of the schedule of meetings, since he was in Lagos as a federal minister at the same time. Lastly, the chiefs contended that such a method was not only undemocratic, but candidly administratively unsound.



To crown it all, the council decreased the stipends of the traditional rulers. This was done in poor taste and the atmosphere in the council became tense and unfavourable to good management. To worsen the whole situation, the chairman would publicly disrespect the traditional members by shouting them down and verbally abusing them at every opportunity. This indignity was glaring and it deprived the council of the benefit of the elders — advice in the art of local government administration and management — thus hampering the activities of the council.

That the traditional chiefs are the custodians of the customs and traditions of the people. The council was deprived of the mobilization of human resources for community development. This was the domain of the traditional chiefs to whom the local people always give respect and obedience.

Prince Adeyokunnu who argued for the retention of the traditional rulers in local government affairs pointed out the fact that the restrictions placed on the traditional chiefs would indirectly bring unrest to the council.<sup>12</sup> He maintained that the retention of the traditional chiefs and rulers would always enable any government (whether local or state) to have the maturity of opinion needed as far as local customs were concerned. He argued again that owing to the prevailing mass illiteracy, the traditional authorities would tend to be more credible to the populace than any governmental machinery and, as such, a good communication network system would naturally evolve between these traditional rulers and the people.

### **The councillors**

One of the determinants of a council's administrative and management performance is the quality of its councillors, and where the councillors are found to be very young, foolish and corrupt, the council's administration and management will be hampered. A similar effect would ensue in any council where the councillors are illiterate, indolent and arrogant, and/or where they are found to be doing the work in their own self-interests and personal

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12 Adebajji Adeyokunnu. *The Punch*. (February 10, 1980).

aggrandizement. Literature on these assumptions are many<sup>13</sup> and they need no further elaboration here.

Improving the performance of a local government requires improving the capability of the people who work therein, hence the spirit of cooperation must be present between the councillors and members of staff. It is equally essential that where cooperation exists between the political leaders and administrative executives, adequate attention will be devoted to the realization of the council's objectives. But where the relationship is not cordial or is allowed to degenerate to that of the wolf and the lamb, the administration and management of the council will malfunction.

### **The councillors in Ibadan Municipal Government**

A close survey of the councillors in Ibadan from 1954 to 1972, reveals the following facts which hampered the management of the council. Right from the early fifties, many members of the council were illiterate, who could not grasp what was being discussed in the council. The council's decisions were usually taken on a hint from the chairman and the necessary motions were usually proposed by his lieutenant, one Mr. Ade Bello.

Moreover, the councillors were inexperienced and, despite their ignorance, were called upon to work within a comparatively new system of local government administration in 1954. Added to all these drawbacks were the environmental conditions. The location of the headquarters in Mapo made it difficult for any busy man to be a councillor representing the far away villages, hence the educated and enlightened people failed to offer themselves for councillorship.

On some occasions, many of the councillors were chosen either by the clans or the village heads in the community, without any consideration for age or educational qualifications. The result of this was that the old councillors were not devoted to their duties, but kept looking for ways and means of satisfying their own personal interests. As later developments showed, many people took up the councillorship post in order to get council landed properties or market stalls for themselves and members of their family. Hence, nepotism became a

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13 Oyewo, op. cit., p. 78-79.

matter of serious concern, while a lot of wrangling and petty quarrels usually ensued between them and the council officials within the realms of administration.

From 1966 till 1972, the council in Ibadan was run by sole administrators. In 1973, the Council Manager System was introduced into the Western Region and, as such, the then Ibadan City Council was filled with nominated councillors. These councillors were nominated by the then military governor on merit, and they were educated men and women of reputable character, with a substantial means of livelihood. Thus, the membership of the council consisted of lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, trade unionists, business men and other professionals.

These people knew their rights and they concerned themselves only with policy matters. There was cooperation between them and the council employees, since the members left the administrative undertakings of the council to the executive secretary and other permanent employees of the council. Also, there was considerable improvement in the standard of debates leading to realistic decisions for the improvement of the local community as of this time. In 1976, elected councillors were selected into the council as a prelude to the 1979 election for the civilian government in Nigeria.

### **The chairmen of the council**

Reports showed conclusively that Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu, the chairman of the then Ibadan District Council in the early fifties, made a mess of the council's administration and management. His vivid personality, burning ambition and desire for power over his fellow-men rendered him unsuitable for the job of chairman of a district council.<sup>14</sup> He was found to be power-drunk, ill-mannered and irresponsible, as quoted in the Nicholson Report. He was arrogant towards everybody and encouraged his close followers to tell people of every rank in his presence that he was their master. He behaved in such a way that, in effect, he was the council himself and no decision could be taken without him being physically present, notwithstanding the fact that he was also a federal minister at that time.

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14 Ibid., p. 82-83.



As would be expected, the scheduled meetings of the council were, more often than not, not attended by him since he was in Lagos. This also meant that no decision could be taken without him and, if decisions were taken, they could be cast over board and jettisoned completely.

Another factor that thwarted the management of the council was the preparedness of some staff members to obey the chairman at the expense of the secretary of the council. They saw the chairman as the captain of the ship (that is, the council). Hence, they sought protection from the chairman when they committed administrative blunders, and felt that he had the final say in personnel matters at that time. For instance, he chairman personally installed a comparatively subordinate officer in the treasury, and was found on many occasions to be giving instructions directly to the treasury and other areas of the department, totally bypassing the office of the secretary.

The system that was in operation then permitted a local government personnel to be appointed by the Local Government Service Commission, and such staff could be promoted, disciplined and transferred by the commission into any other local government within the state where they worked. This made for considerable improvement in the Ibadan local government. The Local Government Service Commission is both a curse and a blessing, and is plagued by some disparities.

First, the Local Government Service Commission is needlessly tied to the apron strings of the Ministry of Local Government and, unlike its counterpart—the Civil Service Commission, it has no constitutional backing. Hence, most of its members considered their appointments to be like conduit pipes, fags to be seen and not heard, or like somebody having privileges and no rights.

Second, in the area of discipline, some of the commissioner's acts cannot be glossed over without commenting on favouritism, inequality, administrative injustice and political undertones.

### **Integrated system**

Of all the systems plaguing the effective performance of the local government in Ibadan, it is this integrated system of personnel management that is the worst. This system is meant to integrate the state civil service with that of the local government, so that the local government personnel can be transferred not only within local governments, but also through all levels of government.

The same ideology holds for the transfer/secondment of civil servants into the local government. This system has been criticized considerably and over elaboration is not necessary. It is recommended that since such appointments produce unhealthy relations between the incumbent and other officers who consider it an act of usurpation of their rights and a means by which the possibility of their progress in the local government service is pegged, such a system must stop forthwith as it is unproductive.

Without a doubt this system produced ill-feelings which interfered with the smooth running of institutions generally in the country. It produced a "monkey dey work baboon dey chop" situation, because these administrators were civil servants and not local government professionals. They do not have a grip of local government methods, but looked to the secretaries for help and guidance. Yet, the praise for accomplishments went to them and not to the professionals who actually performed them. This system is akin to the integrated system which the author faulted as follows:

- i. The greatest problem confronting the staff of this calibre is that they are not usually equipped for local government administration.
- ii. The civil service model of administration is not to be slavishly copied in the work of the local government.
- iii. The local government should be molded on the concept of visible responsibility, which the civil service lacks. The seconded officers perceive themselves as staff of the civil service and thus act in consonance with the temperament and character internalized in the civil service.

Since such appointments produce unhealthy relations between the incumbent officers, who considered it an usurpation of their rights and chances to promotion, such a system should be halted. It can be asserted, in the long run, that these people from the ministry have no sense of commitment. They therefore cannot be punished when they do err, since they owe no allegiance to the Local Government Service Commission.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

Rivalry and antagonism were the salient features of local governments in the then Ibadan City Council. With the obvious flaws in the system that was being operated, it was assumed that the situation would improve in the early seventies with the introduction of the Council Manager System in the West. But contrary to expectation, this system added another dimension to the existing problems. Rather than allowing the council manager to function like his counterpart in America, the so-called nominated councillors were indirectly ruling the secretary and interfering with his functions. In some councils, they even agitated for and succeeded in getting the right to sign cheques as executive members of the councils.

### The officials themselves

The local government personnel system in Nigeria has witnessed three changes, as can be found in Ibadan. Initially, there was the separate personnel system whereby each local government had the absolute right to hire and fire its staff. The people employed could not be transferred anywhere else. In other words, they stayed put in their place of employment.

Historically, local government personnel appointed under this system were mostly associated with nepotism and favouritism. They were usually connected either by blood or otherwise with the *emirs, obas* and other distinguished personalities. They were hand-picked without any academic or moral qualifications, or sufficient professionalism to carry out their duties as employees of the local authority. This invariably affected productivity and service delivery.

This was in vogue during the native administrator system in Nigeria and up until 1954-56, when new councils in the Western Region were established. Thus, the councils inherited staff from the native authority which Nicholson called an inheritance of dubious value.<sup>16</sup> As would be expected, the management and administration of the local government at this time was so ineffective that the performance of the councils were poor and below expectation.

### Structural effect

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<sup>16</sup> Nicholson Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of Ibadan Municipal Government. op.cit.



The instability of a structure or varied determination of boundaries play predominant roles in the administration and management of any council and the case of the Ibadan Municipal Government is not an exception.

According to Barber,<sup>17</sup> this usually adversely affects the efficiency in local government administration. On some occasions, the boundaries are adjusted without thinking of the possibility of achieving efficiency and the economy of services. At other times, many areas are too small to reap the benefits of large-scale economies or to warrant the employment of highly-qualified staff. In some areas, structural demarcations were too wide, preventing the effective control of officials and thwart the efforts of progress in the realms of administration and management.<sup>18</sup>

In 1954, the Ibadan District Council covered a very large area, which included the following: Lagelu, Akinyele, Oluyole, Ibadan Municipal and Ibarapa Local Governments. The head office of the council was however situated at Mapo, which was quite a distance from the areas constituting the council. The people of *Erunmu* and *Lalupon* were to be represented by a councillor each and, with the constraints of transport and distance, it used to take these elected representatives a whole day to attend council meetings.

With regards to amenities, the local government areas suffered a lot and the people were ignorant of the existence of any council because there was no provision in terms of either social or cultural amenities. Thus, because of the large size of the council area, the management of the council in terms of service delivery was very poor.

Incessant boundary disputes between the Egba and Ibadan, Iwo and Ibadan, Lagelu Local Government and Ibadan Municipal, and the Oluyole Local Government and the Ibadan Municipal Government retarded, to a considerable extent, the administration and management of the Ibadan District Council. For instance, the boundary between the Ibadan Municipal Government and the Oluyole Local Government was not well-defined. The instruments that created these two local governments were in conflict. The Ibadan Municipal

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17 M.P. Barber, *Local Government*, 3rd edition (Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans, 1978).

18 O. Adejuyigbe. "Problems of the New Local Government Structure in Nigeria" in L. Adamolekun and L. Rowland, editors, *The New Local Government System – Problems and Prospects for Implementation*. (Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books Ltd, 1979), p. 25.

Government instrument puts the area of that local government at a twelve kilometre radius from Mapo Hill, leaving its jurisdiction to overlap what has been described by another instrument as the area of Oluyole Local Government at *Odo-Ona Elewe*.

A huge crisis developed between the people of the affected area who wanted to remain with the Oluyole Local Government and the officials of the Ibadan Municipal Government who wanted to collect taxes and tenement rates from them. The result was that there was stagnation of development in the area. The same situation happened between the Ibadan Municipal Government and Lagelu Government (with the head office at *Iyana-Ojfa*).

While the boundary of the Ibadan Municipal Government extended up to twelve kilometres from Mapo Hill, that of Lagelu extended to *Idiape, Orita-Bashorun*. The Lagelu Local Government built slaughter slabs and abattoirs at Orita-Basorun for the inhabitants of the area and, with these amenities, taxes, rates and tenement dues were paid to the Lagelu Local Government as opposed to the coffers of the Ibadan Municipal Government.

### Council officials

The success of a council, together with many other factors, depends on its administrative effectiveness. This is judged by the way in which the secretaries of the council perform their duties and the responsiveness of the members of the staff towards the fulfillment of the council's objectives. Where the secretaries are local government employees, educated and qualified, there is usually every tendency for the council's administrative effectiveness to be enhanced and pronounced. But where the secretaries are just bench warmers in the council, the spirit of devotion, love for the job and sense of responsibility may be non-existent, so much so that the management of the council may be paralyzed.

In 1954, after the native administration system, the Ibadan District Council was set up and the first executive secretary was Chief V.O. Esan, who was a legal practitioner. Chief Esan, an Ibadan son, worked very hard to ensure that the council lived up to expectations, despite the incessant, unbearable misbehaviour of the chairman towards him.

Although successive secretaries like Mr. W.S.A. Warren and Chief S.B. Adewumi tried their best in the administration and management of the council,

they were handicapped by the following factors: Mr. Warren was a hardworking English man who wanted to apply the English system of administration without considering its acceptability to the local situation. He was an honest and upright man who was naturally disliked by the ambitious and self-centered corrupt councillors. His administration was very good and commendable. He was feared and respected by other council employees because of his high standards in the realm of administration.

As for Chief Binuyo Adewumi, he was handicapped by his limited knowledge of the council's affairs. He was seconded there from the ministry and carried out his duties with a civil service system mentality, which was not quite suitable to a local government administration, despite his efforts to make the council grow and be productive.

Chief S.O. Ajibola, another "son of the soil," succeeded these people as secretary. Ajibola had the advantage of having worked as a clerical staff before going on a council scholarship to study secretaryship and specialize in local government administration. When he came back, he was able to apply his knowledge, like Chief V.O. Esan, for the development of the council in terms of service delivery, despite the financial hardship, political maneuvering and other constraints, and the transfer of civil servants from the secretariat to the council.

The seconded officers, not being council employees, were unable to master the administration and management techniques of the council. They lacked the spirit of commitment necessary for the successful management of the council. The council employees who knew the job better were not adequately compensated in terms of promotion and status in the service.

Thus, the administration and management of the council did not reach any appreciable standard during the sole administrator's tenure.

### **Economic activities and financial management in Ibadan Municipal Government**

The economic developments in the Ibadan Municipal area entail road and public building construction and rehabilitation, bus services, motor park and market construction. These shall be dealt with seriatim to diagnose their management problems.



### A. Road construction and rehabilitation

The importance of good roads in any given community cannot be over-estimated and, particularly in the Ibadan Municipal areas, where there is remarkable economic and industrial expansion. Undoubtedly, in any given commercial town like Ibadan, the improvement of roads by way of construction, resealing and rehabilitation must be uppermost in the minds of the government (both local and central). To this end, the Ibadan Municipal government devoted almost all of its resources to providing good roads for the people in the municipal area.

#### *Summary of works done before 1978/1979*

In 1954, when the Ibadan District Council was established, the council saw a need to improve the economic activities in Ibadan by constructing roads, and establishing markets and maternity centres for the township and its rural areas. Hence, provision was made in the budget estimate for these. Provision was made in particular for the construction of three roads, which in fact could not be carried out owing to a cut in funding by the regional government.<sup>19</sup>

The council, however, succeeded in building Dugbe market stalls. The council still forged ahead despite all odds against the provision of such amenities until 1959, when the following provisions were made in the 1959/60 estimate for recurrent works and capital projects:

1.	Town Road Improvement Scheme	-	\$60,000
2.	Rural Road	-	\$30,000
3.	Proposed Secretariat	-	\$35,000
4.	Market Construction, Mokola & Dugbe	-	\$5,000
5.	Motor Park at Oranyan	-	\$1,700
6.	Erosion Prevention	-	\$4,000
7.	1 No. 5 Ton Tipper Lorry	-	\$1,650
8.	Maternity Centre	-	\$400
9.	Slaughter Slabs in the rural areas	-	\$40
10.	Health Centres in the rural areas	-	\$6,000
11.	Aquay privy latrines – 12 Nos.	-	\$1,700

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<sup>19</sup> Oyewo, p. 232.

12. Library and offices for Aperin Secondary Modern School - \$230
13. Construction of maternity centres in rural areas - \$6,000
14. Construction of 4 secondary modern schools in the rural areas - \$5,500

**Table 3.1.** Budget estimates: 1962 - 1965

	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65
Town Road Improvement Schemes	\$15,000	\$8,000	\$10,000
New Market Construction	5,000	2,500	2,500
Erosion Prevention	2,000	1,500	1,500
One Conveyance Vehicle	1,800	1,000	-
Total	\$23,800	\$13,000	\$14,000

In the 1967/68 estimates, nothing was provided for the construction of roads, but the administrator devoted \$100 to the Olubadan's palace; \$200 to the municipal government offices and \$2,500 for new markets.

In the 1970/71 estimates, identical provisions were made in the estimate as follows:

1. Construction of municipal office buildings - \$10,000
2. Construction of Olubadan's Palace - \$10
3. Improvement to Mapo Hall and premises - \$10
4. Extension to Treasury Office - \$ 5,000
5. New Markets - \$ 5,000
6. New Ibadan Central Market - \$100,000

It must, however, be noted that no provision was made for the construction of roads throughout this period. The summary of expenditure under works and recurrent projects on various items in 1974/75 and 1975/76 were as follows:

**Table 3.2.** Budgetary expenditure for works and recurrent expenditure: 1974 - 1976

	1974/75 ₦	1975/76 ₦
Works Recurrent	105,525.00	168,390.00
Capital Works	219,390.00	456,570.00
Electricity	17,010.00	25,010.00
Road Works	288,770.00	1,116,710.00

Please note that some years' estimates were skipped in order to avoid unnecessary duplications, since no substantial differences were recorded.

**Table 3.3** Estimates for some road projects

Projects	Location	Length in kms	Estimated cost ₦	Amount provided ₦
Osunwelu Road	Osunwelu	0.63	12,257.70	200,000.00
St. Stephen's Church Road	ST. Stephen's Church Road	0.14	10,189.75	200,000.00
Asanike Road	Asanike	0.76	59,581.00	50,000.00
Modinat Road	Modinat	1.19	43,080.00	200,000.00
Lagoke Road	Lagoke	0.35	24,143.00	20,000.00
Sanni/Oyekola	Sanni/Oyekola	0.46	40,678.00	20,000.00
Ajibodu Road	Ajibodu	0.90	67,352.00	55,000.00
Gbele kale Road	Gbele kale	0.70	56,980.00	30,000.00
Isale Osi Road	Isale Osi	0.45	380,396.97	200,000.00

Between 1954 - 1979, the following roads were opened up to traffic when they were completed:

1. Itabale/Labo Road
2. Bere/Ayeye Road
3. Itabale/Ogborifon/Oranyan Road
4. Opolabiran/Itabioku/Christ Church Road
5. Ita-Ege/Omiyale/Ojaba Road
6. Ita-Maiya/Agbokojo/Amunigun Road
7. Ita-Maiya/Foko Road

Other roads that were constructed included: the Idikan/Amunigun Road, Oke-Ado Market Road, Yemetu/Igosun Road, Gege/Itamaya/Oke-Ado Road, Odejayi Road, Idi Orogbo Road, Aderogba Road, Olusola/Okebadan Road, Araromi/Oniyanrin Road, Ojagbo Road, Ode-Ige Road, Agbeni Road, Molete Motor Park Road, Peoples Girl's School Road, Oranyan/Mato/Ojagbo Road, Sogbehin Road, Alli/Bolarinwa Road, Oranyan/Kobomoje Road, Akintola Road, Idi-Oro/Adetunji Road, Popoyemoje Road, Orisunmbare and Oke-Aremo Road. All these roads were constructed with the sum of ₦127,610.50.



*Costing for public buildings*

The Works/Engineering Department of the municipal government also made it a point of duty to maintain all public buildings to prevent dilapidation and decay. These buildings along with the cost of their maintenance from 1978 to 1979 are as follows:

Quarter 357	-	₦6,863.20
Quarter 760	-	₦540.00
Aremo Customary Court	-	₦1,165.00
Agodi Dispensary	-	₦1,425.00
Works Yard, Agodi	-	₦1,035.00
Treasury Department	-	₦1,830.00
Mapo Customary Court	-	₦1,215.00
Agodi Customary Court	-	₦3,711.60
Women Special Centre, Apampa	-	₦1,042.00
Mapo Hall	-	₦8,655.58

*Comments*

Despite the huge amount of money spent on the maintenance of the buildings and the rehabilitation of the roads, the roads especially seem to have outlived their usefulness. There are still many pot-holes that constitute dangerous traps for motorists, cyclists and pedestrians. This makes one wonder whether the amount purported to have been spent was actually spent on these roads for their improvement, or if perhaps their bad condition was due to mismanagement and lack of thorough supervision on the part of the municipal government.

**B. The bus service**

In 1964, the Ibadan City Council established a bus service to relieve the transportation problems of the inhabitants of the area, and also to make gains for the council itself. The bus service was the first of its kind in the then Western State and was managed by Mr. J.O. Adepoju. After just a few years of successfully managing the service, the man died suddenly, and there was no other similarly trained person to take his place. As a result, the bus service

started to run at a loss. The losses were so great that an enquiry was set up to investigate the reasons for its failures.

Among these reasons were management problems and corruption. Recruitment into the bus service was not based on merit, but on politics. Hence, the bus service was closed down.

In 1975, the bus service was resuscitated and the state government had a token share of ₦10. The bus service was now called the Ibadan Joint Transport Board. Within the first year, the joint transport board collected ₦547,684.29 as revenue, while its expenditure stood at ₦283,937.23, with a profit of ₦265,131.65.

In the succeeding year, the board recorded a substantial loss. It collected ₦479,124.71 as revenue and spent ₦526,230.36, leaving a deficit of ₦27,105.64. Because of this, an audit inspection was set up by the state government, which attributed the losses to:

1. Excessive purchases of spare parts
2. Mismanagement
3. Clash of authority between the manager and the secretary which eventually involved the chairman.

The general manager was just a figure head, in fact the secretary was more powerful than the general manager, and with this clash of authority in management, the bus service collapsed. The report also made provision for preventive maintenance through the provision of bus routes in the city.

### **C. Motor parks and markets**

One of the essential duties of a council is to invest in capital projects that are of great social and economic advantage to its people and, in this way, the federal government has devolved the responsibility of building and maintaining motor parks and markets upon local authorities. The provision of motor parks and market stalls enable the council to generate more funds, which will be useful in discharging its social responsibilities in its area of jurisdiction.

In this regard, until 1979, the Ibadan Municipal Government had only 6 markets with 3,247 stalls, although these market stalls were not up to the standard of those in civilized communities. However, plans were put in place to improve on them. The table below shows the names of the markets and

motor parks in the Ibadan Municipal Government, the number of stalls such markets have and their type (i.e., whether lock-up stalls or open stalls).

**Table 3.4.** Markets in Ibadan municipal area

Name of Market	No of Stalls	Lock-up Stalls	Open Stalls
Agodi	242	242	-
Oranyan	707(Temp.)	-	-
Mokola	429	29	400
Gege	373	-	373
Bodija	1,496	-	1,496
Dugbe	X	X	X

**Table 3.5.** Motor parks in Ibadan municipal area

Name of Motor Park	No of Stalls	Lock-up Stalls	Open Stalls
Ojaba	-	-	-
J. Allen	-	-	-
Sabo	-	-	-
Sango	85	85	-
Molete	20	20	-
Ogunpa	94	94	-
Aperin	-	-	-

Apart from these recognized motor parks and market stalls, others existed which were not recognized by the Ibadan Municipal Government. Those parks or stalls had prevalent irregularities, glaring examples of which are situated at Oje/Itutaba Road and petrol filling stations (e.g., J. Allen Mobil Petrol Filling Stations). Some are found at the mechanic workshops, e.g., Orita-Aperin and Ode-Aje, and others at any open space like the one opposite Agodi Prison Yard commonly called Agodi Bus-stop. Also, there was the Molete motor park before it was moved to the Lagos Road. There was another irregular motor park at the New Ibe Road, which had no clear demarcation for vehicles using it. Thus, the municipal government found it hard to collect dues on all these irregular motor parks because they were not officially allocated and no one was responsible for such payments.

### Markets in general

There were about twenty-six traditional markets in Ibadan. These traditional markets include: Oranyan, Ojaba/Oritamerin, Mokola, Sango, Atenda-Agodi,



Sabo, Dugbe, Ayeye, Labo, Agugu, Ojagbo, Oje, Atenda-Oranyan, Elekuro, Ile-Titun, Ibuko, Apata-ganga, Desalu, Araromi, Oke-Ado, Gege, Idi-Ishin, Eleyele (Mammy) and Agodi.

Apart from these traditional markets listed above, Bodija, Ogunpa and Molete markets yielded revenue for the municipal government. However, there was some contention as to whether Amunigun, Agbeni, and Gbagi markets were under the jurisdiction of the municipal government, since they do not yield revenue, although these areas are the busiest parts of the Ibadan commercial centre.

### *Management problems*

Executive politicking amongst the politicians adversely affected the management and revenue collection of markets and motor parks within the Ibadan municipal area. The position was worsened by the internal and administrative struggles within the general administration department of the council on the one hand, and between the estate and valuation department and the treasury department on the other hand.

Historically, the treasury had been under the absolute control and management of the administrative and treasury departments, from the time of the Ibadan District Council till the early periods of the Ibadan City Council. But as time went on and, particularly during the sole administrator's regime from 1973 to 1976, the administrative department started to handle the allocation and forfeiture of stalls. The leeway hitherto enjoyed by the treasury department was curbed, to its financial disadvantage.

What happened was that the administrative department allocated many stalls without ejecting previous owners leading to legal and estate management problems. In the long run, it was hard to know who would pay rent to the purse or coffers of the council. Was it the new allottees, who had no possession of the properties, or the forfeited owners who had been asked to vacate their properties? The stalemate constituted in the circumstances deprived the council of the colossal amount it could have realized by way of rent.

This situation went on until 1977, when it was discovered that the treasurer of the Ibadan Municipal Government had little or nothing to do with the management of the markets and parks. For example, the treasurer, in a letter

(Reference No. 2012 Vol. 3/80) dated 5 September 1977, to the supervisory councillor for finance, wrote:

From the early years of the Ibadan city markets and motor parks, their control, supervision and management were the responsibility of the treasurer, with only periodical consultation with the council's office on matters relating to policy. It was the treasurer's responsibility to receive applications for market stalls, examine them and submit recommendations to the council; he also allocated occasionally vacant stalls revenue ...

However, with the continued expansion of some of the markets, the building of new motor parks with the provision of stalls, all powers enumerated above were taken over by the council office, ostensibly to make for better administration, leaving the treasury with only the responsibility of the collection of fees.<sup>20</sup>

It must be noted that the management of the markets and motor parks by the administrative department yielded no benefits to the council. As a result, they were transferred back to the treasury department in 1978. However, they were subsequently transferred to the estate and valuation department, as shown in the secretary's letter (Reference No.685/Vol. 6/51) of 13 February 1980:

The responsibility for the management of markets and motor parks, which the treasury has been carrying out, would as from henceforth devolve on your department. This is considered necessary in the light of your expertise.

All this inconsistency most definitely did not augur well for specialization, rather, it opened the way for ineffectiveness of management.

#### *Problems of revenue collection in motor parks*

The problems of revenue collection in the motor parks of the Ibadan Municipal Government were many. These have been pointed out in some files examined by the author and highlighted by Kehinde.<sup>21</sup> These problems included

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<sup>20</sup> Market File of the Ibadan Municipal Treasury Department, File No. 2010/Vol.3/80.

<sup>21</sup> J. O. Kehinde. "Problems of Motor Park and Market Revenue Collection in Ibadan Municipal Government", a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the award of the Advanced Diploma in Local Government, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, 1981.

mismanagement, the low quality and drive of the staff in charge of making collections, the so-called motor park attendants, indiscipline, administrative flaws, the problems of maintenance and many others.

### **Political problems**

The intervention of politicians in the posting of some members of the staff to the motor parks led to mismanagement. Such requests were always done on the grounds of personal gain, the idea being that such market supervisors could collect fees without remitting them to the council. Hence such lucrative postings were usually asked for and granted. This promoted unjust enrichment.

### **Quality of the staff**

The poor educational background and irresponsibility of the staff, coupled with their ulterior motive of aiming to get rich quickly, all combined to facilitate the misappropriation or embezzlement of council revenue. Records showed that cases of various acts of dishonesty on the part of motor park attendants were referred to the Local Government Service Commission for determination. It was discovered that many of the motor park attendants were defrauding the municipal government by collecting the normal fee of 50k per vehicle without issuing any official receipts covering same.<sup>22</sup> This fact was substantiated by an anonymous letter found in File No. 2000 Vol. 3 page 145 of the treasury department which reads:

I wish to inform you that a large scale of fraud and malpractice has been going on in the treasury department of the Municipal Government among the rank and file of the motor park attendants.

Further information revealed that apart from acts of dishonesty, most of the staff were very lazy and exhibited a nonchalant attitude towards their jobs. This was evidenced by the fact that they often reported for work late and, at times, were absent from work without any express permission. For instance, on 15 December 1977, a surprise check was conducted at Agodi Motor Park by the officer supervising motor parks, and it was discovered that only two out of the four posted staff had reported for duty that day. Similarly, at the Iba Market,

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22 Oyewo, p. 250.



the only man attached to this market did not show up until 11.00 a.m. Surprisingly enough, the attendant had given his receipt booklet to a 'strange assistant' to help him make the collections. At the Molete Motor Park, one out of the two staff was absent.<sup>23</sup> This type of attitude has not changed, and as a matter of fact, despite on-the-spot checks, a motor park attendant refused to work at the Agodi Motor Park presumably because he had a god-father, as revealed in the same file, who stated that:

On the 20th of January, 1981 by 9.00 a.m., the assistant treasurer for revenue paid a surprise visit to Sango and discovered that one of the motor park attendants was absent, but he gave his job to a non-employee of the municipal government. On the same day at the Agodi Motor Park, a motor park attendant refused to collect motor park fees even in the presence of the assistant treasurer.

The problems emanating from this category of employees are very easy to diagnose with the possibility of remedial treatment. In the first place, one cannot overlook the fact that many of the motor park attendants were on Grade Level 02 and they are supposed to be collecting huge amounts of money. At their level, would the collection of such tempting amounts of money not serve as an invitation to embezzle? Moreover, reports also revealed that on many occasions, owing to financial strains, the council sometimes found it difficult to pay the wages of its staff. It follows that these types of people would collect market fees and abscond with them.

#### **Other impeding factors**

One of the other factors responsible for the low level of revenue realized by the municipal government through its markets and motor parks was the attitude of the motor owners or drivers who were reluctant to pay their dues. They justified their actions by pointing to the poor maintenance of the motor parks by the municipal government. In some of the parks, no structural framework was put in place right from the start, hence no provision was made for either the loading bay or for a well organized parking space for the vehicles. In addition, touts abounded in some of the parks, constituting a nuisance and terror to the

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23 *Ibid.*, p. 251.

passengers and lorry owners, so much so that disorderliness was the norm. Apart from this, trouble always erupts between the touts and the passengers and on many occasions between the touts and the lorry owners/drivers. At times like this, the possibility of the lorry owners/drivers paying any dues into the coffers of the council becomes remote. In such situations, the motor park attendants usually run away in fear of their lives.

In some areas that are fully commercialized, no payment was expected to be made, because as has been stated earlier, those areas were not being controlled by the municipal government. These are the illegal and uncontrolled motor parks which were obviously not yielding any revenue.

### **Administrative management problems of markets and motor parks**

Despite the commercial nature of the Ibadan municipality, the available market stalls were not sufficient and, as a result, they were over-populated. In order to decongest some markets, the Ibadan City Council in 1970, made a proposal to acquire land for marketing purposes, but unfortunately the plan failed. Also to curb the incessant loss of revenue that prevailed as a result of the irregularity of holdings, the council passed an adoptive bye-law in 1977, which mandated every trader, even the ones in the unrecognized or illegal markets, to pay stall fees to the council. However, the bye-law was neither operative or effective.

The council was concerned about the irregular revenue collection as it translated to a substantial loss of revenue, hence a task force was set up by the supervisory councillor of finance to regularize all the anomalies and strive towards improvement. The aim of the task force was to streamline all allocations and embark on renumbering and re-arranging of all the markets, since no ledger was found in the treasury for this purpose.

It was observed that all administrative efforts undertaken to improve this aspect of the council's institutions failed woefully for the following reasons: politics, mismanagement and/or pressure group machinations. For instance, in 1976, many tenants who were owing the council many years' rent were contacted but they refused to pay. The reason for this was simply that many big guns and presumably politicians had originally procured stalls, some as many as ten each, with different names from the council. All these stalls were then sublet contrary to the existing tenancy agreement between the original tenants and the council.

On some occasions, the original tenants collected exorbitant rents from the sub-tenants and then failed to remit the rent to the coffers of the council. Most of the efforts made by the municipality to collect the arrears on the rent proved abortive.

### **Financial management**

#### *Main sources of local government revenue*

The sources of all local government finances were contained in the relevant statutes and/or edicts as follows:

- Moneys payable to a local government under the provisions of any enactments;
- Moneys derived from community tax and any rates imposed by the local government by virtue of the provisions contained in the state edicts or law;
- Moneys derived from licenses, permits, dues, charges or fees specified by any bye-laws or rules made by a local government;
- Receipts derived from any public utility concern, or any service or undertaking belonging to or maintained by a local government either in whole or in part;
- Rents derived from the letting or leasing of any building or land belonging to a local government;
- Statutory allocations or grants-in-aid out of the general revenue of Nigeria, or of the state, or other public revenue.
- Any sums of money which may lawfully be assigned to a local government by any public corporation;
- Interest on the investment funds of a local government;
- Such sums of money as may be granted to a local government;
- Such sums of money as may be paid to a local government by a joint board; and
- Any other moneys that may be lawfully derived from any other source or sources.

### **The administration of the treasury**

In the Ibadan Municipal Government, the treasury was under the control of the municipal treasurer, who also had junior treasurers under his supervision. For



the purpose of proper management and allocation of duties, the treasury department was broken into six different divisions, namely: the finance administration section, the main accounts section, the income tax section, the tenement rate section, the revenue section and the commercial infrastructure and undertakings section. The staff disposition in the treasury from 1978 to 1979 is included in appendix A at the of this chapter.

A close look into the administration of the finances of the council revealed that, owing to management problems and due to the calibre of the people employed to man the collection of revenue, some of the funds collected were embezzled by revenue collectors, which adversely affected the council's finances. Owing to the political situation of the city, most efforts of the municipal government to realize its financial resources were thwarted. Equally pronounced was the inefficiency of the personnel, their indiscipline and poor attitude to work so much so that the finances of the council were adversely paralyzed by these misfits. All these and a lot affected the management of the finances of the Ibadan municipality.

### **The problems of finances and grants in Ibadan Municipal Council: 1976 – 1979**

#### **The state government and grants**

The finance of the Ibadan Municipal Government was badly affected by the attitude of the state government. For many years, it appeared that the government displayed a nonchalant attitude towards releasing the grants of the council. In 1978, the financial situation was deplorable and worsened towards the middle of 1979. The situation became so critical that the entire structure of the administration would have collapsed, but for the remedial help of funds collected at the intensive raiding exercise of some revenue yielding projects of the council like market stalls, rent on property, motor park fees, tenement rates and so on.

It is worthy of note that by early 1978, many projects undertaken by the municipal government came to a halt owing to lack of funds, as the state government failed to pay the balances of grants meant for the municipal government until June-August 1978, when a total sum of ₦732,644.82 was paid. This amount was grossly inadequate to handle the financial commitments of the projects.

This was the type of attitude shown by the state government as regards financing the municipal government and, as a matter of fact, there were instances when the state government paid grants that were long overdue in part or refused to pay anything at all. The non-payment and inordinate delays by the state government in the release of grants when due, contributed immensely to the poor performance of the municipal government

**Table 3.6.** Grants owed to the Ibadan Municipal Government: 1976 - 1979

Year	Amount	Remarks
1976/77	₦542,185.94	Statutory grants
	₦243,716.16	P.A.Y.E
1977/78	₦504,823.74	Statutory grants
	₦421,858.08	P.A.Y.E.
1978/79	₦2,380,030.60	Statutory grants
	₦600,000.00	P.A.Y.E.
	₦50,000.00	Interim grant for waste disposal
TOTAL	₦ 4,742,614.52	

The inability of the state government to release massive grants has led to embarrassing situations, as many projects were halted. Owing to the postponement of grant payments, debts from various contractors and suppliers on different projects usually remained unsettled. This drove the council to apply for loans of about ₦300,000 each from Wema Bank and National Bank in 1978/79. On some occasions, the council made use of the money collected on tenement rates and deposits on water rates and pay-as-you-earn deductions from staff salaries.

### General remarks

The Ibadan Municipal Government was a large institution responsible for many projects. But without aid from the state government, it was not able to carry out its responsibilities. From the details shown below, the expenditure surpassed the revenue, the implication being that the municipal government was often cash-strapped and handicapped in the discharge of its duties.

**Table 3.7.** Financial situation of Ibadan Municipal Government: October 1978 - March 1979

Month	Revenue	Expenditure	Grants
October 1978	₦225,641.96	₦281,586.95	-
November 1978	₦3,393,643.55	₦139,609.70	₦265,221.34

December 1978	₦134,020.54	₦315,752.88	-
January 1979	₦256,907.73	₦201,619.16	-
February 1979	₦142,545.27	₦50,939.66	-
March 1979	₦225,643.32	₦587,484.59	₦80,428.00

Source: Data obtained from the Ibadan Municipal Government Annual Report of Activities, 1978/79, page 72.

Note: Capital projects were included in the figures for March, as well as the bulk of the salaries and wages for February. The average payment of salaries, wages, pensions each month and expenditure on the maintenance of recurrent services (other charges) exclusive of capital projects are:

Salaries and Allowances	-	₦120,000.00
Wages	-	₦45,000.00
Pensions and Gratuities	-	₦30,000.00
Recurrent Services (other charges)	-	₦30,000.00
Total	-	₦225,000.00

A tremendous increase in expenditure of ₦35,000 per month was recorded since waste disposal became the responsibility of the municipal government.

### Tenement rate

There was no improvement in the collection of tenement rates in the Ibadan Municipal Government between 1974 and 1979. This was partly due to apathy on the part of the community and also to the inadequacy of the personnel to handle the task. Furthermore, the municipal government was faced with the problem of the uncooperative attitude of members of the subordinate committees.

Over the years, the services of lawyers were engaged to handle the question of defaulters, yet it did not reduce the incidence of defaulting. Moreover, it was found that the assessment of property has not been properly done as records of the assessment for the years 1976/77, 1977/78 and 1978/79 show. In addition, the question of overlapping areas of jurisdiction between the Ibadan Municipal Government, and those of Lagelu and Oluyole local governments created a whole range of problems, one of which is depriving the municipal government of its resources.

### Loss of revenues

Glaring cases of irregularities abounded in the revenue section of the municipal government. Some clerks or revenue collectors misplaced their cash books and receipts, others collected the money and bolted, while a lot of cases bordering



on embezzlement and fraudulent practices came to light. A list of such occurrences in 1978/79 is included as appendix B, while the financial position of the Ibadan Municipal Government, as of the close of the year 1978/79 is also included as appendix C.

**Appendix A. Staff irregularities in the treasury of the Ibadan Municipal Government: 1978/1979**

Name	Post	Amount	Remarks	Recoveries Made
S.Ona Lawal	Clerical Assistant	₦3.00	Loss of partly used book, cash recovered from him still in service	Recovered Treasury Receipt No. 6494 of 9/8/78
Saka Ekanoye	Motor Park Attendant	₦10.00	Loss of Motor Park receipt book used. Total collectible recovered	Treasury Receipt No. 995/100/1240 of 22/5/78
O. Lamidi	Motor Park Attendant	₦22.20	Dismissed. Failure to pay collections to treasury amounting to direct theft	Fully recovered
Gboyega Ladipo	Motor Park Attendant	₦22.20	Dismissed. Failure to pay collections to treasury amounting to direct theft	Fully recovered
O. Yusuf	Revenue Collector	₦51.00	Loss of treasury receipt book	Fully recovered
G.A. Olasunkanmi	Revenue Collector	₦22.40	Loss of one unused and one partly used motor park receipt book No. 51104-151450 unused and 149695 – 149700 used	Fully recovered
M. Akinola	Revenue Collector	₦4.00	Paid in full for originals and duplicates 4 receipts remaining book. No.019001-019050 reported burnt at home, full receipts made	Fully recovered
Mutuui Adepoju	Revenue Collector		Recorder to the secretary who is taking action on the alleged losses	Fully recovered
Giwa Burnimo	Revenue Collector		Recorder to the Secretary who is taking action on the alleged losses	Fully recovered

Name	Post	Amount	Remarks	Recoveries Made
Miss B.B. Oyegbosi	Tenement Rate Clerk	₦1,129.00	Cash fully recovered and dismissed	Treasury receipt No. 994/41/22 of 19/5/78 for ₦1,059.00 and 148233/21 of 6/12/78 for ₦70.00
Miss Motunde Oloko	Tenement Rate Clerk	₦8,404.00	Dismissed and matter handed over to the Police	₦1,559.20 recovered to date on various treasury receipts
Bosede Akande	Tenement Rate Clerk	Unknown	Tenement rate receipt book of no fixed rate	No fixed amount loss report issued.

**Appendix B. Grade level of works involved in various forms of irregularities**

Treasurer, Grade Level 12	1
Treasurer, Grade Level 10	1
Higher Executive Officer, Grade Level 08	1
Executive Officer, Grade Level 08	3
Assistant Executive Officer, Grade Level 06	5
Senior Clerical Officer, Grade Level 05	2
Clerical Officer, Grade Level 04	4
Clerical Assistant, Grade Level 03/02	85
Typist, Grade Level 03	3
Drivers, Grade Level 03	1
Messengers Grade Level 03	6
Caretaker (Daily paid)	1
<b>Total Strength</b>	<b>113</b>

Departures from the establishment during the period were:

- Registration - 29
- Dismissals for fraud and stealing - 3
- Abscondments - 10
- Retirements - 3
- Study leave - 1

**Appendix C. Loss of revenue earnings****Financial position of Ibadan Municipal Government 1978/79**

Revenue collected during the year	₦2,750,504.80
Expenditure incurred during the year	₦3,121,812.78
Cash in hand (treasury chest)	₦16.17
Cash in National Bank (Current Account) No.411	₦101,370.54
Cash in Account No. 423	₦19,439.61
National Bank Savings Account No. 20253	₦26,249.96
Cash in Co-operative Bank (Current Account) No. F/CC 1543	₦3,092.13
Cash in Wema Bank (Current Account) Account No. 1039	₦70,788.63
(Overdrawn)	₦205,386.17
Cash in Wema Bank (Savings Account)	
Cash in Investments	₦31,821.50



## Housing Situation in Ibadan at the Close of the 20th Century: Challenges for the 21st Century

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Tunde Agbola & C.O. Olatubara

### Introduction

Housing is, perhaps, the most important component of the urban landscape. This is because it takes the largest proportion of urban land uses and if it is not properly planned and managed, as is evident in most of Nigerian cities, it could trigger a myriad of other urban problems such as homelessness, environmental health problems, crime and other varieties of urban violence. Housing is systemic and its domain transcends the shelter component of housing to encompass all the environmental and infrastructural facilities that combine to produce a liveable environment. Housing is thus a bundle of services and an effective appraisal must treat it as such.

Ibadan has been experiencing phenomenal spatial expansion, especially in the second half of the 20th century, mainly through the establishment of newer neighbourhoods and the construction of many houses. This unguided and uncontrolled urban development has resulted in a variety of housing problems. Various formal and informal institutional responses have evolved to solve these housing problems observed in Ibadan.

The housing situation in Ibadan which has become more convoluted over time has been dictated by various factors. Ibadan has many credentials among which is its long historical and fascinating Yoruba cultural background. In addition, the heterogeneity of its population and the overwhelming spatial expanse and rapid growth have propelled the city to spread in all direction like a cancer. The city's social and economic climate is extensively permissive and accommodating. Ibadan, however, displays a largely unenviable environmental decadence.

With little or no major physical restraint to its real expansion (as compared with cities such as Lagos and Port Harcourt), the city has demonstrated within its impressive historical record, what dimension an organically developing city can assume in the face of largely uncoordinated spatial control. Incongruous and almost selfish spatial decisions, which have translated into situations where slums of various dimensions compete with fairly-planned and well-planned urban and semi-urban residential neighbourhoods, have produced the present setting where urban managers helplessly watch the city as it makes its agonizing plunge into the 21st century. This is because a cursory look at the development of Ibadan shows that the city might have suffered significant delays in responses from appropriate quarters to areas which have, over the years, required necessary national and international attention.

### **Origins and characteristics of the different residential districts in Ibadan**

Several residential classification methods have been adopted by various researchers for Ibadan.<sup>1</sup> However, for the purpose of this work, four residential districts are identified in Ibadan. These are the core areas, the modern slum and unplanned areas, the fairly planned areas, and the planned areas otherwise called the government reservation areas (GRAs). Below are the major characteristics of these neighbourhoods.

#### **The core areas**

The earliest settlements in Ibadan from about the 1830s are the areas generally referred to as the traditional core areas of Ibadan. These areas are mostly occupied by the indigenous people who were the original settlers. Also, descendants of settlers who had migrated from other Yoruba-speaking towns during the inter-tribal war periods also reside in these areas. The residential layout of the core areas is a reflection of the prevailing technology, transport system and the cultural dispositions of the early settlers. The core areas include *Ayeye*, *Oritamerin*, *Agbeni*, *Oke Paadi*, *Oje*, *Mapo*, *Eleta*, *Foko*, *Idi Arere* and *Odinjo*.

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1 A.L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London: University of London Press, 1968); S.I. Abumere, "Residential Differentiation in Ibadan: Some Sketches of an Explanation" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo, editors, *Ibadan Region* (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1994); T. Agbola, "The Formal and Informal Housing" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo, op cit.

These are high density residential areas, with the majority of the buildings having unplastered, mud brick walls. The widespread zinc roofing, a distinctive feature of these areas, has turned brown and rusty with age. Windows and doors are made of wood, with little or no evidence of steel security proofing, as obtains in the newer, more modern parts of the city. Houses are crowded together, with an absence of social amenities and vehicular access. In the houses, potable water is not available and facilities such as bathrooms and toilets are absent.

### **The modern slum and unplanned areas**

The modern slum areas defy the modern physical planning of a town or a city. Compared with the traditional core areas, which are pre-modern planning creations, the modern slums have developed because of flagrant disregard for planning regulations and the tendency of developers to flout such regulations with impunity. Various property developers have taken advantage of the inadequacy of manpower and tools of the town planning authorities to monitor and control physical development, and to detect illegal structures early enough and promptly pluck them out. Most of the sub-urban areas on either side of the Ibadan-Lagos Express Way such as *Olomi, Akanran, Olorunsogo, Oremiji, Ogbere, Academy*, etc, are regarded as modern slums. These areas are generally high density residential districts, with many houses lacking direct vehicular access.

Other areas such as *Agbowo, Samonda, Orogun* and *Ojoo* have become slums because of the huge demand for housing and goods and services by the staff and students of the University of Ibadan and other service groups attracted to Ibadan. A similar effect on the *Sango* residential district has also been created by the Ibadan Polytechnic. Subsequently, the residential districts of *Sango, Samonda, Agbowo, Orogun* and *Ojoo*, which are the adjoining areas of University of Ibadan and Ibadan Polytechnic, have virtually become slums with an alarming rate of deterioration.

### **The fairly planned areas**

The fairly planned areas are essentially the creation of successive waves of migration into Ibadan from other towns. They were created during the colonial and post-independence periods. The residents of some of these areas display socio-cultural affinities reflecting the close associations within ethnic and sub-ethnic concentration of the earlier immigrants. For example, the Ijebu are concentrated at *Isale Ijebu* and *Oke-Ado*, the Egba at *Odo Ona*, the Ijesa/Ekiti/Ife



at *Mokola, Inalende, Ode-Olo* and *Oniyanrin*, while the Hausa and Fulani are concentrated at *Sabo, Ojoo* and *Shasba*. Other areas in this classification are *Oremeji, Coca-Cola, Oketunu, Ijokodo, Eleyele, Olopo-Mewa, Felele* and *Iwo Road*, where developments were fairly guided by planning regulations, thus providing better planned residential neighbourhoods, compared with the traditional core areas and the emerging modern slums. These areas are essentially high/medium density residential districts and enjoy good road connectivity. The common types of residential buildings are flat types and each building could contain two to six flats.

### **The planned areas/government reservations areas (GRAs)**

The planned areas and the GRAs are the modern residential areas. They are mainly low density, and include residential estates such as *Old and New Bodija, Oluyole, Olubadan, Owode, Basorun*, etc. and the GRAs such as *Agodi, Iyaganku, Jericho, Link* and *Onireke*. These are areas occupied by senior civil servants, business executives and professionals, and are the products of the colonial period, a period that marked the beginning of direct housing delivery system in Ibadan. The Agodi GRA was the first established GRA (in 1893) in Ibadan, while Jericho and Iyaganku GRAs were developed around 1952. The Western Nigeria Housing Corporation (WNHC), now the Oyo State Housing Corporation (formerly, Property Development Corporation of Oyo State (PDCOS) was established in 1958 and almost immediately started developing the Old Bodija estate.

Virtually all these areas have good road networks. They are well laid out and provided with basic amenities. The common types of buildings are detached, semi-detached, executive bungalows, duplexes and mansions. The houses are structurally fine and many are of modern architectural designs with exotic touches. The houses have ample space for ornamental gardens and for parking. High walls with/without spiral electrified wires and high technology security surveillance/devices are common to the houses in these areas.

### **Various actors involved in housing supply in Ibadan**

A set of inter-related processes influence the housing system in Ibadan. These are: the production of new houses, the renovation and /or rehabilitation of existing ones, and the distribution of both old and new units to those in need of them<sup>2</sup>. The processes involved in the delivery system are carried out through

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2 T. Agbola, op. cit.

public (that is, government) institutions and private organizations and individuals, otherwise called formal and informal housing delivery methods, respectively. Of these two methods of housing delivery in Ibadan, the informal sector has dominated housing supply.

### Formal sector

Public housing has emerged in Ibadan, as in other parts of Nigeria, largely as a result of the need to effectively tackle housing problems, especially to curtail the excesses of the private (informal) sectors in housing delivery. Housing problems are a direct consequence of a multiplicity of social, political and, especially, economic factors and problems. Poverty, for example, is a feature of many developing nations and is endemic in Nigeria. The state of poverty is partly reflected in the general difficulties the people experience in providing shelter for themselves. It is the government's quest to alleviate the problems of poverty as it affects housing that has caused, in part, their intervention in public housing.

Provision of formal housing units in Ibadan takes various forms. These include the direct construction of housing units by the federal, state and local government, provision of plots in government layouts, provision of mortgage facilities, and the use of housing subsidies to encourage housing consumption.<sup>3</sup> The major beneficiaries of government housing subsidies in Ibadan are the civil servants, who receive certain sums of money as housing allowance to enable them to live in better houses.<sup>4</sup> Agbola noted that it was not certain whether housing allowances have significantly helped the recipient, and that existing housing subsidy systems are biased in favour of the affluent, especially as they are quoted as a percentage of income.

Mortgage financing, which is the process of financing building construction with loans obtained from housing financial institutions or commercial banks, are mainly provided by the primary mortgage institutions and the Oyo State Housing Corporation. Information about the performance of these institutions is sketchy, but it is generally agreed that there are still many bottlenecks, especially that of inadequate funding of these institutions, as well as the problem of eligibility by

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3 Ibid.

4 T. Agbola, "The Nature of Housing Subsidies in Nigeria" *Journal of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners*, 1986 (7&8): 86-98.

prospective loan recipients, thus making these housing financial sources available only to the affluent. The impact of mortgage financing on housing delivery in Ibadan is apparently insignificant.

The most noticeable of the formal housing delivery system in Ibadan are the serviced plots and the direct housing construction by public institutions. The serviced plots are residential plots which have been properly laid out by the agency/institution concerned. Each plot has easy vehicular access as well as supply of pipe-borne water, electricity, telecommunication, open spaces, recreational facilities, etc. Some of the serviced plots provided by the Oyo State Housing Corporation are at Olubadan, Basorun, Bodija and Owode estates, while those provided by the Ibadan Local Governments Housing Corporation include those at Oluyole, Oluyole Extension and Lagelu estates. Table 4.1 shows the number of serviced plots provided by the major public institutions engaged in housing provision in Ibadan.

The direct housing construction system has attracted government's interest because of its potentials for political gains. The agency through which this form of housing is provided is the Oyo State Housing Corporation. The oldest of the estates established by this corporation is the Old Bodija Estate which, according to Agbola,<sup>5</sup> has a total of 1,208 houses, 466 of which were built by the corporation, the others by individual developers. Olubadan Estate, acquired in 1978, has only eleven low cost houses built by the government in the development of its first phase covering 40.5 hectares. A total of 288 residential, 8 industrial and 11 commercial plots were, however, allocated. The Owode Estate on Abeokuta Road is a residential-cum-industrial estate which covers an area of 289.84 hectares. It has 250 government built houses and another 50 low cost houses. In addition, there are 334 residential, 51 industrial, 5 religious and 1 (one) commercial plot in the estate.

**Table 4.1.** Number of building plots by public institutions in Ibadan as at December 1999

Name of establishment	No. of plots provided	No. of estates covered
Ibadan Local Governments Housing Corporation Ltd <sup>1</sup>	1737	3
Oyo State Housing Corporation <sup>2</sup>	7804	7

5 T. Agbola, *op. cit.*



Name of establishment	No. of plots provided	No. of estates covered
Ibadan Municipal Government <sup>1</sup>	1274	4
Ministry of Works (GRAs) <sup>2</sup>	842	3
Total	11657	17

Source: 1. Ibadan Local Governments Housing Corporation Ltd., Ibadan, March, 2000; 2. Oyo State Housing Corporation, Ibadan, March, 2000; 3. Agbola (1994)

The foregoing analysis of the input of the formal sector in housing delivery in Ibadan clearly shows that this sector is currently incapable of meeting the housing needs of Ibadan. They have, thus, induced a thriving market for the informal sector.

### The informal sector

The informal housing sector has thrived in Ibadan because of the inability of the public sector to meet the housing demand of the residents of the city. This sector provides the most aggressive approach to housing supply to fill the gap created by the formal (public) sector. Profit making is the driving force of this sector. This has resulted in a situation where the majority of renters are almost invariably priced out of the housing market. The desire to rescue urban residents, especially the urban poor, from the shylock landlords has been generally adduced as the major reason why the public sector ventured into direct housing production. However, the outcome of the public sector venture into direct housing production has met with dismal failure. The informal sector has, therefore, become increasingly exploitative, with little or no hope for the urban poor who are at the receiving end of the problem.

The informal sector operates through three main channels in Ibadan. These are builder investors, on-site builders and land developers. Builder investors develop large numbers of properties on a given site and retain ownership and management control.<sup>6</sup> A considerable number of such properties abound in Ibadan and these include, for example, Salami and Basorun Ogunmola Estates. Such estates rival government owned/formal estates in the provision of housing and other infrastructural services. However, the gross contribution of these estates to housing production in Ibadan is still minimal.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

The on-site builders are by far the largest producers of housing units. These are individuals from different backgrounds who acquire land from private/informal land agents and owners, and make arrangements for their own building materials and labour. When the houses are ready, they eventually rent out these units either on an owner-occupier rental basis or solely on rental basis.

It is, however, difficult to accurately determine the number of housing units added to existing stock because of the absence of such data. This number or addition to existing stock could be crudely determined by using the approved building plans as proxy for additional units to housing stock. Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 show the number of approved building plans for some parts of Ibadan. From the tables, there is a general increase in the trend of building plan approval for the record periods. Even if only half of the total approval for each year is assumed to be constructed in any particular year, between 2,000 and 4,000 buildings would be constructed each year from 1978 (table 4.2). The former Ibadan Municipal Local Government Area would have had about 3,000 buildings constructed between 1986 and 1987 (table 4.3), while Oluyole Local Government Area would have had over 1,000 buildings constructed in 1998 (table 4.4).

**Table 4.2** Number of applications for development (building permits) registered with the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IMPA) 1963 -1984

Year	Number of Development Applications Submitted	Increase %	Number Approved in the Year	% Approved in the Year
1963	2130	—	1004	47
1964	2111	-0.8	1051	50
1965	2117	0.2	1245	59
1966	2263	6.9	1370	60
1967	2164	-4.4	1445	67
1968	2448	13.1	1329	54
1969	1900	-22.4	1218	
1970	1553	-18.2	1203	77.5
1971	1700	9.5	1159	65
1972	2060	21.2	1266	61.5
1973	2340	13.6	1639	59.6
1974	1857	-20.6	1065	57.3
1975	4679	152	1888	40.4
1976	4990	6.6	2975	59.6
1977	5309	6.4	3737	70.4
1978	7860	48	4267	54.2
1979	6294	-20	4175	66.3
1980	7832	24.4	4284	54.7
1981	9455	20.7	5220	55.2
1982	10472	10.8	6126	58.5
1983	11713	11.9	7966	68
1984	13656	16.6	8658	63.4
Total	106,904		64,479	60.9

Source: J.F. Braimah, "Strategies for Housing the Urban Poor in Ibadan", Unpublished MURP Dissertation CURP, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 1985, p. 42.



**Table 4.3** Number of approved building plans in Ibadan Municipal Area

Month	No. of Approved Plans	
	1986	1987
January	243	217
February	337	223
March	335	317
April	353	320
May	276	315
June	326	263
July	271	264
August	204	390
September	222	232
October	296	283
November	268	249
December	227	252
Total	3358	3325

Source: Olatubara, (1993).

**Table 4.4.** Number of approved building plans in Oluyole L.G.A.

Period	No. of Plans
April, 1993 to June, 1994	2080
July, 1994 to July 1998	N.A.
August, 1998 to Dec. 1999	2225

Source: Oluyole L.G. Town Planning Office, 2000.

When the activities of on-site builders are added to those of the land developers, the role of the informal sector as providers of housing in Ibadan would have been established. Agbola<sup>7</sup> noted that between 1960 and 1978, there were 2,587 registered layouts in Ibadan area, which occupied a total area of 48,620 hectares. At about 14 plots per hectare, it was estimated that a total of 680,680 plots were made available for home construction apart from many family plots.

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7 T. Agbola, op. cit.

Individual land developers are also very important in housing delivery in Ibadan. Adeniran<sup>8</sup> noted that a single individual land developer had provided over 10,000 plots on about 940 hectares of land for sale between 1960 and 1978. This is very close to the total number of plots of 11,657 provided by the public (formal) sector. Despite the dangers inherent in private/informal land procurement, which is still going on unabated despite the Land Use Decree, the private informal system still offers a more available and reliable alternative to the long drawn out public land acquisition process.

In addition, the various cooperative societies and unions and the private firms also provide a sizeable number of housing units in Ibadan. They also provide housing loans for their members and staff to build their own houses.

## Factors influencing the housing situation in Ibadan

### 1. Urbanization

The housing situation in Ibadan has crystallized into its present form as a systemic response to a multiplicity of factors. One of the most significant and pervading factors is urbanization. Over time, Ibadan has witnessed rapid development and physical expansion. By 1935, the estimated urban land use in Ibadan covered about 38.85 sq. kms.<sup>9</sup> The urban land area increased to approximately 77.7sq.kms by 1965, 152.8 sq.kms by 1977 and 323.3 sq kms by 1990, increasing rapidly from a moderate growth rate of 1.0 percent per annum in 1955 to 6.7 percent in 1965, 8.0 percent in 1977 and 8.6 percent in 1990.<sup>10</sup>

The city has, therefore, been spreading rapidly into the adjoining prime agricultural land. It was noted that as much as 268 hectares (84%) of the flood

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8 P.K. Adeniran, "Private Sector Contribution to Housing: The Ibadan Case Study," *Housing Seminar*, Department of Geography, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 1984.

9 D.C.I. Okpala, "A Critique of the Application of New Town Concepts in Nigeria. The Case of Ajoda New Town", *Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER)* 1979, p. 126.

10 A.T. Salami, "Urban Growth and Rural Land Retreat in Ibadan Area of Southwestern Nigeria, 1935 - 1990" *Ife Psychologia* 1996, p. 98-113.

plain used for vegetable cultivation as identified by Oyelese<sup>11</sup> has been built up, while 8,770 acres (87.7%) of the 10,000 acres of urban agricultural land identified has been lost to urban development. He further observed that over 50 neighbouring rural settlements that were not part of the city in 1965 have now been absorbed by urban expansion. Because of the increasing rate of urbanization and the increasing spatial size of Ibadan, urban residents now face a wider spatial distribution of their urban activities without a corresponding improvement in accessibility through an efficient transport system<sup>12</sup>.

The expansion of Ibadan is largely due to the status of the city as an administrative capital, with the accompanying infrastructural development, resulting in an increased number of commercial and industrial activities which subsequently attracted more residents. The population of Ibadan as estimated by missionaries and census publications rose from 60,000 in 1851 to 150,000 in 1983, and from 175,000 in 1911 to 627,000 in 1963.<sup>13</sup> At an estimated annual population growth rate of 6.0 percent, Ayeni<sup>14</sup> estimated the population of Ibadan for 1984 as 2.10 million. With this base estimate for 1984 and at 6.0 percent annual growth rate, the projected population of Ibadan for 1991 was 3.16 million. However, the National Population Census of 1991 recorded 3.48 million as the population of Oyo State and 1,222,570 for Ibadan. However, these figures are still being contested as not a true reflection of the population of Ibadan.

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11 J.O. Oyelese, "The Ortho-Photo Map Approach to Land use Mapping: An Application to Ibadan City and Its Environs." *Nigerian Geographical Journal*, 1970; 13(1): 67-84.

12 C.O. Olatubara, "The Significance of Workplace Accessibility in Residential Mobility in Ibadan, Nigeria." *Ifè Social Science Review* 1998a; 15: 134-146; C.O. Olatubara, "An Alternative Approach to Urban Residential Location Decision in Nigeria: The Nestling Idea." *Habitat International*, 1998b; 22: 57-67.

13 S.O. Fadare, "Analysis of Factors Affecting Household Trip Generation in the Residential Areas of Ibadan" *Ifè Research Publications in Geography* 1989; 3: 34-38.

14 M.O. Ayeni, "The Growth and Structure of the Ibadan Metropolis" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo, editors, *Ibadan Region* (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1994).



According to Mabogunje,<sup>15</sup> the growth of Ibadan has been by fission and fusion. He explained that growth by fission is the breaking up of single but large compounds into smaller individual units to meet the desire for individual ownership of dwelling units. Growth by fusion was said to be the outward shift in city boundary through the annexation of surrounding villages of Ibadan in order to accommodate more people. The establishment of institutions, commercial centres, industrial developments coupled with road construction and governmental policies and programmes helped the growth of Ibadan, hence the multiple nuclei setting of the city. One peculiar growth characteristic of Ibadan is the fact that growth has been accompanying the establishment of certain institutions and construction of roads or rail line. There was the establishment of a residency on Agodi Hill by the colonial administration in 1893.<sup>16</sup> The improvement of roads during this period significantly stretched the arm of development outside the initial core areas of *Oja'ba* and *Bere*. The extension of the rail line from Lagos to Ibadan marked the major upturn in the development of Ibadan. This extension, coupled with the convergence of Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta routes on Ibadan further facilitated its growth and rapid physical expansion. The establishment of Gbagi market in 1903 and the influx of many European firms which had established their branches by 1918 in Ibadan to take advantage of the rail line extension, further heightened the pace of physical development. The increase in the number of European immigrants further led to the establishment of Jericho Reservation.

Adeniran<sup>17</sup> noted that prior to 1935, the direction of growth had been towards the eastern and western parts of the city, including areas such as Agodi on the east and Moor Plantation on the western part of the city. The establishment of the University College in 1948 and its teaching hospital led to the influx of more clerical and executive workers. In 1959, Bodija Estate was established to relieve the population pressure in other European residential areas such as Agodi and Jericho Reservations. The northern shift in the expansion of

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15 A.L. Mabogunje, *op. cit.*

16 P.B. Awoniyi, "Management Problems of Public Lands in Ibadan", Unpublished dissertation submitted to the council of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, 1989.

17 P.K. Adeniran, "Private Sector Contribution to Housing: The Ibadan Case Study" *Housing Seminar*, Department of Geography, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 1984.

Ibadan became more pronounced. The establishment of new industries and institutions also had noticeable effects on the expansion of Ibadan. Notable among these are the Ibadan Airport, the Nigerian Breweries, the Ajoda New Town and the New Gbagi Market, all along the new Ife road. These industries and institutions have led to the physical expansion of Ibadan in the north-eastern part of the city. Along Iwo road, the establishment of Leyland, Triplex, West African Batteries factories and the African Regional Centre for Engineering Design and Management (ARCEDEM) has led to the development of Monatan and the surrounding villages.

In the western part of Ibadan, the development of Owode Housing Estate along Abeokuta Road, the Military Command School, the Petroleum Oil Depot, the Nigerian Wire and Cable Industry and other private industries have attracted development to the area. The extent of development along this route has linked Omi-Adio with Ibadan. Development in the northern part was induced by the Army Barracks on Ojoo/Arulogun Road, which has caused Alegongo and Ashi villages to be encroached upon by the city. Ojoo has extended, therefore, on both sides of the Oyo Road to capture Shasha village and link up with the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA).

## 2. Physical planning-related factors

The late introduction of modern town planning into spatial development in Ibadan largely sets the pace for the organic growth, especially of the traditional core areas. Within the technological limits of the early settlers, the layout of the initial settlement was a simple one with access provided for pedestrian traffic, while there was a virtual absence of any motorized traffic. New residential additions simply followed this earlier set pattern, with no regular layout. This initial spatial pattern now has some backfiring effects on modern development in the core areas. Chapman<sup>18</sup> emphasized that the spatial patterns of behaviour are a product of many decisions, yet these patterns are themselves influenced by existing patterns. Although it may seem difficult to distinguish between cause and effect, the distinction is largely a matter of the time scale adopted. He noted, for instance, that the pattern of tortuous narrow streets in the core area of a city may be the effect of decisions concerning land ownership and use. However, over a

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18 K. Chapman. *People, Pattern and Process: An Introduction to Human Geography* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979).

much longer period extending to the present day, the street pattern may be viewed as a constraint that influences the daily travel and shopping decisions of the contemporary population by deterring the use of cars.

It is, however, sad to note that many years after the introduction of modern planning practice in Nigeria and the general efforts of the governments to prepare physical development plans to control and guide the growth of cities and regions, Ibadan has not adopted a master plan or any physical development plan. In the absence of this city-wide physical development plan, town planning authorities have relied heavily on what could be referred to as a detailed city map or land use map to guide development. The approved private layouts were also very useful in guiding city growth. However, this major development control strategy (the approved private layouts) was technically eliminated by the provisions of the Land Use Decree (LUD) in 1978, which vested not more than about 10 high density plots in an individual in a city.<sup>19</sup> Spatial development in the city of Ibadan now depends largely on the good judgement of planning officials in the face of various sociocultural and political factors. Ironically, the LUD, with its constrained physical development and the effective development control in Ibadan in the absence of a master plan, is not accorded any serious attention by developers. Most developers simply carry out their developments as if the decree has been repealed.

Furthermore, it appears that residents and developers in Ibadan have not fully imbibed the culture of modern town planning. The greed to develop almost every available space on their plots is still very rife. The tendency for development in flagrant defiance of any physical development control is partly a response to economic benefits in areas of high housing demand, such as in the residential districts adjoining major workplaces and institutions, especially around the University of Ibadan and Ibadan Polytechnic, and around the business districts. The areas affected include Agbowo, Orogun, Sango, Oketunu, Ojoo, etc.

The developers are taking advantage of the poor development control strategies of the town planning authorities, and the inadequate and inefficient manpower and tools for such development control. As a result, many developments are not spotted until work has reached a stage where the full

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19 C.O. Olatubara, "Ten Years of the Land Use Decree (Act) in Nigeria (1978-1988): the Oyo State Experience." *The Quarterly Journal of Administration*, 1993; XXVII, p. 85-97.



enforcement of development control regulations becomes difficult. The gradual condoning of illegal developments has aggravated the spatial development problems of these areas. This is now contributing to the development of slums in the city and with attendant problems.

### **3. Political and administrative factors**

The variegated political and administrative terrain through which Ibadan has traversed over the years has left a significant impression on the housing situation in the city. From the traditional political system through the colonial era into the intermix of post-independence civilian-cum-military dispensation, many political decisions have worked in favour of Ibadan, while a few others have dealt a significant blow to housing development. Ibadan has served continuously as the capital of the Western Region from 1946 to 1962, Western Nigeria from 1963 to 1967, Western State from 1967 to 1976, Oyo State (including Osun State) from 1976 to 1991, and exclusively for Oyo State from 1991 to date. This consistent administrative status has enabled Ibadan to enjoy several public housing programmes, such as the establishment of residential estates and reservations. Infrastructural facilities that are complementary to housing provision are more available in Ibadan. All these are to the credit of the city.

Ibadan has also had an unfavourable dose of political influence. Each successive government, especially the post independence civilian and military administration have been accused of bastardizing the various government estates and reservations by repartitioning plots of land, including open spaces, in these choice areas to allocate to their political and military friends/colleagues.

But, perhaps, the most pervading influence of politics which has stubbornly left its mark are the seemingly unguided political utterances of key political figures in government. For example, an important politician in government in the Second Republic once made a unilateral declaration when he said that any building construction work that could reach the lintel level before they are spotted by the town planning authorities should not be demolished. This was ostensibly said to score a political point due to pressure from party members and developers who were not comfortable with the determined efforts of the town planning authorities to ensure a liveable environment in the absence of a city-wide physical development plan. Developers subsequently took advantage of the inadequately equipped and manned development control machinery of the town planning authorities to start development over the weekends. As a result, most

structures had reached the lintel level before they were spotted by the town planning authorities and, were, therefore, exempt from demolition. This process largely explains the modern slum that sprawls across the Ibadan-Lagos Road.

However, what seemed to be a clever way of side-tracking planning regulations now has most undesiring effects. Many residential buildings now have no adequate vehicular access. There is also the problem of over-development of land. This has led to inadequate basic social and infrastructural facilities. Unfortunately, either by default or omission, there has not been any declaration with the same weight and influence by any public/political figure to counter this public statement. It still continues to significantly influence development in the peri-urban areas of Ibadan.

#### **4. Socio-cultural factors**

Some parts of Ibadan, especially the core areas, have suffered serious housing problems because of the tenacity with which indigenes express their cultural affinity in these areas. This has resulted in what is known in Nigerian parlance as political neglect or oversight of these areas. In reality, however, several efforts at allowing planning influence to penetrate these areas have often met with resistance. Successive governments have thus tactfully avoided the core areas to avoid political and social ripples. Housing conditions in these areas are still very pathetic. A large proportion of residential buildings have no easy access and lack basic infrastructural facilities, while the housing environment has progressively been degraded. There is, to date, little or no re-development efforts in these 'special areas'.

To compound the existing housing problems, waste management is very poor in most parts of Ibadan. The streams that abound in Ibadan are ready receptacles for both solid and liquid waste. In addition, there are several open dumps that dot the urban landscape for domestic, industrial and biomedical waste.<sup>20</sup> The waste management problem of Ibadan has received both national and international attention. Nevertheless, the concerted efforts of the different agencies and organizations to attend to this problem have yielded little result. There is still an ongoing battle with waste in virtually all parts of the city of Ibadan. This has made the affected areas unhealthy and unliveable.

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20 IHSE. Biomedical Waste Study in Ibadan, 1999

### **National and international support in improving the housing environment in Ibadan**

The housing situation in Ibadan and its attendant problems have not escaped the attention of national and international organizations. A number of assisted urban projects/programmes have been embarked upon with varying records of success. Some of these projects are briefly examined below.

#### **Sustainable Ibadan Project (SIP)**

The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) launched the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) as the operational arm of the global World Bank/UNCHS/UNDP Urban Management Programme. Ibadan became the first city to be so designated in Nigeria through the Sustainable Ibadan Project (SIP) to consolidate and formalize the techniques for environmental planning and management for sustainable growth. The SIP was officially launched in 1995 and the main environmental issues identified at the 1995 City Consultation were waste management, water supply and the institutionalization of environmental planning and management process.<sup>21</sup>

The detrimental effects of the deteriorating Ibadan urban environment are felt in all spheres of the environment including natural resources, water, air, etc. In the core areas of Ibadan, there is a general lack of basic hygiene and sanitation facilities, while the peripheral areas of the city are growing without adequate planning, characterized by urban sprawl.<sup>22</sup> The UNCHS noted that the past planning efforts for Ibadan have been under-resourced and sporadic, and that the Ibadan city authorities have not systematically addressed the need for a dynamic, responsive, public-oriented and participatory development planning process, which would lead to the preparation of an implementable plan. The inevitable results are that people do not feel committed to protect and maintain public

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21 SIP, "An Environmental Planning and Management Newsletter of Sustainable Ibadan Project" *Ibadan EPM News* 1996; 1(1): 1-2.

22 UNCHS, *Managing Sustainable Health Growth and Development of Ibadan: Environmental Profile of the Metropolitan Area* (Ibadan: CASSAD, 1994a); UNCHS, "Sustainable Cities Conceptual Applications of a United Nations Programme" *Habitat*, 1994b.



services provided in their neighbourhoods because they are rarely a part of the decision to design, locate and finance the services in the first instance.<sup>23</sup>

In an effort to address these problems, SIP was initiated and the principles on which the project was established are based on the partnership participation approach, which adopts the working group concept in the environmental planning and management process.<sup>24</sup> The various working groups are as shown in table 4.5. All the five urban and six rural local government areas that make up Ibadan are involved in the SIP. Sketches of evaluation reveal appreciable progress by the SIP, but much still needs to be done.

**Table 4.5** The working groups of the Sustainable Ibadan Project

S/N	Working Group (WG)	Year of origin	Who inaugurated the WG	Membership	Remarks
1.	Bodija Market Area	1995	SIP & Bodija Comm. Dev. Ass.	17	Coordinates all the SWG in Bodija Market.
	a. Bodija Market Waste Management	1996	Prof. MKR Scidhar	17	
	b. Bodija Market Water Supply	1996	Engr. Adesuyi	20	
	c. Bodija Market Road/Drainage	1996	SIP	17	
	d. Bodija Market Toilet Improvement	1996	SIP	18	
	e. Bodija Market Food Safety	1996	Prof. Egunjobi	15	Non functional SWG
	(f) Bodija Market Women/Children	1996	SIP	17	Non functional

23 UNCHS, *Managing Sustainable Health Growth and Development of Ibadan: Environmental Profile of the Metropolitan Area* (Ibadan: CASSAD, 1994a); NCHS, "Learning from Experience of SCP Cities: Outline of the SIP Environmental Profile", (draft version, Nairobi, Kenya, 1997).

24 C.N. Anyaogu, "The Utilization of the Working Group Concept in the Environmental Planning and Management Process: A Critical Evaluation of the Sustainable Ibadan Project Experience", Unpublished MURP dissertation, Centre for Urban and Regional Planning University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 1999.

S/N	Working Group (WG)	Year of origin	Who inaugurated the WG	Membership	Remarks
					SWG
2	Ibadan Waste Recycling				
3	SIP Coordinating				
4	Ibadan Water Supply	1996	The TSU/SIP		
	a. Odo Akeu Spring Water Development	1996	SIP	15	
	b. Mini Water Works Development	1996	SIP/TSU	14	
	c. Odo Ona/Gada Community Water and Sanitation	1997	SIP/TSU	17	
	d. Deep Well Borehole Development	1996	SIP	15	
	e. Ibadan Spring Water Development	1996	1996	13	
5	Ibadan Mapping Information Committee	1996	TSU/SIP	37	
6	Ibadan Mapping Information Committee	1996	TSU/SIP	19	
7	Poverty Alleviation				Newly formed working groups of SIP. Yet to be inaugurated
8	Neighbourhood Upgrading				
9	Street Trading				

Source: Auyaogu, (1999); Key: 1 - 6 Working Group; a - f Sub-Working Group

### World Bank-assisted urban projects

The apparent shortfall between housing supply and demand has created housing shortages which have subsequently led to overcrowding and over-utilization of

available facilities. This problem is most glaring at the peripheral and new slum areas of Ibadan. It has attracted the attention of foreign agencies, particularly the World Bank. Various efforts have been made to reverse this trend and this has led the World Bank to assist in taking measures at improving the living conditions in Ibadan, using three neighbourhoods at different degrees of deterioration as pilot projects. The three neighbourhoods are Mokola, Yemetu and Agugu. The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Survey (MLHS) in collaboration with the then Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IMPA) estimated in 1984 that a total of about 62,000 people were to benefit from the project.

The then IMPA was the agency responsible for the planning of Ibadan and the three selected pilot project areas fall within its planning area. The World Bank gave the approval for the preparation of bids or tender documents. It also gave a detailed structural and engineering design. However, along the line, IMPA was dissolved as Ibadan was broken into four local government areas viz, Lagelu, Oluyole, Akinyele and Ibadan Municipal Government (IMG) areas. The IMG was thus saddled with the project because the three selected pilot project areas fall within this local government area. For the purpose of proper implementation of the project, the World Bank suggested the establishment of the Community Improvement Programme Unit which has its headquarters at Mapo.

The Oyo State Community Improvement Project (CIP) was financed by the World Bank, the Oyo State government, and the participating local governments (Ibadan North LGA and Ona Ara LGA), which are parts of the LGAs that succeeded IMG and into which the project falls. The World Bank contributed the largest percentage of the overall project cost. While the World Bank provides the foreign currency, the Oyo State government, apart from guaranteeing the loan for the government, is also responsible for the payment of a counterpart fund in local currency on behalf of the local governments. The local governments, on the other hand, being the owner and the greatest beneficiary of the project, made provision for the workers and the payment of their salary. The project at the pilot sites was eventually completed and handed over in August, 1997. Among the infrastructural facilities and amenities provided and handed over within each of the three project areas according to Akinyode<sup>25</sup> are:

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25 B.F. Akinyode, "An Appraisal of Community Improvement Programmes in Developing Countries: A case Study of World Bank Assisted Urban Renewal Project in Ibadan", Unpublished MURP Dissertation, Centre for Urban and Regional



**a. Mokola**

- 2 new transformers and the upgrading of the existing ones
- 11 compartment public toilets (VIP toilets)
- 164 street lights
- About 9km drainage (wall blocks)
- About 9km of tarred roads
- Refuse disposal site at FESTAC area
- About 6km new water pipes.

**b. Yemetu**

- A total of 5km and 0.9km of tarred roads at the main scheme and resettlement site, respectively
- A total of 12.3km and 1.6km blockwall line drains at the main scheme and resettlement site, respectively
- 1 box culvert
- 6 VIP public toilets
- 1 converted health centre
- 164 street lights at both main scheme and the resettlement site.

**c. Agugu-Oremeji**

- A total of 6.2 km and 1.8 km tarred road at the main scheme and resettlement site at Ogbere
- A total of 13.4 km blockwall lined drains at the main scheme and resettlement site
- The Fatima Usman Health Centre at Oremeji
- 1 VIP public toilet at Oremeji
- 1 police post/post office
- 80 street lights
- Ahmed Usman Primary School at Ogbere.

In all, \$1.74 million, \$1.795 million and \$2.162 million were allocated for the implementation of the projects in Mokola, Yemetu and Agugu, respectively. The variations in budget allocation were due to size and the numbers of facilities provided in each of the project area.

Accessibility and environmental conditions have greatly improved in these projects sites and property values have increased significantly. There is, however, the urgent need to replicate the projects in other slum and run-down areas of Ibadan to improve the overall housing situation in the city.

### **Other assisted programmes**

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has also been collaborating with the Federal Government of Nigeria in the area of Urban Basic Services (UBS). Management of the UBS in Oyo State is through the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing and the Oyo State Department of Lands and Physical Planning. The United Nations Children's Fund provides other necessary assistance. The UBS project in Ibadan focusses on the provision of essential services that will have a profound impact on improving the welfare and living conditions of the targeted beneficiaries.<sup>26</sup> Some of the specific areas of concentration are:

- Organization and empowerment of selected slum communities
- Provision of functional health care facilities
- Provision of potable water
- Improved sanitation through construction of public toilets and effective disposal of refuse generated
- Establishment of community child care centres and vocational training centres
- Improved access to micro-credit facilities.

A number of criteria were used in selecting a slum area for the UBS project intervention. These criteria include:

- Existence of community organization(s) or association(s) (CDA, CDC, CBO)
- Unplanned areas, bad road networks, lack of basic amenities
- Poor environmental sanitation
- Poor or no education facilities
- Poor or no health care facilities
- High population of vulnerable groups (women and children), especially street/working children
- Dilapidated buildings and overcrowding of housing units

The UBS project started in Ibadan in late 1996 under the coordination of the Oyo State Department of Lands and Physical Planning and UNICEF 'B' Zone, Ibadan. Some of the major activities undertaken so far include the following:

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26 OYSG/UNICEF. UBS Project at a Glance: Information Brochure on UNICEF - Assisted Urban Basic Services (UBS) Project in Ibadan, 1999.

- Diagnostic survey of the four selected slum communities (Mapo, Eleta, Ayeye and Agbeni)
- Preparation of local and community plans of action for the selected LGAs and UBS project sites
- Sensitization of 80 traditional chiefs and opinion leaders on UBS project concept
- Construction of a new community health centre in Agbeni community
- Construction of 16 hand-dug wells and 250 concrete rings in the four project sites
- Training of 60 community volunteers on environmental sanitation in the 4 project sites
- Training of 20 artisans in hand-dug wells and construction of Sanplat laterines in Ayeye and Agbeni community
- Establishment of a waste sorting centre in Ayeye
- Upgrading of drainage in Ayeye Community
- Establishment of seven recreation centres in Ayeye, Agbeni, Mapo and Eleta community.

The World Health Organization has also started an in-road into environmental development programmes in Ibadan. It has, through its Healthy Cities Programme, been working in close collaboration with the SIP to offer assistance at some designated parts of Ibadan, especially the Bodija market area, where a food safety programme known as Hazard Analysis Critical Control Point (HACCP) has been initiated.

### **The challenges of the 21st century**

The 21st century poses serious challenges for urban housing in the city of Ibadan. This is because there is expected to be a more rapid rate of urbanization, which will subsequently lead to a vastly increased pressure on existing urban facilities, more spatial expansion, a higher tendency for the creation of more informal settlements, and an increase in the number of environmentally degraded residential districts. This will largely be engineered by the combined effects of a globalization drive that is expected to be significantly more widespread in this century, the possible improvements in the national and local economies, as well as all other socioeconomic improvements that are likely to attend the current democratic political dispensation in the country.



There is no gainsaying the fact that urban managers will face a herculean task as we progress in this 21st century. The outcome of these highly probable effects will largely be determined by the readiness of urban managers and all stakeholders to make concerted efforts to make the city liveable and sustainable. Negative consequences that are the sure outcome of any environmentally unfriendly decision will spell cumulative disaster for the city of Ibadan. However, the determined efforts of all concerned towards urban development will eliminate any negative consequences and propel the city on the path of quick recovery from environmental decadence. Some areas of concern are highlighted below:

1. There is an urgent need for a policy tool to guide and control the spatial development of Ibadan. The city of Ibadan has developed hitherto without a city-wide physical development plan. The continued absence of a master/structure plan is not in the best interest of sustainable development of the city. It is strongly believed that the resources and personnel to produce the physical development plan are already in place and that it only requires the interest and determination of the government to make its production and adoption a priority. Unfortunately, the continued delay in producing it is indirectly costing the government more in terms of expenditure of both internal and external funds to correct, eliminate or reduce the adverse consequences of the spatial development of Ibadan without an adopted master/structure plan. The socioeconomic and environmental consequences in the residential districts of Ibadan are difficult to accurately quantify. There is enough evidence through to prove that they are staggering.
2. The state and federal governments and international agencies must show more interest in the upgrading of the various run-down residential districts that spread across the city. There are on-going efforts, especially in the form of assistance from the World Bank, UNICEF, UNDP and other international organizations. However, the impact of current efforts is still insignificant considering the enormity of the housing and other environmental problems at hand.
3. However, there is a limit to the resources available to the international organizations and, therefore, the extent of their funding and involvement in the upgrading of the run-down residential districts in Ibadan. There is a need to internally reduce or eliminate the conditions that are producing the environmental decay in the urban residential districts in Ibadan. Once a wrong spatial decision is taken and effected, it is usually very difficult, expensive or sometimes impossible to reverse it. If developments are carried out in compliance with approved plans, environmental side-effects will be minimal. There is, therefore, a need for

sustained effective public enlightenment to enable the public imbibe the culture of planning.

4. An area of Ibadan which is already an eyesore and is still posing the most severe headache to urban managers is the traditional core area of Ibadan. Incidentally, this core area has become an unenviable identity of the city of Ibadan. It has almost become a tourist attraction area as many foreigners unfortunately desire to see the ruins and decay of an area that many years ago was the pride of the indigenous people of Ibadan. There is a need to encourage the people of Ibadan to allow planning to penetrate this area. The area requires significant upgrading to make it truly liveable.
5. The town planning authorities must be provided with adequate equipment and manpower to enable them to cope with the physical planning and control of the city. This will allow them to detect any wrong development early enough and stop them as soon as possible. They will need strong backing from the government. They also need to be free from any political influence that may hamstring them.
6. The government should be more concerned about the provision of necessary facilities at the residential areas of Ibadan. This includes good roads, availability and constant supply of electricity and water and the appropriate facilities and mechanisms for the management of domestic, industrial, commercial and biomedical waste that will eventually translate into a hazardous residential environment if not well managed.
7. The informal housing sector is a force to reckon with in the housing supply in Ibadan. This sector needs to be encouraged through improved access to mortgage loans from the primary mortgage institutions. This is likely to increase housing stock that is added to the existing stock yearly and will ultimately reduce the quantitative housing problems in Ibadan.

### **Conclusion**

The rate of urbanization of Ibadan is alarming. The rate of the spatial expansion of the city and the speed with which it absorbs the adjoining rural and agricultural areas has been of serious concern. Since the city will continue to grow in the 21st century, it is crucial that efforts be made to arrest its organic growth and sprawling pattern of development. Housing is an important element in this development pattern. Going by what happened in the 20th century, it is clear that the private sector will continue to provide the bulk of housing in the city of Ibadan. This sector must, therefore, be assisted to achieve its potential.

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Water Situation in Ibadan City

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F. O. Akintola

**Introduction**

The provision of a safe, clean and dependable source of water for domestic, industrial, institutional and commercial uses has come to be regarded as crucial and beneficial to the development of society. This is a goal that any honest government should set as its priority. Water is crucial to the well-being of the citizenry of a nation. It is unfortunate that a dependable and potable water supply has become increasingly inaccessible to people in developing countries.<sup>1</sup>

The water supply situation in Ibadan is pathetic and mirrors what is happening in other sectors of the Nigerian economy. The sad story about the Ibadan water supply system typifies what happens in all categories of our urban water supply system, be it small, medium or large. In the midst of abundance, Nigerians experience deprivation of water and, where available, it is of doubtful quality. This often leads to a proliferation of water-borne diseases, ill health and loss of manpower in all the sectors of the economy. The fact that there are other sources of water apart from the municipal water supply system, though unreliable, low in quality and of relatively higher cost, has reduced the pressure on government to fix this pathetic situation. Alternate water supply methods have been improvised by many individual citizens while others suffer in silence. Various governments have made frantic efforts to solve the water supply problems in Nigeria, but the

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<sup>1</sup> I. Serageldin, "Water Supply Sanitation and Environmental Sustainability. The financing challenges" *Monograph* World Bank, 1994.



system is faced with numerous intractable challenges which have not been addressed properly.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter is divided into five major sections. These are: a description of the sources of water supply in Ibadan, a history of water supply in Ibadan, the current situation of water supply in Ibadan, the current problems facing water supply in Ibadan, and a concluding section on suggestions of what could be done to improve the present deplorable situation.

### **Sources of water supply in the Ibadan region**

One factor which greatly affects sources of water supply in Ibadan is their location around latitude 7°N, which makes them close to the equatorial region. The city is only 100km away from the Atlantic coastline to its south. Ibadan is the largest city in Africa in terms of its area extension. It covers a land area of about 500km<sup>2</sup>. It extends from beyond Owode in the west along Abeokuta Road, to as far east as *Asejire*, near *Ikire*.

In the northern part of the city, urban settlements have now extended to Akinyele, far beyond Moniya and, in the south, industrial establishments extend far beyond the toll gate. The city is centred around Mapo Hill and extends in all directions with a radius of about 22.5km.

The location at 7°N of the equator puts the city under the influence of the southwest wind for about nine months of the year. This accounts for the wet and dry seasons experienced in the city. The wet season lasts 270 days, starting around 15th March of every year and ending around November 15th. During the wet season, there are about 60 rainstorms in a year, while the inter-rainstorm period does not last for more than two weeks. This situation makes rainfall catchment a dependable and important water source for the residents of Ibadan. The mean intensity for the rainstorms is 17mm/hr and the mean duration is about one hour. All these characteristics make the storing of rain water an effective system of water supply when and where the municipal source fails.

Another important natural source of water in the Ibadan region is groundwater. Though the rocks underlying Ibadan are not the sedimentary type

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<sup>2</sup> A. Faniran, "Institutional Arrangements for the Planning and Management of Water Supply in Nigeria. In: W.O. Winderlich and J.E. Prins, *Water for the Future: Water Resources Developments in Perspective* (Rome, 1987), p. 317-334.

which produce good aquifers, the old crystalline basement complex rocks in the region have been weathered very deep in most areas and have become good aquifers. Groundwater is often tapped through the local wells, boreholes and springs which frequently occur in Ibadan, especially in areas surrounding the numerous quartzite ridges. The fact that the wet season lasts for about three quarters of the year accounts for the high rate of recharging of the groundwater and its dependability as a source of water. In Ibadan, groundwater is very popular because the source is cheap to develop and can be located within the properties of the owners. This control over one's source of water is an important variable in the water supply equation. In fact, the groundwater source has been the Ibadan water supply system's saving grace.

The Ibadan region is blessed with numerous streams. The western area is drained by River *Ona* and its tributaries, and was the first to be dammed for the Ibadan municipal water supply. The central area of Ibadan is drained by the Ogunpa-Kudeti river systems, while the eastern part of the city is drained by the Ogbere River. These rivers converge to form the River *Ona*, draining east of the toll gate to Lagos, and forming an independent river system discharging into the Lagoon. The *Osun* River, about 20km east of Ibadan, is the second largest river in Western Nigeria. The Ibadan urban area has nearly extended to its shores, which makes its water accessible to Ibadan. The *Asejire* Dam, completed in 1972, supplies Ibadan with potable water.

Despite the various sources of water available in Ibadan, some areas still suffer from a lack of water supply. This condition often occurs during the dry season when ground water is very low and streams carry highly polluted water. People then resort to buying water from doubtful sources. Selling of water nowadays is a viable business especially in commercial areas of the city.

Ibadan should not suffer water problems with these natural sources of water. These sources need proper and effective management in order to satisfy such a huge urban sprawl like Ibadan. The next section discusses the efforts made so far to manage the Ibadan urban water supply system.

### **History of water management in Ibadan**

Ibadan was one of the cities and towns selected to be supplied with a modern water supply system during the colonial era. Ibadan enjoyed this privilege due to its location. It was part of a major transport route that linked other towns and cities.

Ibadan was also the base of some colonial officers. The construction of the Eleiyele reservoir on River Ona was completed in 1942. The reservoir has a catchment area of 323.8km<sup>2</sup>, an impoundment area of 156.2ha and a storage capacity of 29.5million litres of water. The water is fully treated and pumped at the rate of about 13.6million litres per day.

This water scheme served Ibadan until 1972, when the Asejire Water Supply Scheme was commissioned. This new scheme became necessary because the population of Ibadan grew rapidly between 1940 and 1970. For instance, Ibadan had a population of about 496,196, according to the 1952 census. This increased to 627,379 in 1963 and 783,511 in 1972. Thus, water supply per head in 1952 was 29.6 litres per day, according to the 1963 census. With the recent Ibadan population estimated to be over 2 million, the supply of both Asejire and Eleiyele waterworks puts the supply per head per day at less than 15 litres. It was the dwindling capacity of the Eleiyele waterworks to meet the rising demand in the city that led to the construction of the Asejire scheme on River Osun at a cost of ₦25 million. Now the combined storage capacity of Eleiyele and Asejire reservoirs is about 109 million litres per day. Water from these sources is treated to the standard of the World Health Organization.

### Management

The Eleiyele Water Supply Scheme was built by the colonial administration, under the Public Works Department (P.W.D.). When the western regional government was established in 1953, the management of the scheme came under the Ministry of Works. In 1959, the Western Nigeria Water Corporation was established to see to water supply in Western Nigeria. Today, the administration of the water scheme in Oyo State is vested in the Oyo State Water Corporation, which is incorporated as a commercial company. It has a board of directors and is headed by an executive chairman. The management has seven divisions: administration, finance, design and construction, mechanical, electrical, planning and internal audit. The corporation has two main sources of revenue: the annual subsidiaries and water rates and charges.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> F.O. Akintola and O. Areola, "Patterns and Strategy of Water Supply in Nigeria". *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies* 1980a; 22(1): 41-52.



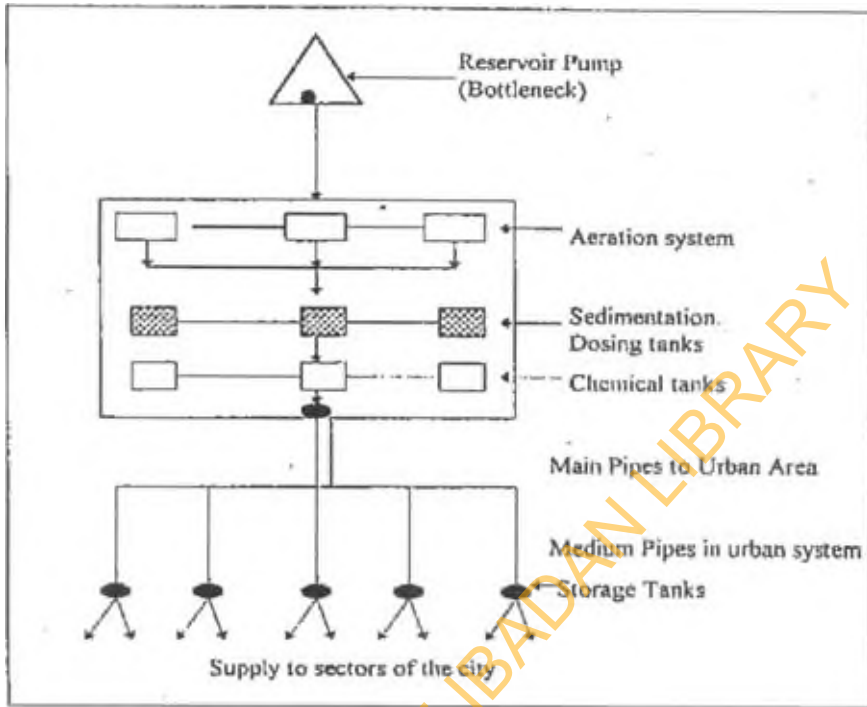


Figure 5.1 A model of an urban water system.

### The operation of the water schemes

The creation of water reservoirs such as the ones at Eleiyele and Asejire is necessary in order to meet the high water demand of urban residents and also to ensure a steady supply of water to all sectors. Stage 1 of the process involves the storage of a large amount of water in reservoirs behind a large dam. It was when the storage capacity in the Eleiyele Dam could not meet the demand in the 1960s that the construction of the Asejire Dam commenced.

Stage II involves the system of water purification. Major sub-sections include: the aeration section, the sedimentation section and the chemical dosing section. All

these systems are backed by mechanical and electrical systems.

Stage III deals with the pumping of treated water to high storages at selected locations in the urban area from where a network of pipes distribute water to various sections of the city. This system of water procurement, treatment and distribution was expected to effectively serve the needs of Ibadan people. Experience has shown this has not been so. This could be what prompted the two largest institutions in Ibadan, the University of Ibadan and the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture to develop their own water supply schemes. They both rely on small dams, water treatment and distribution within their campuses.

### **The Ibadan water supply system— the current situation**

The system of water supply to homes in Ibadan can be divided into three categories. There are homes that are connected directly to the municipal water source and there are those served with stand pipes in their compounds and those served with public/compound stand pipes. A survey in 1980<sup>4</sup> shows that areas with a modern layout such as Bodija, Jericho, Agodi reservation, University of Ibadan, etc., had pipes connected directly to their homes, but by that time, 32% had been experiencing dry taps. In the medium density housing areas of Oremeji and Oke Ado, over 54% had been experiencing dry taps. The survey shows the proliferation of the installation of water storage tanks to meet this period of water shortage.

In the year 2000, the situation had gone from bad to worse. About 80% of Ibadan people relied on groundwater through local wells (60%) and boreholes (20%). Only 15% were served intermittently with pipe-borne municipal water. Other people relied on buying water from water vendors.

This poor situation is further highlighted by the steps taken by some institutions to meet their water demand. The University of Ibadan has laid its own pipes to Eleiyele, installed her own pumping machine and pumps unprocessed water to her campus for treatment and distribution to the residents on campus. The Nigerian Breweries and the Coca Cola Industry in Ibadan receive unprocessed water from the Asejire reservoir which they treat for their use.

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<sup>4</sup> Akintola and Areola, 4, 313-321.

### **Water supply problems in Ibadan**

The problems of water supply in Ibadan can be viewed from two perspectives, namely: that of the water corporation and that of the general public. Some of the problems, as enumerated by the chairman of the Oyo State Water Corporation include:

- Incessant electrical power failure at the water treatment plants—apart from causing interruptions in water supply, this problem leads to pipe bursts when subjected to frequent alternating stoppages and gushes of water flows
- Inefficient plumbing by contractors who connect water pipes crudely and tap water illegally
- Frequent damage to water pipes by road construction companies
- Delays in the supply of spare parts which have to be imported
- Increasing water demand which exceeds supply, especially in newly-developed areas of the city.

The following problems affect water supply in Ibadan:

- A significant reduction in water processing capacities—for example, there are not enough chemicals for water treatment and most of the sedimentation tanks are out of order. Eleiyele only has two functional sedimentation tanks instead of eight. There is a frequent breakdown of water pumps due to lack of maintenance. This has reduced the supply capacity of the Eleiyele water plant to less than 25%.
- Water loss during water distribution is due to the age of the pipes (which were installed in the 1960s).
- Another major problem is a lack of manpower training in the operation and management of the installed water equipment.
- The major problem facing the corporation is finance. Though the corporation is supposed to be commercially oriented, revenue from water charges is minimal. People still regard the provision of water as a social service.
- There are other problems, especially those associated with government bureaucratic systems in terms of attitude to government work.



### **Current issues in Nigeria's municipal water supply**

There are three burning issues currently debated in the urban water supply system in Nigeria (Ibadan inclusive). The first is the rehabilitation of the existing system. It is clear that the water distribution networks established over 30 years ago are now obsolete. Losses of about 50% treated water have been recorded in Ibadan. The federal government has obtained World Bank financial assistance to overhaul the system by laying new pipes for some states in Nigeria, and also training existing staff on current systems of water management. The evaluation of the extent of damage has been carried out for Ibadan and new distribution pipe networks have been installed. Staff training is also being embarked upon.

Increase in the income of the corporation will help alleviate the problems plaguing the institution. It has been proven that as the population of urban areas increases, the cost of the provision of per capita water supply also increases tremendously. This has called for the user-pay principle.

The privatization of the water supply system is currently under consideration. The way this is going to be implemented is not clear. It is being suggested that the water supply system should be broken into three units: the reservoirs, the treatment plant and distribution systems. A private company will manage the reservoir and sell water to the treatment plant, water will then be sold to the various distribution points (storages) in Ibadan.

Each storage tank will be managed by a private company and the water sold to buyers in the area will be covered by its water distribution network. Another plan is that government should continue to manage the reservoir and treatment plants, while the distribution and water rate collection are privatized.

Whatever system is adopted, experience from developed and some developing countries suggests that the people should be involved in some aspects of this important utility management. The message being lauded nowadays is that:

People must be trusted to choose from a menu of service levels,  
those services they want and are willing to pay for.

From the government side:

The lesson is that rigorous attention must be paid to providing households with a particular level of service at the lowest possible cost.

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## Transport in Ibadan

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Adesoji Adesanya

### Introduction

The growth and expansion of Ibadan, like most large cities around the world, have both been influenced, to a considerable extent, by its transport networks and the distribution of land uses. In respect of the discussion in this chapter, Ibadan comprises 11 contiguous local government areas that form the Ibadan metropolitan area. These are Akinyele, Egbeda, Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan North-West, Ibadan South East, Ibadan South West, Ido, Lagelu, Oluyole and Ona Ara.

In the last fifty years, significant changes have occurred in the transport sector of Ibadan, especially in the road transport sub-sector, which dominates the transport terrain. The length of roads has grown considerably, new roads have been built, some major road segments have either been expanded or dualized, and traffic lights, road signs, and sheltered bus stops have been added. Furthermore, some localized traffic management measures have been introduced, including one-way schemes and decentralization of commercial activities, especially in the Dugbe-Gbagi central business district, partly in order to enhance traffic flow. The deteriorating condition of many roads within Ibadan has been of serious concern to both the Oyo State government and relevant local governments in the Ibadan metropolis in recent years, thus necessitating some level of intervention.

In addition to paratransit modes such as taxis, minibuses and adapted vehicles (*molue*), which have long dominated the Ibadan public transport market, commercial motorcycles (popularly referred to as *okada*) made a spontaneous appearance in Ibadan in the early 1990s, as it is the case in most Nigerian towns

and cities, thereby providing a mix of services of varying operating characteristics and quality for the public. The serious urban public transport crisis that nearly crippled people's mobility and accessibility in the Nigerian urban centres in the late 1980s, and the subsequent initiation of the federal urban transit programme in 1988, resulted in the establishment of the state-owned Trans City Transport Company (TCTC) and the rail mass transit service. In the last few years, the Oyo State government and the local governments in the Ibadan metropolitan area have embarked on an extensive rehabilitation of major roads which have become terribly damaged by potholes and road construction. This effort was complemented, in a few cases, by the defunct Petroleum Special Trust Fund. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the situation of transport in Ibadan over the years.

## Road transport in Ibadan

### Roads

The status of Ibadan as the capital of Oyo State, and one of the largest cities in sub-Saharan Africa clearly underscores the need for a good transport network, that allows for efficient and effective circulation and linkage of existing activity areas, whether residential, commercial, industrial, educational, administrative, recreational or religious, among others, for better interaction. The motivation to meet the mobility and accessibility needs of the residents of Ibadan demands that sufficient and affordable transportation is available. Besides, good roads are vital for strengthening the social and economic life of Ibadan.

The urban form and the extent of road planning in different parts of Ibadan city have effects on the movement of goods and people. For instance, most parts of the low density areas of Ikolaba, Jericho, Agodi, Onireke, Old Bodija, Alalubosa and Iyaganku are well-planned and have good roads, which facilitate frontage access to buildings. The generous space around buildings in the low density residential areas have made the problem of road capacity reduction, through on-street parking, less severe. The fact that a lot of the rich and those that matter in society reside in the aforementioned areas perhaps explains why the bulk of the roads in such places are tarred and motorable.

The situation of roads in the core or the indigenous areas of Bere, Ojaba, Idi Arere, Ayeye, Oje, Elekuro, Popoyemoja, Alekuso, Labo, Oranyan, Itutaba,



Abebi and so on is very different. Many buildings are still not directly accessible by motorable roads, in spite of the recent attempts by the state government to open up a sizeable part of the indigenous areas. Of course, this situation has to do, in part, with the history of physical development of the area, which predates the arrival of motor vehicles.<sup>1</sup> Access to many buildings is still through narrow lanes and footpaths. Nevertheless, the indigenous areas, when compared with the low density residential areas, are congested with buildings and people, poorly planned from contemporary town planning perspective, and do not enjoy a dense network of motorable roads.<sup>2</sup> As a result of poor planning and haphazard development, emerging residential areas on the outskirts of Ibadan also suffer from inadequate and poor road development and connection. The affected areas include Ologuneru, Gbekuba, Arulogun, Akobo, Olorunda, Awotan, Alakia/Isebo, Boluwaji, Apete, Igbo Oloyin, Olojuoro, Olorisa Oko and Onipepeye among others.

The fact that various land uses or activity centres attract pedestrian or vehicular traffic underscores the need to improve accessibility to and from them. In order to reduce traffic congestion, enhance road safety and good circulation, relevant agencies at the state level (highway division of the Oyo State Ministry of Works and the newly-created Ministry of Transport) and local government (works' department) have, in the last few decades, carried out different road improvement programmes in Ibadan, through direct labour or road contracts to civil engineering or highway construction firms. These include road expansion, new road construction, road repairs and rehabilitation, drainage improvement, installation of traffic lights and the introduction of localized traffic management measures and so on. Suffice it to say that direct labour is often used in road rehabilitation. In the process, potholes and ruts are filled, and damaged roads are resealed and overlaid with bitumen at a relatively cheap cost than the roads overlaid with asphalt. Direct labour is also employed in the clearing of blocked drains and culverts, repairing of bridges and damaged guard rails, cutting of overgrown weeds along the roads, as well as in the construction of retaining walls, culverts and so on. Since its establishment in March 2004, the

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<sup>1</sup> A.L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (University of London Press, London, 1968).

<sup>2</sup> M.O. Filani, "Transportation" in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo, editors, *Ibadan Region* (Rex Charles and Connel Publications, Ibadan, 1994), p. 179-190.

Oyo State Road Maintenance Agency (OYSTROMA) has been providing direct labour for road rehabilitation as well as related activities.

Ibadan, especially in the last fifty years, has witnessed unprecedented urbanization, accompanied by a rapid growth of her population and spatial extent. In order to connect the newer areas with older areas, open up new areas, ease traffic flow and relieve traffic congestion, some new roads were constructed. Such roads include the Sango-Eleiyele Road, Dugbe Eleiyele Road, Ring Road-Challenge, and Mokola Onireke-Dugbe Road (Jemibewon Road).<sup>3</sup> The Mokola-Onireke Road, formally opened for use on 1 July 1977, was constructed in order to ease the traffic flow problem on the hitherto heavily congested Mokola-Dugbe Road, which at that time was the main road connecting Abeokuta, Ijebu-Ode and Lagos.

In 1977, work also started on some roads earmarked for dualization. These included the University of Ibadan-Orita Mefa Road, Orita Mefa-Adeoyo-Bere Road and the South West Ring Road. Apart from each road having dual carriageways of four lanes in all, the contracts for the construction of these roads were awarded to Messrs. Strabag and Co, Solel Bonel, and Messrs Tilbury Contracting Ltd, respectively.<sup>4</sup> All these construction works added to the length of roads in Ibadan. After 2010, some roads in Ibadan have been expanded and/or dualized. They include Ojoo-Sango-Mokola Road, Dugbe- Molete Road, Challenge-Old Lagos-Ibadan Toll Gate Road, Challenge Orita-Challenge New Garage Road, Dugbe-Eleiyele Road and Dugbe-Jericho-Onireke-Sabo Road. The ₦2.1 billion Mokola flyover was built in order to reduce traffic congestion in and around Mokola. Efforts are also being made to construct a 110km Ibadan circular road.

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<sup>3</sup> L.S. Popoola, "Urban Road Provision and Maintenance. A Case Study of Ibadan". An unpublished M.Sc. dissertation submitted to the Centre for Transport Studies, Ogun State University, Ago Iwoye, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Local Government and Information, Oyo State in Action: Days of Expansion (A Collection of Important Speeches Made in the Second Year by Brig. D.M. Jemibewon, April 1977- March 1978. Information Division, Ministry of Local Government and Information, Ibadan, 1978.

The length of roads in Ibadan, which stood at 171.1km in 1979, increased to 422.21km in 1994. Out of the 171.1km of roads in the former Ibadan Municipal Local Government (IMG) in 1971, the federal government controlled 5.6km, while Oyo State and the IMG controlled 97.6km and 67.9km of roads, respectively.<sup>5</sup> Out of the 422.2km of roads in Ibadan in 1994, the federal government controlled 70km, while the state and the local governments that constitute urban Ibadan controlled 128.6km and 223.61km, respectively. A breakdown of the length of roads under the control of the local governments is shown in table 18.

Table 6.1 Length of roads under the control of local governments in Ibadan City (1994)

Local Government	Road Length (Km)
Ibadan North	97.1
Ibadan North West	22.5
Ibadan North East	27.5
Ibadan South East	59.6
Ibadan South West	16.91

Source: Popoola, L.S., Urban Road Provision and Maintenance: A Case Study of Ibadan, Unpublished Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Geography and Regional Planning, Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye, 1995, p.86.

<sup>5</sup> Oyo State of Nigeria, Statistical Abstract, Statistical Division, Ministry of Economic Planning, Ibadan, 1979.





Figure 6.1. Network of transportation in Ibadan.

Source: Oyo State Ministry of Works & Transport, Ibadan, 2000.

In order to illuminate, increase security and reduce nighttime accidents and crime on the roads, street lights resurfaced along some major roads in Ibadan in 1975, but became non-functional after about two to three years.<sup>6</sup> It was not until 1985, after the commissioning of the street lights on Queen Elizabeth

<sup>6</sup> M. Olorode, "Street Lights Brighten Ibadan" (*The Punch*, 18 September, 1985), p.10.

Road, University of Ibadan–State Secretariat Road, Mapo-Bere-Adeoyo Road, and Total Garden-Gate Road, that functional streetlights, once again, adorned some roads in Ibadan. Other places where streetlights have been installed include the Ring Road, State Secretariat-Government House (Agodi) and Sango-Ibadan Polytechnic Road. Gate-Iwo Road and Mapo-Molete Road have provisions for streetlights. Three residential communities in Ibadan, namely, Agugu, Yemetu and Mokola have had streetlights installed and their roads rehabilitated among other things, through the World Bank-supported Community Improvement Programme, initiated in 1988. Many of the recently completed primary distributor roads, including Oyo-Dugbe, Eleiyele-Dugbe, Molete-Dugbe, among others, have streetlights.

These traffic lights were also located at important junctions, including Mokola roundabout, Adamasingba Stadium–Oke Padre junction, Dugbe–Alesinloye junction, J. Allen junction, Oyo road–Premier Hotel junction and Parliament Road–Premier Hotel Road junction. In the last five to ten years, more traffic lights (especially time actuated traffic lights) have been installed along major road intersections such as Challenge roundabout, Total Garden/Orita Mefa junction and Parliament Road-Mobil junction.

Despite the availability of streetlights on most of the roads in the Ibadan metropolitan area, they are still not adequately maintained or put on at night (due partly to erratic power supply), dead bulbs that are hardly replaced, and damaged or broken lamp posts that are not repaired promptly.

A one-way traffic scheme was introduced to ease the heavy traffic congestion witnessed in major roads like New Court Road, Lebanon Street, Bank Road, Salvation Army Road and so on. In the early 1980s, grade separation through the use overhead bridges, flyovers and interchanges has been applied at the Oyo State Secretariat, Molete, and between the Ibadan end of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway and Ojoo.

The Ogunpa central motor park and Molete motor park had to be shut down in the late 1970s because of the traffic chaos arising from the convergence and dispersal of vehicles from these motor parks. Following this action, new motor parks emerged for inter-urban journeys. They include the Agodi motor park for east and northeast bound vehicles from Ibadan, Sango motor park for north bound vehicles, and the Abeokuta road (Owode) motor park for south bound vehicles. Since the early 1980s, other designated motor parks have

emerged at Podo or New Garage area (for south and east bound vehicles), Iwo Road motor park (for Lagos bound vehicles) and Ojoo motor park (for north bound vehicles). Another well-planned interstate motor park was opened in 2013 (near Wema Bank, along New Ife Road). However, there are still numerous motor parks designated and illegal, scattered all over the city for intra-urban journeys.

In spite of the significance of the road network in the movement of people and goods in Ibadan city, many municipal or township roads have deteriorated rapidly over the years. The prime culprit is the poor road maintenance culture of the local governments. In addition, funds for road works are usually inadequate, released very late and misappropriated. Most major roads in Ibadan do not have adequate markings, while the few existing road signs have been obliterated through wilful or accidental damage and the long-term impact of the weather. It was when Ibadan was selected in 1995 as one of the venues of the Junior World Soccer Championship in 1999 that road signs, showing only the direction of routes (direction signs), appeared along primary routes in the city. Since then, efforts have been intensified by successive governments to provide road signs and adequately mark major roads in Ibadan. In addition, the Oyo State Road Traffic Management Authority (OYRTMA) was created in 2010 in order to assist in traffic control and management.

### **Road-based public transport**

For a city like Ibadan, where a large number of people do not own cars or other forms of private transport such as bicycles and motorcycles, the role of public transport cannot be overemphasized. The modes of public transport in Ibadan include taxis, minibuses (commonly called *danfo*), fare paying passenger carrying private cars (also known as *kabukabu*) commercial motorcycles (*okada*), tricycles and, more recently, mass transit buses.

The history of road-based public transport could be traced back to 1934, when taxi services were introduced by some individuals. By 1938, Beere Transport and Engineering Company started running a passenger bus service between Dugbe and Agodi. This effort was complemented by few individuals, until the Native Authority established the Ibadan Bus Service Limited in 1947. By 1963, the Ibadan City Council established the Ibadan Joint Transport Board



so as to provide mass transportation.<sup>7</sup> Few private entrepreneurs like Akijobi, Oriolowo and Odukale provided public transport services in the mid-1960s, until their business collapsed.

In the last thirty years, the public transport market situation has changed considerably. The rapidly growing population of Ibadan (from 627,379 in 1963 to 2,550,593 in 2006, and an estimated population of more than 3 million in 2014), as well as its spatial expansion will necessarily imply that the demand for public transport services has become quite huge, particularly in respect of the public transport users. Over the years, the instability in the economic situation of Nigeria and the mismanagement of public owned bus undertakings in Ibadan also took their toll. For instance, the Ibadan Joint Transport Board collapsed in October 1976, when it was dissolved due largely to mismanagement, which contributed to the depletion of the company's bus fleet from about 75 buses in 1967 to only 4 operational buses in 1976.<sup>8,9,10</sup>

According to Oladoja,<sup>11</sup> the population of taxi cabs in Ibadan also dipped from 5,100 in 1976 during the oil boom to 3,900 in 1982. There was a further

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<sup>7</sup> O.O. Labiyi, "Public Transport Provisions in Urban Centres: An Examination of Paratransit Models in Ibadan". Unpublished Master of Urban and Regional Planning Dissertation submitted to the Centre for Urban and Regional Planning, University of Ibadan, 1985.

<sup>8</sup> K. Adeniji, "Nigerian Municipal Bus Operations" *Transportations Quarterly* 1983; 37(1): 135-143.

<sup>9</sup> J.I. Oloketuyi, "The Role of Route Associations in the Provision of Urban Public Transport Services: A Case study of Taxi Cab Route Associations in Ibadan", Unpublished M.Sc. Transportation Studies dissertation submitted to the Centre for Transport Studies, Ogun State University, Ago Iwoye, 1998.

<sup>10</sup> B.O. Oladejo, "An Appraisal of Public Transportation in Ibadan", Unpublished HND Dissertation submitted to the Town Planning Department, The Polytechnic, Ibadan, 1981.

<sup>11</sup> A. Oladoja, "Urban Transportation in Rapidly Growing Cities: A Case Study of Ibadan", Unpublished Master of Urban and Regional Planning Dissertation submitted to the Department of Geography, University of Ibadan, 1983.

drop in the number of taxis to 1380 in 1985<sup>12</sup> and 1,196 in 1991.<sup>13</sup> For some inexplicable reasons, the adapted, large capacity *molue* buses also disappeared from their intra-urban routes, (that is, Dugbe–Apata and Bere-Oyo State Secretariat) in the early 1980s.<sup>14</sup> According to Salami,<sup>15</sup> the *molue* operators, who registered under the trade name of Town Service Transport and Trading Association, had a list of 30 buses on their register, with only 7 buses still in operation as of January 1991. However, the population of minibuses (*danfo* as they are popularly known) rose from 486 in 1976 to 3,215 in 1982. Without any statistics to actually prove it, the situation in most parts of Nigeria showed that no appreciable increase would have been recorded in the population of *danfo* or minibuses in Ibadan between the mid-1980s and late-1990s. These periods were characterized by deep crisis in Nigeria. Nevertheless, since the late 1990s, when Nigeria started witnessing cautious economic recovery, there are signs of steady recovery in the number of minibuses plying the roads in Ibadan. In addition, since 2010, Ibadan has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of minicabs (mainly Nissan Micra) providing public transport services. Officials of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) currently estimate the number of these minicabs to be between 2,800 to 3,000.

The economic recession and the subsequent introduction of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) in 1986 further affected the public transport market, not only in Ibadan, but throughout Nigeria. Not only did the unit prices of virtually all categories of vehicles and their spare parts rise astronomically, vehicle operating and maintenance costs became very prohibitive.<sup>16,17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Oloketuyi, 1998.

<sup>13</sup> O. Salami, "Problems and Prospects of Intra Urban Rail Services in Ibadan Metropolis", Unpublished Master of Urban and Regional Planning Dissertation submitted to the Center for Urban and Regional Planning, University of Ibadan, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Labiyi, 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Salami, 1994.

<sup>16</sup> World Bank, Nigeria Urban Transport in Crisis, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1991.

<sup>17</sup> A.O. Adesanya, "Financing Public Transport Services: The Experience of Nigeria", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis submitted to the Department of City and Regional Planning,

Consequently, private sector operators of taxi and minibus services, who dominated the Ibadan public transport market, were operating with low profit margins and could hardly maintain, let alone expand, their fleet, in order to meet the ever rising demand for public transport. In order to partly cushion the negative effect of the SAP on the mobility of the people, especially the urban poor, a nationwide urban mass transit programme was introduced in 1988. This programme culminated into the establishment of the Trans City Transport Company (TCTC) by the Oyo State government.

The TCTC formally came on stream on 9 July 1988, when it was launched, and started running its bus services on 11 July 1988 with some Mercedes Benz (0365) buses.<sup>18</sup> It needs to be acknowledged that, prior to the establishment of the TCTC, the Oyo State government had earlier entered into discussion with Renault Company of France in July 1987, with the intention of setting up a joint venture company and seeking assistance for the provision of buses and technical know-how.<sup>19</sup> At its inception, it was primarily providing intra city bus services, until the early 1990s, when most of the intra city routes were abandoned for the more lucrative interstate services (especially between Oyo State and Lagos State). The fortunes of the TCTC declined so precipitously in the mid-1990s up till the end of the last century, such that the daily vehicle availability was very low, and the operational buses were less than 30 per cent of the total fleet. In fact, the number of intra urban bus routes being plied by the TCTC in Ibadan, which had earlier increased from 15 in 1988 to 30 in 1990 had dropped to just 3 by April 1992.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, efforts were made to turn around the fortunes of TCTC. The bus company continued to operate during the successive civilian regimes, starting

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University of Wales College of Cardiff, 1994.

<sup>18</sup> L.B. Babalola, "Urban Mass Transit Provision: A Case Study of Trans City Transport Company", Unpublished M.Sc. Transportation Studies Dissertation submitted to the Department of Geography and Planning, Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye, 1994.

<sup>19</sup> L.F. Busari, "Urban Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria", Paper presented at the First Anniversary Workshop on Performance Appraisal of the National Urban Mass Transit Programme, Organized by the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER), Ibadan, Held at NISER Conference Road, August 14-16, 1989.

<sup>20</sup> A.O. Adesanya, 1994.



from 1999. It was given different names by the governments in power. It was called Oyo Line between 1999 and 2003, Iderade Transport Initiatives from 2003 to 2007 and Oyato Transport from 2007 to 2011. It was renamed the Pacesetter Transport Services in February 2013. Out of its initial 100 Daewoo buses, 79 were deployed as intra urban services in Ibadan (as Ajumose Shuttle). Ten of the buses were dedicated to transport civil servants at no cost.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Ibadan, like most towns and cities in Nigeria, witnessed a spontaneous and alarming growth in the use of motorcycles for public transport.<sup>21</sup> The situation now is such that commercial or public motorcycle (okada) operation has become an integral part of the public transport market in Ibadan. Initially, commercial motorcycle operations were largely confined to residential neighbourhoods in the fringe areas like Adegbayi, Odo Ona, Ashi, Odogbo, Oluyole estate, Apata and so on. However, over time, there is hardly any part of the city where this ubiquitous service is not provided. Due to the unavailability of data, it is difficult to estimate the number of commercial motorcycles currently operating in Ibadan. However, recent estimates by Oyo State Transporters Enumeration and Registration Scheme (OYSTERS) indicated that not less than 600,000 persons are engaged in okada operations in Oyo State in 2013. If about one-third of them, by rule of thumb, operate in Ibadan, it then means that not less than 200,000 commercial motorcyclists operate in the city. These are in addition to the rapidly rising number of tricycle operators (*keke*). Another interesting development in Ibadan since 1999 has been the increasing involvement of cooperative societies in the provision of minibus services.

### **Rail transport services**

Ibadan is located along the main line of the Nigerian Railway running from Lagos to Northern Nigeria. The rail line, on which construction began in 1898 from Lagos, reached Ibadan in 1901. This rail line, for a very long time, played a vital role in the evacuation of cocoa and other agricultural produce from Ibadan to the Apapa port. In fact, Ibadan became a major centre for the bulking and marketing of cocoa and other cash crops, as well as the coordination centre

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<sup>21</sup> A.O. Adesanya, "The Use of Motorcycles for Public Transport: The Situation in Ibadan", *NISER Monograph Series*. No. 6, NISER, Ibadan, 1998.

for other agricultural activities,<sup>22</sup> by virtue of its status as the capital of the Western Province, Western Region and, later, Western Nigeria in the 1940s through to the early 1970s. Being an important trading and commercial centre, traders from different parts of the country, served by the railways, made contact with Ibadan. In fact, there is a rail side line that connects the Bodija cattle market, whose importance, unfortunately, diminished with the declining fortunes of the Nigerian Railway. Since the mid-1990s, the relevance of the rail transport sector to the Nigerian economy in general and that of Ibadan in particular, has reduced considerably.

Rail-based commuter service is an important component of the Federal Urban Mass Transport Programme. In addition to Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Enugu and Port Harcourt, the rail mass transit programme started in the Ibadan metropolis on 29 January 1990, in order to provide the suburban rail commuter service between Omi Adio and Bodija station. The track length between Omi Adio and Bodija is 24 kilometres (on the 1067 mm narrow rail gauge). There are 7 railway stations on the route, with an average distance of about 4 kilometres between them. At its peak, 2 locomotives, 14 coaches and 2 guard vans were used for the rail mass transit service.

During the first month of operation of the rail mass transit in February 1990, only 39,200 passengers were moved, with an average ride of less than 130 passengers per day. In 1996, 349,466 passengers were carried and a revenue of ₦2,688,722 was generated<sup>23</sup>. This shows an average daily patronage of 957 passengers. Apart from the fact that poor patronage has been attributed to the existing rail alignment, which does not serve highly-populated districts and employment areas, as well as the poor location of newly-created stations for suburban services, the frequency of the rail mass transit service declined steadily until late 1998, when the skeletal services hitherto provided stopped completely.

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<sup>22</sup> R.K. Udo, "Ibadan in its Regional Setting", in M.O. Filani, F.O. Akintola and C.O. Ikporukpo, editors, *Ibadan Region* (Rex Charles and Connel Publications, Ibadan, 1994), p. 8-17.

<sup>23</sup> A.B. Olanloye, "Financing Intra urban Rail Mass Transit Services. A Case Study of Ibadan", Unpublished M.Sc. Transportation Studies Dissertation submitted to the Centre for Transport Studies, Ogun State University, Ago Iwoye, 1997.

However, with the revitalization of the railway services in Nigeria after 2012, patronage from railway stations within the Ibadan metropolis has steadily increased.

### **Air transport**

Ibadan is currently served by an airport, which is located at Alakia, along Ile Ife Road. The airport, which was commissioned in the early 1980s, replaced the disused aerodrome located along Oyo Road (before Sango). The underutilization of the new Ibadan airport clearly points to the low impact it has on passenger movement. In the past, only one or two airlines, including Platinum Global Travels, provided regular flights to and out of the Ibadan airport, while at the moment, Arik Air and Overland Airways are the key airlines flying in and out of the airport.

### **Problems of transportation**

Undoubtedly, many of the transport problems suffered in Ibadan are self-inflicted, while some are caused by forces, which relevant authorities have limited control over. As earlier noted, most parts of the inner core residential areas are inaccessible to motor vehicles, because these parts of the city were developed long before the advent of motor vehicles. It is usual for vehicle owners in the inner core residential areas to park their vehicles and trek a considerable distance of up to 500 metres or more to get to their residences. Besides, the available vehicles are parked indiscriminately on the narrow streets that characterize this area, especially at night. The irregular road pattern and narrow roads that predominate in the inner core and other poorly planned areas like Amunigun, Bode, Inalende, Onipepeye, Agbokojo, Agbowo, etc. also constitute a serious impediment to the free movement and deep penetration of fire engines, ambulances, rubbish or refuse trucks among other vehicles. It is rather ironic that many newly-developing residential areas of New Bodija, Ashi, Bashorun, Alakia, Apete, Elebu, Akobo, Gbekuba, etc., suffer from inadequate road network with poor road layout.

The recurring problem of pothole-riddled roads is worrisome. Usually, poor quality materials are often used in the sealing or patching of damaged sections of roads by both contractors (some who know little about road construction) and public sector road workers. Besides, many roads that traverse



Ibadan are poorly-designed; they lack or have inadequate shoulder, poor alignment and inadequate drainage facilities. The occasional flooding problem has also become a major threat to many roads and bridges. A case in point was the Orogun area, along Ojoo–Orita–U.I. Road (Oyo Road), where the hitherto flooding problem and its attendant impact on the road has caused untold hardship to motorists. The unending digging of roads, for the installation of water pipes, telephone cables and other utility lines, also adds to the rapid deterioration of many roads in Ibadan, especially in recent years when efforts were being made to improve the quality of life of the people.

Street trading, dumping of refuse and indiscriminate display of wares on the roads have often reduced road space/capacity and increased the risk of road accidents, in addition to causing traffic congestion. This problem is particularly serious around markets such as Sango, Bodija, Oje, Agbeni, Ojaba, Oke Ado, Orita Challenge, and so on. Unfortunately, street trading is going on unabated along many roads in Ibadan, in spite of the fact that it is a practice which is doing more harm than good.<sup>24</sup> In the central business district of Gbagi-Dugbe, intense commercial activities are carried out along streets like Lebanon, New Court Road, Salvation Army, among others. Consequently, vehicles like goods' vans, heavy trucks, cars, minibuses and motorcycles compete with cart pushers and pedestrians to use the available road space. Inadequate parking space coupled with unorganized street parking have compounded the problem of poor circulation often experienced during the peak hours of business, delivery of goods to the stores, and when offices and businesses close—despite the relocation of some trading activities to Aleshinloye and the new Gbagi market.

Most activity centres which attract high pedestrian population lack pedestrian walkways, protected footways, pedestrian bridges, zebra crossing and so on. The three pedestrian bridges provided at Bodija and Sango markets, as well as near Queens Cinema on Adekunle Fajuyi Road are hardly used, due perhaps to the poor conception of their utility by those that provided them rather than sheer disobedience on the part of pedestrians to use them. The pedestrian bridges in Sango and Bodija were demolished in 2013.

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<sup>24</sup> D. Adeagbo, "Physical and Socioeconomic Impact of Street Trading. Case Study of Ibadan", *NISER Monograph Series*, No. 10, NISER, Ibadan, 1997.

In addition, various communities have been severed, particularly along the high speed Lagos–Ibadan Expressway (from Ojoo to the Lagos end of the toll gate), thus putting at risk the lives of many people who dash across the road all the time. In this case, pedestrian bridges or underpasses are lacking and this situation has led to the loss of many lives on this road and others, like the Ring Road (now Ibrahim Babangida Way).

The demand for public transport in Ibadan, as in most major urban centres in Nigeria far outstrips the supply of public transport vehicles. Consequently, many commuters still experience some level of delay, particularly during the morning and evening peak periods of travel. The roadworthiness of many taxi cabs and minibuses is in doubt, given the extent of vehicle dilapidation. Many vehicles are overused, inadequately serviced and maintained, and are quickly withdrawn from the roads, as soon as vehicle inspection officers (VIOs) are on patrol. Poor driving behaviour is also a source of concern, in that it affects all categories of drivers, whether literate or illiterate, who drive carelessly and put the lives of other road users at risk.

The usefulness of bus stops, road signs and markings and streetlights at strategic junctions cannot be overemphasized. Apart from the fact that many roads do not have road signs and markings in Ibadan, poor quality paints are usually used for road markings which disappear quickly. Bus stops with shelters are seldom used, while traffic lights function erratically. Law enforcement agents, especially traffic wardens and VIOs, do not usually live up to expectation in enforcing rules and regulations.

The fact that federal, state and local government roads exist in Ibadan presupposes that relevant tiers of government would be responsible for repairing and maintaining their roads. Unfortunately, this seems not to be the case, particularly with federal roads in Ibadan. The Ojoo-UI-Sango-Mokola-Dugbe Road is a federal road which did not receive the desired attention until recently, when the Oyo State government decided to intervene by dualizing the road. Local governments, which are responsible for maintaining most of the intra-urban roads in Ibadan, lack the technical, financial and resource capability. Most of the construction equipment belonging to the local governments, such as graders, tar boilers, pail loaders, bulldozers, tippers, etc., have broken down. The problem, undoubtedly, has compounded their response capability for road

provision, repairs and maintenance. Even with the creation of OYSTROMA, more efforts are still required to repair and maintain existing roads.

### **Challenges**

The role of transport in the socioeconomic development of Ibadan or any other settlement cannot be overstated. Apparently, many of the identified transport problems continue to prevent effective and efficient circulation in Ibadan and contribute to huge man-hour losses. Over the last thirty years, many transportation and traffic studies have been carried out in order to mitigate the effects of different transport problems. For instance, the committee on the Ibadan traffic problems submitted a report in 1976, in which it recommended that roads into the core areas of the city should be constructed or expanded among other things. Also, Associated Engineering and Consultants were commissioned to do a study on transportation and traffic management in Ibadan, in order to find solutions to the prevailing transportation problems. Their report, which was submitted in 1980, specifically identified poor traffic management as a major problem in the city.

In spite of the aforementioned studies and the actions taken so far, various transport problems still persists. The need for all road users to work together in solving existing problems cannot be overemphasized. More importantly, there has to be a strong political will, transparency and a sustained education of all road users on traffic rules and regulations, in order to tackle road safety problems. Therefore, adequate funds should be made available and spent judiciously on relevant roadworks and related projects. A buoyant economy is certainly needed to support the current efforts of the private sector in particular, in meeting the public transport needs of commuters. Efforts should be improved in the gathering of relevant transport and traffic data for planning purposes. Planners should also not lose sight of maintaining reasonable traffic and highway design standards and ensure the control and coordination of land use planning and traffic/transportation planning. However, the need for commercial motorcycle operators to drive more safely and concentrate their services on secondary and residential routes is critical, in order to avoid a situation where they compete with high speed vehicles on arterial roads. For a metropolitan area like Ibadan, a well-articulated transport plan and programme



is vital as this will encourage the provision of road and rail-based mass transit services, as well as a safe and secure transport operating environment.

### **Conclusion**

The fact that the growth of Ibadan would continue, possibly more rapidly, in the future is not in doubt. This situation would imply more demand for transport facilities and services. For an efficient and effective transport sector, relevant and functional transport facilities and services must be available and supported by a dependable circulation system. The challenge of improving the transport situation in Ibadan therefore lies on all relevant stakeholders, who need to take decisive steps now and in the future.

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## Contemporary Hausa -Yoruba Relations in Ibadan

Isaac Olawale Albert

. . . Ibadan people bear no one any grudge as we are known to be traditionally hospitable, magnanimous and accommodating to non-indigenes. This will be seen from multifarious communities established by non-indigenes all over Ibadanland....The paramount interest of we indigenes of Ibadanland is to maintain peace and avoid religious, ethnic and tribal feuds in our ancestral birthplace. We bear no one any grudge.

[Ibadan] Sons of the Soil [15 October 1995:10]

### Introduction

The above quotation is a testimony to the fact that Ibadan people are hospitable to strangers. Since the pre-colonial period, Ibadan has always pursued an open door policy towards strangers. This is underscored by various ethnographic evidence on the town. A popular Yoruba adage, for example, says: *Ibadan 'gbole o gbole*. This, when translated, means that Ibadan has enough space for both the larcenist and the sluggard. What it takes to live in Ibadan, even for a non-African, is to just find a space for oneself. The stranger is subsequently left to his own (legal or illegal) devices thereafter. As long as he/she does not engage in any subversive activity, the Ibadan indigenes pretend that the stranger living in the neighborhood is a citizen. This partly explains the rapid and continuous growth of the city. It also explains the heterogenous nature of its population. Ibadan is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Africa. The heterogeneity of the city is readily testified to by the city's social and economic matrix, which is by all standards very enigmatic.

As noted in an earlier study,<sup>1</sup> the Hausa are the most tolerated and accommodated of all the ethnic migrants in the city of Ibadan. There are several reasons for this cordiality in the Hausa-Yoruba relationship. The Hausa constitute the oldest non-Yoruba settlers in Ibadan. They came to settle with Basorun Oluyole in Ibadan as far back as the early 1800s. Some of those living in Sabo today were born and bred in Ibadan. In fact, they have the constitutional rights to claim Ibadan citizenship. Approximately 50 per cent of Ibadan people are adherents of the Islamic faith. This religion is popular among the Hausa too. The average Ibadan Muslim therefore identifies with the Hausa easily as a brother, given the fact that Islam is not only a religion, but also a way of life. To this extent, the Hausa are well-integrated into the Ibadan social, economic and political systems. Up to 1993, when the countenance of the Yoruba generally changed against them, the Hausa in Ibadan lived every bit of their lives as if they were native to Ibadan. They are settled in a segregated settlement known as Sabo. In addition, they can be found at Sasa, Bodija and some other parts of the city. The Ibadan people literally treated the Hausa as one of them.

At the national level, the Hausa-Yoruba relations is also not bad. The two cooperate in many areas, most especially since the Nigerian Civil War, which the Igbo could have won had the Yoruba teamed up with them to fight the Hausa-Fulani who started the problem. The cordial Hausa-Yoruba relations at the national level helped to consolidate the good relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba in Ibadan. But recently, things have changed for the worse. The present relationship between the Hausa migrants and their hosts in Ibadan has been anything but cordial. Since 1993, there have been two major conflicts between the Hausa and the Yoruba in Ibadan. The most violent encounter between the two would have taken place in December 1999, when some people from the north attempted to launch the Arewa People's Congress in Ibadan. This was averted. The Hausa-Yoruba relations, since then, has been characterized by mutual suspicion.

This paper examines the causes and effects of this contemporary Hausa-Yoruba hostility. What really went wrong? Why this sudden crisis of confidence between the Hausa and Yoruba who were once the best of friends? Why are we not

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<sup>1</sup> I.O. Albert, "The Growth of an Urban Migrant Community. The Hausa Settlements in Ibadan, C.1830-1879", *Ife: Annals of the Institute of Cultural Studies* 1993; 4: 1-15.



having similar suspicion or open conflict between the Yoruba and other ethnic groups in Ibadan? The Hausa need the Ibadan environment not only to conduct their businesses, but also as a safe place of abode. The people of Ibadan are also dependent on the Hausa people for the supply of beef and grains. In addition, the two have the obligation under the Nigerian federal system of government to co-habit peacefully. How then do we promote peaceful relations between them? These are the major questions to be addressed in this chapter on Hausa-Yoruba relations in Ibadan. We can however not answer the last two questions without equally attempting to answer another question. The question is: what were the factors responsible for the peaceful co-existence of the Hausa and Yoruba in Ibadan before 1993? This question becomes necessary, given the fact that peace is a fulcrum of urban and national development. What more? Ibadan is popularly taken to be the political headquarters of the Yoruba people. The Ibadan situation could have far-reaching national implications. The worsening relationship between the Hausa and the Yoruba in Ibadan, of course, mirrors the general national trend. If we can develop a framework for dealing with the Ibadan situation, we might as well be closer to improving Hausa-Yoruba relations at the national level. We can therefore not but gloss over some contemporary national episodes in explaining the local situation in Ibadan.

### **Hausa-Yoruba relations before the contemporary period**

What constitutes the 'contemporary period' in this work? This is an important question that must be answered before moving forward. Even in the field of contemporary history, which is becoming increasingly fashionable in the developed world and Africa, but little recognized in Nigeria, scholars still ask the question: what constitutes 'contemporary'? We feel more comfortable in this chapter equating or substituting the word 'contemporary' with 'recent'. But how recent is recent? We can only define a recent or contemporary period in relations to some other past events. The recent event must be something radically different from what characterized the past situation. We have established the point earlier that, the present Hausa-Yoruba conflict is something new: it contradicts the past cordial situation. For this reason, our contemporary period is taken to be the last decade in the 20th century (i.e., the period between the 1990s and the present). The significant event from which this date is drawn is the 12 June 1993 election which was annulled by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. This led to several problems and generally worsened ethnic relations in Nigeria at the local and

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national levels.

The Hausa came to settle in Ibadan during the early 1800s. They first came into the town as cattle and beef traders, under the leadership of Muhammadu Na Garke, who was the *Sarkin Pawa* (head of the butchers), and Abdullahi Makama, the *Sarkin Zango* (head of the cattle transit camp).<sup>2</sup> At this initial stage, they were settled at Oja'ba as the guests of Basorun Oluyole. With time, the population of the Hausa in Ibadan increased dramatically and the Sabongari (Sabo) settlement was established for them, around Mokola area in 1916. The land on which Sabo is built was donated to the Hausa community by Bale Irefin (1912-1914). Sabo soon became overpopulated and some of the Hausa people moved to Mokola. Due to some problems, the Hausa community soon spread to Bodija and Sasa. From the 1800s to the early 1990s, there was no major friction between the Hausa and the Ibadan people. There were some squabbles between the migrants over chieftaincy titles in the 1940s, and between a faction of the Hausa-Fulani cattle traders in Bodija and the other livestock traders in 1986. The traditional leadership of Ibadan quickly intervened and the disputes were amicably resolved. As far as the Ibadan people are concerned, the Hausa were good "guests" until 1993. They conducted themselves in manners acceptable to their host and the two communities co-existed peacefully.

### **Causes and nature of contemporary antipathy**

The present antipathy was created by the annulment of the June 12 election. The Yoruba saw this as a grand design of the northerners to prevent other Nigerians from ruling Nigeria. The hue and cry from Yorubaland, which followed the annulment, forced General Ibrahim Babangida to leave office in 1993. He was succeeded by General Sani Abacha, who immediately launched a devastating attack on the Yoruba. Many Yoruba leaders were killed. Alhaja Kudirat Abiola was brutally murdered by agents of the Abacha regime. Other Yoruba leaders were either imprisoned or forced into exile. Chief Abiola, who was arrested in 1994 for declaring himself the elected president of Nigeria, was held in detention, where he later died. All these systematically ignited the anger of the Yoruba against the Hausa.

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<sup>2</sup> I.O. Albert, "Hausa Political System in the Diaspora: The Sarkin Hausawa Institution in Ibadan, 1914-1993", *African Notes* 1997, 21 (1 and 2): 43-64.



The local situation in Ibadan was compounded by the power and influence that the Hausa were perceived to have arrogated to themselves during the Abacha regime. Constantly referred to by most of my interviewees was the power that Sarkin Sasa, Alhaji Haruna Mai Yasin Katsina, arrogated to himself during the period under review in Ibadan. He personified the regime of General Abacha in Ibadan and is remembered to have defied local authorities in Ibadan in all forms — threatening each time to drag his adversaries before the late head of state. His Hausa subjects and loyalists living around Bodija, Ojoo and Sasa were also believed to have committed different kinds of atrocities against the Yoruba in Alhaji Katsina's name.

The popular opinion about the exploits of the Sarkin Sasa is partly alluded to by an advertorial in the Sunday Tribune of 15 October 1995 by some Ibadan indigenes, who for security reasons, simply described themselves as "Sons of the Soil". In the letter which was addressed to the military administrator of Oyo State, Colonel Ike Nwosu, the petitioners complained bitterly about how Sarkin Sasa was threatening the security of Ibadan under the guise of being either the spiritual guardian or brother-in-law to General Sani Abacha. The petitioners noted:

The perpetual claim of Mai Yasin as the spiritual guardian and in-law of the head of state, General Sani Abacha, is in bad faith, which frightens the people and threatens the peace of Nigeria, especially Ibadan and its environs. Alhaji Haruna has constituted himself into a tin god by his utterances and conduct. With his actions, he has been rivaling the traditional position of the Olubadan of Ibadanland. We regard this as an affront to the Royal Stool of His Highness. The Shasha Quarters is a small community under a recognized traditional Baale of Ibadanland, who is a traditional chieftain of the Olubadanland. The Seriki Shasha [Sarkin Sasa] is a subject under the traditional Baale of Shasha community, and is at the same time a chieftain under Sariki Hausawa of Ibadanland. His (Mai Yasin's) personal arrogance is [even manifested in his lifestyle, for example. He also uses pilot vehicles with in-built siren systems. What is more, he moves about Ibadan City and environs with lorry loads of armed police escorts who have constituted themselves into terror and public nuisance. He thus bestride the whole of Ibadan city a colossus.

The petitioners called on the military administrator of Oyo State to call the Sarkin Sasa to order to avoid religious, ethnic or tribal feud in Ibadan. Nobody could,

however, call him to order. Everybody was afraid of him. The petitioners were themselves afraid of the tragedy that could befall them if they had come out to state their true identity.

The warning issued by these Ibadan sons was, however, not heeded by the Sarkin Sasa. Throughout the Abacha regime, he distinguished himself as a colossus and, in the process, aroused the bitterness of the Ibadan people, most especially against the generality of the Hausa settlers. The Ibadan people still remember with great bitterness the decision of the Sarkin Sasa to have the emblem 'Seriki' on his car. The Seriki title is said to be very important in the history of Ibadan. Anybody bearing the title has the right to become an Olubadan. That a Hausa settler could arrogate such a title to himself is still baffling to several Ibadan sons and daughters. Such a development is considered to be impossible in any Hausa community. To make themselves clear, my informants differentiated between the Seriki and Sarki titles. The latter according to them in the Hausa cultural world means a king. A Hausa person using the title could be said to be the head of the Hausa community. If anybody has the right to exclusively arrogate the use of the Sarki title to himself (for example, having it as his number plate), my informants argued that the person should be the Sarkin Sabo, who is recognized as the head of the Hausa community in Ibadan. The Seriki title on Mai Yasin's car was therefore interpreted as a deliberate attempt by an Hausa/Fulani man to denigrate and abuse the Ibadan chieftaincy system which is held in high esteem. Further, whenever Sarkin Sasa was passing on Ibadan streets, his security aides close the road and horse whip those who tried to join his convoy. The Ibadan people therefore started to wonder and still wonder why the Hausa would want to do to their hosts what they would not tolerate in their homeland. What gave the Sarkin Sasa the right to the privileges he was enjoying in Ibadan? The Ibadan people could only grumble. It was really difficult for them to call the Sarkin Sasa to order throughout the Abacha regime. It was feared that calling him to order could lead to disastrous consequences. The best the Ibadan people could therefore do under the state sanctified terrorism that characterized the Abacha administration was to await when Nigeria would become a constitutional state.

Apart from the Ibadan people, the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan, Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru, also had his own problems with the Sarkin Sasa. The problem between the two Hausa leaders started on 13 January 1996, after the annual general meeting of the Council of Arewa Chiefs, Southern States of Nigeria, during which forty-five *Sarakuna Hausawa* (Hausa leaders) from 12 out of the 14 southern Nigerian states

jointly appointed Alhaji Mai Yasin as the *Sardauna Yamma* and chairman of the council. By this appointment, the Sarkin Sasa was popularly accredited as the leader of the other Hausa migrant community leaders. This logically meant that the Sarkin Sasa would be more influential than the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan, whose prerogative it was to appoint a Sarkin Sasa. This led to a leadership tussle between the two. Moves were made by some supporters of the Sarkin Sasa at Sabo, led by Alhaji Gambo Minjiyawa, to impeach Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru from office. The situation became so threatening to the security of Ibadanland that armed mobile policemen had to be deployed to important locations at Sabo, most especially around the palace of the Sarkin Hausawa, as well as the Central Mosque. The military administrator, Colonel Ike Nwosu and the commissioner of police, Mr. Dauda Gololo, had to wade into the matter.<sup>3</sup> The conflict abated for about two weeks. After this period, the supporters of the Sarkin Sasa called a press conference during which the activities of Alhaji Zungeru, especially his attempts to refer to himself as Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadanland, was interpreted as a "clear case of disregard for constituted authority." When the supporters of Zungeru tried to call a similar press conference, they were arrested by officials of the State Security Service (SSS). Throughout the conflict, the Olubadan of Ibadan, the Oba Emmanuel Adegboye Adeyemo, never committed himself to supporting either of the factions. Neither did he say anything about the special privileges and rights which the Sarkin Sasa arrogated to himself in Ibadan.

The leadership tussle peaked on 4 March 1996, when Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru announced the removal of the Sarkin Sasa from office. The letter in which this message was communicated, was signed by the secretary to the Sarkin Hausawa of Sabo and it reads:

I am directed to inform you that with effect from today, Monday, 4 March 1996, your appointment as the Ward Head of Sasa village, which you assumed under the seal of my office is revoked with immediate effect.

I am further directed by the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadanland, Alhaji Ahmed Dahiru Zungeru that with effect from today, you should stop parading yourself as a chief of any description within the Hausa community of Ibadanland.

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<sup>3</sup> M. Sangobanjo, "Fire in the House of Arewa", *Tribune*. February 1996.



Further, as you are aware that all chieftaincy matters, matters of customs and tradition are vested in the sole prescribed authority of Ibadanland, the Olubadan of Ibadanland, and it was his traditional council, who installed the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadanland as the Supreme Head of Hausa community of Ibadanland, any violation of this letter of revocation of your appointment will be witnessed with severe consequences.

You should also take note that any of those things which have been accruing to you illegally in various forms should stop henceforth.

Zungeru, however, lacked the reference power for enforcing his decision on the Sarkin Sasa. The leadership tussle therefore continued. At a time, Alhaji Mai Yasin Katsina claimed to have found a bomb in his compound. Police operatives from Zone two at Onikan, Lagos, came to Ibadan for this reason and whisked away the Sarkin Hausawa, and the *Marafan Sabo*, Alhaji Audu Lawal, on 14 March 1996. Efforts to arrest Alhaji Zungeru's secretary proved abortive. The arrest of Zungeru and Lawal generated tension at Sabo and some supporters of the Sarkin Sasa living in Ibadan were violently attacked by some irate youths.

As the conflict between the Sarkin Hausawa and Sarkin Sasa on the one hand, and the conflict between the Sarkin Sasa and the Ibadan people on the other lasted, the Hausa migrants in Ibadan, who saw in Sarkin Sasa a saviour and great help in times of trouble, took their case against the Ibadan people to Alhaji Mai Yasin Katsina. On each occasion, the Sarkin Sasa stood up in defence of the interests of his people. The attendant effect of all these was that the Ibadan people developed hatred for the Hausa migrants. The Hausa traders in Bodija and their colleagues at Ojoo were said to be culpable. They took every little problem to the Sarkin Sasa, who most times took such cases directly to either the military administrator or the state commissioner of police. Most of the problems at Ojoo were caused by truck and trailer drivers who usually blocked the Lagos-Ibadan expressway with their vehicles. This led to many preventable accidents and loss of life at the Ojoo end of the expressway. Everybody, including officials of the Federal Road Safety Corps, that tried to caution the drivers were promptly reported to the Sarkin Sasa, who in turn took the case of the erring officer directly to the military administrator or the commissioner of police. These drivers at Ojoo, therefore, constituted themselves into a big nuisance to everybody in Ibadan. As the influence of the Sarkin Sasa increased, that of the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan weakened. This had a negative effect on Yoruba-Hausa relations. The two factions gave rise to a number splinter

groups (the pro Sarkin Hausawa and the pro Sarkin Sasa) whose activities aimed at sabotaging the activities of the other. Those who had anything to do with the Hausa in Ibadan were therefore directed to any of the splinter groups into which the people had divided themselves. For example, there is a pan-Hausa movement in the city known as Arewa Community (AC). This group which claims to be the official mouth piece of the Hausa people in Ibadan was led by Alhaji Haruna Inalende. The Arewa Community has a strong presence at both Bodija and Sabo, and runs its affairs as if it does not recognize any other Hausa authority in Ibadan. There is another Hausa group known as *Kungiyar Mutanen Arewa*, which in English literally means as Association of Northern Nigerian (Arewa) Citizens. This is believed to have been the original pan-Hausa movement in Ibadan. It split into two factions as a result of leadership tussle, and therefore forcefully gave birth to AC. *Kungiyar Mutanen Arewa* is led by Alhaji Ali Sarkin Pawa. These two organizations are different from another body known as the Bodija Traders Association (BTA), which prides itself as being in the best position to deal with the economic interests of the Hausa people in Ibadan. Each of these associations was in support of either Ahmadu Zungeru, the Sarkin Sabo or Alhaji Mai Yasin Katsina, the Sarkin Sasa. Conflicts involving any of the groups and the Ibadan people became more difficult to resolve.

At that time, the development had a weakening effect on the Hausa-Yoruba relations, as it was now difficult to identify a particular channel through which the Yoruba could forge a permanent working relationship with the Hausa. The Yoruba had many things to say about the Hausa, given the strains created by the Abacha regime. The situation led the Yoruba to see the Hausa as betrayers. Should there had been any open hostility between the Yoruba and Hausa at that time, the Hausa would definitely not have been able to confront their host. It has been established in the literature that infighting within a migrant population often weakens their resolve to contend with a hostile host population as a body:

The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside, lest internal discord should weaken the we-group for war. These exigencies also make government and law in the in-group, in order to prevent quarrels and enforce discipline. Thus war and peace have reacted on each other and developed each other, one within the group, the other in the intergroup relation. The closer the neighbours, and the stronger they are, the intenser is the warfare, and then the

intenser is the internal organization and discipline of each. Sentiments are produced to correspond. Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without—all grow together, common products of the same situation. It is sanctified by connection with religion.<sup>4</sup>

Against the popular opinion in northern Nigeria that the Yoruba in Ibadan, Sagamu or Lagos just pounced on the Hausa people and assaulted them, conflicts between the Yoruba and the Hausa that have taken place since the June 12 crisis are better explained and understood in the context of the popular primary and secondary school phraseology of 'two fighting'. An incident, sufficient to arouse inter-personal conflict between the Hausa and the Yoruba occurred, the simple disagreement escalated into violence, and the Hausa and the Yoruba supported their own kinsmen. Within a short time, such an encounter assumed the character of an inter-ethnic violence. After the June 12 crisis, there have been two major incidents between the Hausa and the Yoruba in Ibadan. The Bodija encounter of 25 June 1999 between the Hausa and the Yoruba traders started after a Hausa man stabbed a Yoruba man to death. The violence did not start immediately the Yoruba man was stabbed, but on the following day, when they found the Hausa man strolling round the Bodija market after the man he stabbed the previous day had been reported dead.

Makinde and Falade<sup>5</sup> have provided us with another perspective for interpreting the Hausa-Yoruba violence at Bodija in 1999. They argued that the conflicts did not have any religious or ethnic undertone as popularly believed. They blamed the entire situation on the stressful conditions under which the traders at Bodija conducted their economic activities. The market was established in 1970 when Brigadier-General Oluwole Rotimi (Rtd) was the military governor of the defunct Western State of Nigeria. It was established to cater for the settlers at Bodija and officials of the University of Ibadan. The Hausa livestock traders who were formerly at Oyo road, later joined the Bodija market. The activities of the livestock traders further stressed the physical environment of the market. The livestock traders and the other traders had to compete for the use of the limited

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<sup>4</sup> M.B. Brewer and D.T. Campbell. *Ethnocentrism and Intergroup Attitudes: East African Evidence* (New York: Halsted Press Division, John Wiley and Sons, 1976).

<sup>5</sup> B. Makinde and K. Falade, "Beyond Bodija Bloodshed", *Sunday Tribune*, July 4, 1999.



space in the market. The management of the market later came under the control of the Ibadan North Local Government, which by all evidence was more interested in collecting rents and market rates from the traders than seeing to the well-being of the traders. The roads in the market were bad and littered by cow dung. The traders also faced problems of water supply and didn't have security light. In the midst of the hustle and bustle of the marketplace, it was common to find people shoving one another. It logically follows that anybody operating in such an environment must be very tolerant. A popular Yoruba adage apt for a situation like this says: "A person who does not want his body touched by water has to stay away from a well." What therefore started the 25 June 1999 violence was not an unusual situation in the market place. A Yoruba man shoved a goat belonging to a Hausaman. A shouting match started between the two and the Hausa man stabbed the Yoruba man.

Citing the stressful environment as a possible cause of the Bodija market conflict, Makinde and Falade were told by one Tunde Olaniyan:

... the war could have been avoided, if the roads are wide enough and motorable thereby allowing the late Waidi to walk freely without interfering with the free movement of the goats of the Hausaman who stabbed him to death.

But another informant noted:

If the Hausaman who started the whole trouble of that day was not unnecessarily armed, the argument between him and the other would at worst have resulted in physical battle only which would have been easier to settle.

Commenting further on the tradition of the Hausa carrying weapons on them in the market place, another trader, Alhaji (Chief) S.A. Jimoh, was quoted during the interviews conducted at the market by the *Sunday Tribunes* to have said:

There are many associations in this market, but the Cow sellers Association is always very violent because of the dangerous weapons they move about with. How on earth can people be moving around unchallenged with dangerous weapons such as daggers, bows and arrows in a country of civilized people?... If other nationalities except the Hausa move about with such dangerous weapons as cutlasses and guns too, what rationale has the law enforcement agents to arrest

them and charge them for armed robbery simply because they were in possession of such dangerous weapons too.

Another trader, Alhaji Razak Ayinde, who suffered severe losses during the Bodija market violence opined that:

The Hausa value the lives of their cows and goats more than that of human beings. They stab human beings anyhow and after the riot of that day, they destroyed all our industrial machines, deflated and tore the tyres of our customers' vehicles and shattered the windscreens of their vehicles.

However, Alhaji Audu Ali Bukar, chairman of Bodija Traders Association (BTA) saw the entire situation from a different perspective. According to him:

The genesis of the problem is rooted in tribalism. The Yoruba leaders since the events of June 12, have not forgiven the Hausa-Fulani. They attack us at any given opportunity. We want the state and the federal government, particularly President Obasanjo, who is a friend of the North, to please relocate us to Oyo road. This place (Bodija market), can be used as abattoir alone, while the Hausa cattle rearers keep their cows in Oyo road. The Hausa/Fulani community lost 15 shops, 43 cows and a few souls [sic] to the disturbance. The Yoruba leaders promised to protect us. If the Yoruba in Ibadan cannot guarantee our safety again as we guaranteed theirs in the north, we will pack to more peaceful states like Ondo, Ogun and Osun, where there is no tribalism.

The Ojoo incident of 5 January 2000 can similarly be explained from the 'two fighting' scenario, rather than from the absolute ethnic perspective. The encounter was not in any way premeditated. It was caused by a trailer driver who parked his trailer on the expressway. The trailer lost control and ran into a busy motor park. In the process, it crushed seven passengers on board of a Lagos bound commuter bus to death. The violence started when some irate on-lookers, who could have included other people apart from the Yoruba alone, set the trailer ablaze. The Hausa responded by setting the shops within the vicinity ablaze. A free-for-all fight thus started.

Those affected by the Ojoo incident were mainly subsistence traders and petty businessmen. Property lost in the civil disorder included over 180 shops, 20 vehicles (most especially trailers and buses). Six houses were razed and six others looted. In monetary terms, the losses were put at ₦50 million. When the victims

took their case to the deputy governor of Oyo State, Mr. Iyiola Oladokun, on 11 January 2000, they asked for compensation and the removal of the trailers from the expressway. They also called for the deportation of the illegal members of the Hausa community at Ojoo. These illegal members were said to be from Mali, Senegal and The Gambia. They earned their living from illegal mining of Nigerian precious stones from Igbeji and Otu villages in Itesiwaju Local Government area of Oyo State.<sup>6</sup> They could speak Hausa and they also dressed like the Hausa. Therefore, they easily claimed Hausa identity. There were also many non-Nigerian prostitutes, from some neighbouring West African states, who also claimed Hausa identity at Ojoo. These foreigners helped the Hausa people during the Ojoo conflict.

There was tension once again in Ibadan when some national dailies reported on 15 December 1999 that some Northern Nigerians had formed a parallel organization to the OPC. The new organization, Arewa People's Congress (APC), was reportedly formed as a counter-force to the OPC. One of the reasons cited for the formation of the APC was the attack on the Hausa in Ibadan. Members of the OPC in Ibadan became agitated when it was rumoured that the APC was to be launched in the city of Ibadan. On 24 December 1999, OPC in Ibadan alerted Governor Lamidi Adesina about the impending launch of the APC. On the same day, the Sarkin Sasa, Alhaji Mai Yasin Katsina, who had been away from Ibadan for some months staged a comeback into the city. This heightened the tension in the city. The Sarkin Sasa could not be trusted by the other Hausa settlers in Ibadan. It was feared that the man could have collected some money from the financiers of the APC to foment trouble.<sup>7</sup> When they saw this, the OPC members decided that it was better to take the war to the doorstep of their adversaries before APC became a reality. In a press interview, Chief Ambali Salami, the coordinator of the OPC argued that there was nothing bad about the northerners having their own APC. The OPC, which he represented, was however opposed to the launch of APC in Ibadan because an earlier attempt to launch the OPC in Kano was denied by the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero.<sup>8</sup> As Chief Ambali Salami noted in the press interview:

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<sup>6</sup> T. Oladipo, "Mercenaries in Ibadan", *The News*, 31 January 2000.

<sup>7</sup> H. Ugbolue, "Balance of Terror", *The News*, 10 January 2000.

<sup>8</sup> A. Salami, "We are Battle Ready", Interview granted to *The News*, 10 January 2000.



If Ado Bayero could do that (i.e. prevent the OPC from being launched in Kano), it means he is saying that Yoruba should do their activities in their land and should not extend it to Hausaland. So, OPC also stood against the launch of APC here because we believe it is a slap on the face of the Yoruba. We have now resolved that the Hausa should stay in Kano and Sokoto. If they dare form the group in any part of Yorubaland, they are in soup. They know that if anything is going to succeed, such a thing must start from Ibadan being the political headquarters of the Yoruba nation. And we will not allow them to do the launch, we are battle ready for them anytime they think of forming the group, either in daylight or in the night.

The leader of the OPC was also opposed to the proposed launch of APC in Ibadan.

It is an insult, Ibadan is the political headquarters of Yorubaland. We did not launch OPC in Kano or Kaduna. The Igbo did not launch IPC in Yorubaland. Why then are they trying to launch APC in Ibadan? The Yoruba would not fold their hands and allow such a thing. When we tried to launch OPC in Kano, the Emir refused. So we cannot allow them to launch APC in Yorubaland. OPC is to Yorubaland, IPC is confined to Igboland, so APC should be confined to the north (Dr. Frederick Faseun 2000:20).

In line with their earlier threat, the OPC boys stormed the streets of Ibadan on 27 December 1999 in the thousands. They were armed with all their traditional war arsenals: traditional vests and white handkerchiefs, which are believed to have the power for warding off flying bullets. Some of them were with Dane guns, machetes and charms. To the uninitiated, the entire scenario was frightening. The OPC boys divided themselves into two groups. The first took charge of the Ibadan-Ilorin end of the city. This 'battalion' was to check the APC members that might want to enter Ibadan from the north. The second contingent manned the Ibadan-Lagos end of the toll gate. Their own responsibility was to forestall any attack (chiefly organized by the police) from Lagos. The OPC boys dared members of the APC and their collaborators (obviously referring to the Hausa settlers in the city) to come out for a test of strength. The Hausa settlers in Ibadan stayed indoors. Even the anti-riot police stationed round Ibadan to maintain law and order kept a safe distance from the OPC boys. Meanwhile, the Sarkin Hausawa announced repeatedly on the radio and television that there was no attempt by the APC to launch attack on anybody

in Ibadan. By the evening, the tension in the city had reduced as the OPC boys returned to their respective homes having satisfied themselves that they had done enough to protect their city from 'foreign invasion'. The Hausa-Yoruba economic interactions resumed the following day. But since then, the Hausa have not really been sleeping with their two eyes closed. The Hausa are constantly in fear of a possible Yoruba attack. The Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan, Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru noted in a press interview that if things do not change for the better, the Hausa might be forced to leave the city of Ibadan:

Let me state categorically that I, and the overall superiors and members of the Hausa community in Ibadan and Oyo state are not aware of the existence of the Arewa People's Congress (APC) or the alleged launch of the APC here in Ibadan or any part of Oyo State. If we were aware of it, we would have applied to the appropriate authority to seek approval for the launch, but we are ignorant of it. We were not invited even when the APC was launched in our home state. We are not part of its membership. So why should OPC want to attack the innocent and law-abiding members of the Hausa community whenever there was any allegation of such? This surprised me and my members. We are not APC members.<sup>9</sup>

The tension created since the June 12 crisis between the Hausa and Yoruba in Ibadan actually brought out the leadership qualities in Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru as the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan. Each time there was a problem, he contacted all relevant personalities in the state and was well known for making carefully constructed and calculated statements. An intemperate, arrogant or less educated leader would have got the Hausa community into more problems under the present dispensation. There is a lot for other migrant leaders to learn from Zungeru's example in Ibadan. Other leaders of the Hausa community in the city, especially those involved in the cattle trade, paid several courtesy calls on the then governor of Oyo State, Chief Lamidi Adesina, to solicit his support and help in order to resolve the burgeoning problem between the Hausa and Yoruba in the city of Ibadan. The emphasis of these Hausa leaders was on the peaceful coexistence of the Yoruba and the Hausa people in Ibadan. This probably explains the improvement observed in the Hausa-Yoruba relations in Ibadan. Beyond the local situation, it is also reasonable to argue that the Hausa-Yoruba relations in Ibadan

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<sup>9</sup> A. Zungeru, "We are not Involved", *The News*, 10 January 2000.

would dramatically improve if those who created and are still creating tension between the two peoples at the national level could hold their peace. More national crises will worsen the local situation.

### **Efforts at building peace**

The year 2000 witnessed a lot of activities aimed at promoting better working relations between the Hausa and the Yoruba in Ibadan. In an attempt to find a lasting solution to the problem, the Oyo State government decided to take the bull by the horns. Following the Bodija and Ojoo incidents, the government decided to relocate the cattle traders at Bodija and the trailer drivers that used to park at the Ojoo end of the Ibadan-Lagos Expressway to somewhere within the vicinity of Akinyele village along the Ibadan-Oyo Road. Many hectares of land were cleared to serve as the new cattle market and trailer transit camp. Meanwhile, some preventive actions are being taken. The Oyo State government is in constant dialogue with the officials of the traders and ethnic associations in Bodija. The most prominent of these groups include Bodija Traders Association (BTA) and Arewa Community (AC).

The number of trailers parked by the Hausa at the Ojoo end of the expressway has drastically reduced since the Ojoo crisis. The Hausa drivers now park their vehicles away from the trouble-spots. They fear another attack should their trailers be found parked at the old spots where they constitute a great danger to human lives and property. The government has also planted a “No Parking” sign at the expressway to serve as a constant reminder to those who might be new in the town. The signpost is written in Hausa, Yoruba and English. The Hausa version reads: *Ba Tsayawa Anan Gangara* (meaning no parking on this hill).

Some international organizations have also been helping to build peace between the Hausa and Yoruba people in Ibadan. In March, 2000, the Office of Transition Initiative (OTI)/United States Agency for International Development (USAID) invited several Hausa and Yoruba people from Ibadan to its programme—“Train-the-Trainers” in Conflict Management held at the Airport Hotel, Ikeja, Lagos. The training programme afforded the two sides to be trained on how to resolve their differences using “facilitative mediation”. With a generous funding from the United States Institute for Peace (USIP), a conflict management training programme was organized for another batch of Hausa and Yoruba men and women in Ibadan between April 20 and 21, 2000. The training was aimed at preparing the two sides for peace work in Sabo, Ojoo, Shasa and Bodija. The programme was facilitated by



a local non-governmental organization in Ibadan known as Women for Democracy and Leadership, led by Mrs. Ayoka Lawani. At the end of the two day workshop, the trainees were constituted into three peace monitoring committees with a view to promoting peaceful co-existence in the four communities represented at the training programme.

### **Conclusion and recommendations**

This paper has been able to show that the Hausa-Yoruba hostility in Ibadan started when the Hausa migrants began to engage in activities inimical to the interests of their hosts. Preventing future violent occurrences is therefore simple. Hausa leaders in Ibadan need to exploit the 'connections' of their kinsmen to improve Ibadan from which they earn their living. The contribution that some of them made to the success of Abacha's terrorist machines in Ibadan between 1993 and 1998 is unbecoming of a stranger population desirous to be treated with amity. The 1999 situation is similar to the one that took place in the same market in 1992, during which a middle-aged Yoruba man, Isiaka, was disembowelled with a knife by an itinerant Hausa commission agent. The people of Bodija market seem to have resolved not to have any Hausaman stab any person in their presence any more. The 1999 situation suggests that any future attempt by the Hausa cattle dealers to stab any Yorubaman would be met with reprisal action. As it was proverbially said at the beginning of this chapter, a man does not break his neck within the confines of his home. The Yoruba cannot go to Kano, Katsina or Sokoto and be threatening the lives of their hosts. The Hausa leaders in the market therefore have the responsibility of calling their people to order. Nigeria is a constitutional state. The cattle traders have to reserve their knives for slaughtering goats and cows and not human beings. The trailer drivers from the north who constitute themselves into a constant threat to lives and property at Ojoo also need to obey the laws of the land by removing their vehicles from the expressway and parking them at the parking lot built for them at Ojoo. It is obvious and predictable that these drivers will be attacked once again if they cause any further havoc at Ojoo.

The young Yoruba in Ibadan who employ a sledge hammer for killing ants in their relationship with the Hausa people also need to be cautioned. Two wrongs do not make a right. Barring the argument of the revolutionaries that political violence is necessary for changing a political process manned by an oppressive class, counter-violence is hardly known to be effective in solving problems created by a violent eventuality; it rather prolongs the life span of the conflict. When a man is

killed in retaliation for another who is earlier killed, the second death does not at the end of the day solve any problem. The situation has rather been further compounded as the second death can serve as an excuse for the third, the fourth and so on. There were instances of cordiality in the Hausa-Yoruba relationship in Ibadan before the June 12 crisis. The Yoruba seemed then to have preferred non-violent approaches to brokering peace with the Hausa people. All these past channels of non-violent conflict resolution have to be resuscitated. Better respect for constituted authorities in Ibadan will certainly make a difference. The Yoruba need the Hausa settlers in Ibadan just as the latter too need the Yoruba. Many Ibadan indigenes earn their living from livestock and soup ingredient trade, which the Hausa facilitate. Many Hausa people are married to the Yoruba and are therefore part of the Ibadan socio-economic systems. If the Yoruba in Ibadan could find ways of dealing successfully with the internal conflicts among themselves, they also need to work out non-violent strategies for promoting peace with the Hausa settlers.

The Hausa would however succeed in forging a better relationship with the Yoruba, if they could resolve the leadership crisis among them. With a more respected Sarkin Hausawa, the Hausa should be in a better position to present a more unified front at resolving their differences with the Yoruba people of Ibadan.

There is obviously a national perspective to the task of preventing future Hausa-Yoruba conflicts in Ibadan. As we have insinuated in the earlier part of this chapter, the bulk of the problems that the Hausa now face in Ibadan is an attendant effect of what the northerners did to the Yoruba during the Abacha regime. It logically follows, therefore, that the Hausa-Yoruba relationship in Ibadan will improve only if the situation becomes better at the national level. The present hue and cry about 'northern marginalization' and obvious efforts to sabotage the then Obasanjo regime through the introduction of the Sharia legal system does not show in any way that the Hausa-Fulani have repented from their past activities. This kind of political gerrymandering has been foisted on Nigerians for too long and can no longer be accepted in the post-Abacha years. Nigerians are wiser now. Hunger, misery and state terrorism have taught them many bitter lessons. This explains why many young people in different parts of Nigeria now see violence as a means to free themselves. As the Yoruba say, when one's hand refuses to swing as normally expected, the next logical thing is to fold it on one's head. Nigeria of today is different from Nigeria of the yesteryears. Nigerians are therefore more prepared to violently take their future in their hands, whether at the local or national level.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### The Igbo in Ibadan: Migration, Integration and Challenges

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Ezebunwa E. Nwokocha

#### Introduction

The Igbo of southeastern Nigeria is the most migratory group in the country and can be found in all parts of the world. Although it is difficult to trace the origin of Igbo migration, the end of the Nigerian Civil War marked a new era in the massive Igbo-movement out of their homeland. Factors such as high fertility and corresponding population density, limited physical space, pervasive poverty and the quest for survival are linked to out-migration among the people. Using primary and secondary data, this paper examines the historical account of the migration of Igbo into Ibadan, and their socioeconomic, cultural and political activities as a way of understanding their level of integration in the city. It also highlights their contributions to the development of Ibadan, their peculiar challenges and the factors that sustain primordial linkages.

#### Background

The Igbo of Nigeria are known, among others, for their migratory prowess, and are found in all parts of Nigeria and beyond. The people are easily identifiable by their resilience and adaptability to situations. However, Olutayo<sup>1</sup> had pointed out that the quest for survival in an increasingly monetizing economy coupled with sparse land resources, is responsible for the high rate of migration among the Igbo. Limited availability of land in Igbo communities is largely a function of high population density driven by pronatalist ethos that is sustained by multiple socio-cultural

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<sup>1</sup> O. A. Olutayo, "The Igbo Entrepreneur in the Political Economy of Nigeria", *African Study Monographs*, 1999, 20(3): 147-174.



beliefs and practices. For instance, Isiugo-Abanihe and Nwokocha<sup>2</sup> revealed that the *ewu-ukwu* custom, which is celebrated in parts of Igboland to honour a woman after her tenth child is not only perceived as an index of accomplishment, but also as a motivator for prolific childbearing. Nwokocha<sup>3</sup> had identified male child preference, which is a variant of patriarchy, as a phenomenon that not only contributes disproportionately to high fertility, but also polygyny and by implication, large family size. Clearly, high population density is mainly responsible for the high migration experience in Igbo communities. Also, limited social and economic opportunities are strong motivating factors for Igbo migration.

As Nwolise<sup>4</sup> observed, since 1970, there is hardly any meaningful federal presence in Igbo states. This level of marginalization coupled with insecurity of lives and property, joblessness, hunger and starvation are sufficient justifications for permanent or semi-permanent geographic movement of the Igbo away from their homeland. The suffocating economic and political effects of the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War on the easterners, especially the Igbo, have also been pointed out. The east is an ecological and economical wasteland from which victims stream to other viable areas of Nigeria.<sup>5</sup> It was noted that even though the Igbo are known for their migratory tendencies, believing that travelling bestows more knowledge on an individual than old age, the tendency was amplified by the Nigerian Civil War and the attendant loss of sources of livelihood within the region.

Migrants of Igbo extraction are credited with more sustained primordial linkages than any other group in Nigeria; notwithstanding their level of acculturation at their respective destinations, they still maintain contact with home, although the regularity varies among individuals. For example, there are no Igbo located anywhere outside Nigeria as aborigines of other areas. This is unlike the

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<sup>2</sup> U.C. Isiugo-Abanihe and E.E. Nwokocha, "Prevalence and Consequences of Ewu-Ukwu Custom in Mbaise, Imo State, Nigeria", *The Nigerian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 2008; 6 (53): 70.

<sup>3</sup> E.E. Nwokocha, "Male Child Syndrome and the Agony of Motherhood among the Igbo of Nigeria", *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 2007a, 33(1): 219-234.

<sup>4</sup> O.B.C. Nwolise, "Why Nigeria's Greatness Is Being Delayed: Ndigbo, Nigeria's Political Economy and the 2007 Presidency Issue", A paper presented at the 2003 Igbo day celebration in Ibadan, Nigeria; 2004.

<sup>5</sup> J. Uwalaka, *The Struggle for an Inclusive Nigeria: Igbo To Be or Not to Be? – A Treatise on Igbo Political Personality and Survival in Nigeria*. (Enugu: SNAAP Press, 2003).

situation where there are millions of Hausa in Niger, Chad, Senegal, Mali, etc., and Yoruba in Benin Republic. However, there are millions of Igbo sons and daughters found in different parts of the world.

Rather, in the spirit of *onye aghala nwa nne ya*, which literally means *do not abandon your brother/sister*, the Igbo form “town union” associations (TUAs) at their destinations to cater for one another. As Onwuka<sup>6</sup> observed, perhaps more than any other ethnic group, the Igbo contributed to intensifying rural-urban migration and emigration beyond the borders of Nigeria. The benefits of belonging to such associations range from emotional and psychological support for members in times of difficulty, financial aid, settling disputes among individuals and subgroups, to serving as an avenue for social interaction and exchange of ideas.<sup>7</sup> Honey and Okafor<sup>8</sup> had further pointed out the relevance of hometown associations, when they noted:

... serve as instruments for coping with a changing environment . . . they also provide means of surviving amidst the vicissitudes of life at a time of great flux and uncertainty . . . they allow people to maintain their traditions. In addition, they can become centres of innovation, especially for modernization of the hometown. They do this by assuring that the town has the instruments of modernity – among them are schools and medical facilities, as well as the kinds of infrastructure that are available to people elsewhere.

Thus, Igbo town unions, in addition, undertake an overview function relating to informal supervision of activities not only of members, but also other relevant individuals and groups. The direct consequence of such subtle supervisory activity is that it largely constrains the Igbo within prescribed norms and values. In a way, it discourages frivolous behaviours, especially among young people, many of whom ordinarily would have been persuaded to take advantage of the anonymity that inheres in urban centres to partake in crime. Criminological and urban studies have

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<sup>6</sup> R.I. Onwuka, “The Political Economy of the Igbo”, Papers presented at the 1989 Ahiajoku Lecture Colloquium, 1989, p. 7-17.

<sup>7</sup> C.A. Onwumechili, “Igbo Enwe Eze?”, 2000 *Ahiajoku Lecture*. Owerri: Imo State Ministry of Information and Culture, 2000.

<sup>8</sup> R. Honey and S.I. Okafor, “Territorial Conflict in Jurisdictional Transformation” in R. Honey and S.I. Okafor, editors, *Hometown Associations: Indigenous Knowledge and Development in Nigeria* (London: Intermediate Technology Pub., 1998).

identified a connection between urban environment and deviant behaviours.<sup>9</sup> Due to the perceived importance of such home associations, it was noted that it is almost compulsory for the Igbo in diaspora; it serves as the foremost agent of orientation on urban life for new migrants. Thus, town unions strive to help the people maintain a balance between traditional values and diversity, and the concomitant relativism in urban centres across Nigeria and beyond. Indeed, attributes such as self-reliance, courage, perseverance, hard work, goal setting, accountability and innovativeness among the Igbo have been highlighted.<sup>10</sup>

Theoretically, migration and integration among the Igbo can be explained through the functionalist perspective. The theory examines the role that parts play in sustaining the whole. In this case, how the migration of the Igbo out of Igboland contributes positively to stabilizing these migrants on one hand, and the maintenance of society on the other.<sup>11</sup> Clearly, emigration to other locations due to limited physical space, relative to population size and the scorching economic environment make these migrations functional. In the short-run, out-migration balances out the high fertility regime among the Igbo, while in the long run remittances, both material and otherwise, are used for the development of Igbo communities. Consequently, Igbo marginalization, though well established in the literature,<sup>12</sup> recourse to self-help development strategy (SDS) has accounted for bridging the infrastructural gap between Igbo communities and those in other major ethnic locations in Nigeria.

The dysfunctional aspects of migration among the Igbo include those related to enculturation of the migrants into the prevailing norms and values at their

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<sup>9</sup> A.I. Opara, *Criminology and Penology*. (Owerri: Cel-Bez and Co, 1998); S. Pfohl, *Images of Deviance and Social Control: A Sociological History*, 2nd edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Onwumechili, 2000; C.C. Nwachukwu, "Labour and Employment in the Traditional Igbo Society", Paper presented at the 1989 Ahiajoku Lecture Colloquium, 1989; 1-6.

<sup>11</sup> M. Haralambos, M. Holborn and R. Heald, *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*, 6th edition, (London: Collins, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> O.B.C. Nwolise and C.P. Olebunne, "Ndigbo: the Dwarfing of a Giant and Consequences on Nigeria, Africa, Blacks in the Diaspora and Humanity", 2010; J. Uwalaka, "The Struggle for an Inclusive Nigeria: Igbo To Be or Not To Be? – A treatise on Igbo Political Personality and Survival in Nigeria" (Enugu: SNAAP Press, 2003); C.C. Nwachukwu, "Labour and Employment in the Traditional Igbo Society", Paper presented at the 1989 Ahiajoku Lecture Colloquium, 1989, p. 1-6.



destinations, to the extent that traditional symbols and sentiments are largely abandoned. Another major consequence of out-migration is that of insecurity of lives and properties of the Igbo in the face of ethnic and/or religious disturbances. As Uwalaka<sup>13</sup> had noted, for whatever reason, the Igbo people have been made targets of internal terrorism and cleansing which characterize them as endangered species. Internal terrorism against the Igbo has been reported in Kano, Kaduna and Plateau states, among others. Adopting social science research techniques, the present study specifically examines the Igbo in Ibadan in respect to in-migration, adaptation, challenges and contributions to the socioeconomic, cultural and political life of the city, known for its very large size.

### Materials and methods

Data collection for the study involved both secondary and primary sources. While secondary information was generated through archival materials and extant literature, primary data were elicited through the triangulation of in-depth interviews (IDIs), focus group discussions (FGDs) and unobtrusive observation. Eleven IDIs were conducted among a cross-section of the Igbo people residing in the city. A total of six male and five female were interviewed to reflect gender balance. The inclusion criteria were for the intended respondents to have resided in Ibadan for at least ten years and a willingness to participate in the study. Given the historical dimension of some of the issues, it was expedient to engage relatively knowledgeable Igbo people in the IDIs. That way, rare, as well as serendipitous insights were generated. In addition, two Yoruba respondents were interviewed for the purposes of comparability. Thus, a total of thirteen IDIs were conducted.

The selection of FGD participants was not based on any specific criterion. This was necessitated by the need to involve Igbo people of different ages, occupations and other categories in the discussion. In all, seven FGD sessions were conducted with groups such as adolescents, male traders, market women, academics, civil servants, opinion leaders and unemployed youths. Each discussion group comprised homogeneous participants in line with rules guiding the conduct of FGDs.<sup>14</sup>

Non-participant observation was one of the methods adopted for the

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<sup>13</sup> Uwalaka, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> U.C. Isiugo-Abanihe and O. Obono, "The Use of Focus Group Discussion in Nigerian Social Research" in U.C. Isiugo-Abanihe, A.N. Isamah and J.O. Adesina, editors, *Current and Perspectives in Sociology*, (Lagos: Malthouse, 2002).

study.<sup>15</sup> The influence of beliefs, values, customs, arts and the resulting practices — all subsumed in culture as a complex whole — on people's behaviours, need not be underestimated and can be deeply appreciated by observing them uninhibitedly. Different engagements of the Igbo in Ibadan such as socioeconomic activities, greeting patterns, modes of dressing for major events and family values, among others, were observed.

Ethical considerations were emphasized throughout the fieldwork. The consent of both the respondents and participants was sought prior to their participation in the study. In addition, their confidentiality was guaranteed to the extent that information can never be traced to these participants. With respect to the principle of beneficence, the advantages accruable to these respondents for participation in the study were also fully communicated to these participants.

Data analysis involved the use of ethnographic summaries and content analysis. The procedure began with the translation and transcription of tape recordings of both IDIs and FGDs. These were followed by the examination and, later, thematic isolation of various responses that threw light into the study objectives. By adopting this method, responses from group discussions and in-depth interviews were imported into presentation and discussion on the merit of their applicability to relevant issues.

### **Results and discussion**

Literature on the Igbo people in Ibadan is scanty; relying mainly on primary sources of information on their migration, integration and challenges, thus became expedient both for the possibility of generating serendipitous data and empathy on the situation. Results of the study are presented schematically to cover major aspects. Data from the three primary sources are presented jointly in examining some important activities among the Ibadan-based Igbo.

#### **On migration**

We stated earlier that migration is a persistent phenomenon among the Igbo. This section however focuses specifically on patterns of migration among the Igbo in Ibadan. Responses indicate several patterns, some of which varied by periods. According to a 72-year old Igbo trader:

In our days, most of us travelled straight to Ibadan from various villages in the east to undertake apprenticeship for different trades...

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<sup>15</sup> E.E. Nwokocha, "Maternal Crises and the Role of African Men: The case of a Nigerian Community" *African Population Studies* 2007b, 22(1):39-62.

we were really focussed and were not involved in frequent change of city of residence... these days what we find is that some of our young people first get to Lagos and only come to reside in Ibadan when they are unable to cope in the megacity... this generation is characterized by people who want quick money. When the money does not come forth quickly some of them continue their movement to places like Osogbo, Shagamu, Ogbomosho among others just after few years of business activities in Ibadan ... there have been instances where these people still returned to Ibadan to begin life anew (IDI).

This clearly indicates generational differences in the migration attitude and behaviour between the old and young Igbo residents in Ibadan. Two patterns are easily identifiable from the above response. First, from a rural community to Lagos and/or Ibadan, and second, an urban community to Ibadan and other urban centres. The attraction that Lagos holds for intended migrants and the delusion and powerlessness that the city may eventually conjure for these migrants have already been noted by Obono<sup>16</sup> and Nwokocha.<sup>17</sup> Younger Igbo traverse places in search of greener pastures in order to cope with challenging and changing times. As one of them noted, *anaghi ano ofu ebe ekiri nmanwu*, meaning literally that ideally one does not watch a masquerade only from a spot. The implication is that the spectator is not only safer moving about as the masquerade hovers for its prey, but also has a better view of the masquerade in its several activities. The respondent, in further buttressing the point, stated:

...times have changed and we need to step up activities. Our fathers did not have as much responsibility as we do today. There is pressure to buy a car, look good, and live in a decent apartment among others... so we cannot afford to waste our time in a particular place when you are not sure it is your destined location. You must go to places to

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<sup>16</sup> O. Obono, "A Lagos Thing: Rules and Realities in the Nigerian Megacity" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 2007; 8(2): 32-37.

<sup>17</sup> E.E. Nwokocha, "Engaging the Burden of Rural-Urban Migration in a Non-Regulatory System: The Case of Nigeria", A paper presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Berlin Roundtables on Migration into Cities, October 25-27, Imgard coninx stiftung, Berlin Germany, 2007c; E.E. Nwokocha, "Lagos and Lagosians: Deconstructing the Contradictions of a Megacity", A paper submitted for the Berlin Roundtables on Transnationalities, Identities and Governance, Imgard Coninx Stiftung, Berlin, Germany, 2008.



discover destiny and potential. Because of the attitude of our parents, some of them are quite poor, while it took others donkey years to break through financially. Hustling is not bad provided it is undertaken within the purview of legitimacy.

While we agree that poverty among some parents may be linked to indolence and inability to adjust sufficiently to prevailing socioeconomic currents, it is difficult to establish a relationship between affluence/financial breakthrough and frequent change of place of residence. We would rather argue that foresight and prudence in understanding the economic environment and efficient management of resources are more critical than the issue of location. In addition, the view that more responsibilities are undertaken in the contemporary times than in the earlier times is largely invalid for one main reason. In all ages, taste, fashion, technology and motivations are drivers of social pressure and corresponding individual responsibility. As such, expectations and responsibilities in human epochs have always tallied with relevant epochal ideals and sentiments. To buttress this, in earlier times, fertility levels were high and parents did not have to worry about the education of their children. The primary concern was achieving a large family size; illiteracy was a norm.

In contemporary society, fertility levels have dropped and will likely continue to drop since the cost of training children is astronomically high and thus, a source of pressure on parents and guardians.

Another pattern of migration among the Igbo in Ibadan that respondents readily identify, relates to the number of family and/or household members that migrate in the short or long run. Virtually all the respondents stated that for unmarried migrants, spatial relocation is a simple individual activity. For married migrants, however, such change of residence is preceded by a sequence of decision-making processes. According to most FGD participants, married migrants usually relocate to Ibadan with their family members, as accommodation is easier to find there than in Lagos. While this seems to be the case, few IDI respondents noted that in some situations, migrants came with some family members and not others and, that way, maintain strong links with their place of origin. For others, migrating alone or with few family members is a strategy for not putting all one's eggs in one basket. An IDI respondent further stated:

a wise person, ordinarily, should first move into a location to fully understand the environment before inviting his/her family over; it would be most terrible for an entire family to get stranded in an urban

centre like Ibadan, where it may be difficult to find somebody that may be willing to accept the responsibility of catering for, what I will refer to as, a crowd.

Nwokocho<sup>18</sup> observed that the extended family ethos among Nigerians, as is also the case for most other Africans, explains the seemingly mandatory African hospitality, although grudges may develop towards the gate crashing migrants from the friends and relations who accommodate them. Such magnanimity may be difficult to maintain when help-seekers stretch family and household resources beyond acceptable limits.

### **Socioeconomic activities of the Igbo in Ibadan**

The Igbo in Ibadan are involved in a catalogue of socioeconomic activities. In terms of affiliations, respondents noted that most individuals belong to TUAs which exist at three levels. Virtually all the IDI respondents and FGD participants agreed that such affiliations are essential both as an avenue of social interaction and emotional support in times of crises. One of the participants stated:

Usually a full-fledged Igboman or daughter is expected to join his/her community association in Ibadan and attend meetings monthly... activities of members are guided by a constitution/bye law. Hosting of meetings is normally on the basis of individual membership; due to the rotation of hosting-responsibility, members readily become acquainted with the places of residence of others. The second level of association involves the coming together of Igbo from a local government area (LGA) in southeast Nigeria to form a union... belonging to this larger group requires that an individual be a member of his/her community association; most times the meetings take place every second Sunday of the month... hosting is undertaken by communities rather than individuals due to the size of membership. The third level is almost as large as a senatorial district and meetings take place every third Sunday of each month.

For an individual that belongs to the three associations, meeting days provide an opportunity for social interaction and review of development efforts. In addition, such unions reinforce participants' cultural norms, values, beliefs and practices. Apart from the membership of TUAs, respondents noted that some of the Igbo in

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<sup>18</sup> E.E. Nwokocho, 2007c.

Ibadan also belong to social groups such as neighbourhood associations and market unions.

With regard to economic activities, the respondents/participants generally agreed that the Igbo in Ibadan partake in virtually all forms of businesses and occupations. However, trading was identified as the major activity among the people, which an FGD participant linked with heredity:

All over Nigeria and beyond, the Igbo are known for their ingenuity in trading which I attribute to natural endowment... that is why our people (referring to the Igbo) thrive in business and can turn the most difficult trading terrain into a goldmine... does it mean that people of other ethnicity that falter in seemingly booming economic environments are mentally incapacitated? The answer is no; rather Igbo are divinely gifted to excel in trading more than other Nigerians.

Although an IDI respondent of Yoruba extraction corroborated the above *divine-endowment thesis*, it is argued here that trading is purely a learned skill and a group's distinctive excellence in it may be nothing more than the outcome of intergenerational socialization that emphasizes insight, courage, prudence and diligence. If it were divine, all persons of Igbo ethnic-nationality would automatically thrive in trading no matter the circumstance. Some members of the Yoruba, Hausa and other Nigerian tribes have also excelled in trading even in areas where the Igbo have failed. In terms of education among the Igbo in Ibadan, respondents reported wide intergenerational differences, with the younger generation achieving higher educational levels than the older generation. This trend was further explained by an IDI respondent:

Most aged Igbo in Ibadan had primary or secondary school certificates as the highest educational qualification and ended up as traders or blue-collar workers in establishments including the University of Ibadan... realizing the importance of tertiary school education in defining status, ranking and placement of individuals, most parents/guardians struggle to train their wards in higher institutions.

As a result, the number of students of Igbo descent in an institution like the University of Ibadan is relatively large, which may explain the formation and sustenance of community and/or state-based Igbo students' associations (ISAs) in the institution. As some FGD participants pointed out, most of the ISAs liaise with TUAs on cross-cutting issues. The religious life of the Igbo in Ibadan is a reflection of what obtains elsewhere, an overwhelming majority of them are Christians and more particularly practice Catholicism.



### **Cultural engagements**

Although far from their Eastern homeland, the Igbo in Ibadan still engage in cultural activities pertaining to marriage, family life and mode of dressing, among others. Like their counterparts back home, most of the Igbo in Ibadan delay marriages. It takes some time for young male traders, who usually go through a period of apprenticeship, to accumulate the wealth necessary to defray the cost of elaborate marriage ceremonies or to cater for a wife who may be barred from participating in serious economic activities. Respondents agreed that it is better to marry late than engage in early marriage, which may be characterized by poverty and tension. However, the immediate implication of late marriage among men is that marriage among females is also delayed. This impinges on length of fecundity and attainment of menopause before achieving preferred fertility and family size. For those that finally indicate readiness to get married, participants noted that two options are available — traditional marriage rites that take place either in Ibadan or Igboland. One of the group discussants pointed out:

Ordinarily, marriage is contracted in a prospective wife's homeland with kinsmen and women in attendance... what we see these days is that, for convenience, some parents prefer that the ceremony takes place in Ibadan and people back home are informed later ... my experience is that most times kinspeople never get to know about it from these parents.

As a result, the ceremony that used to serve as a farewell event during which the newly weds received important advice from family and community elders has been replaced by new traditions. Respondents noted that some parents, for fear of being sanctioned by the village members back home, insist that the usually elaborate event takes place in Igboland. As an interviewee stated, the sanctions may range from ostracism to fines, among others. Another pattern identified by respondents is the increasing rate of inter-ethnic marriages between the Igbo and people from other cultural groups, especially the Yorubas, unlike what obtained in the past when strong emphasis was laid on endogamy.

The study found that most young Igbo in Ibadan are multilingual. In fact, some of these young people are more acquainted with the Yoruba language than the Igbo language. Others speak Yoruba and English languages only. The interest in the Yoruba language may be explained by early exposure to it and the large number of Yoruba speakers that young Igbo come in contact with, especially in the course of primary and secondary school education. Findings also revealed that a large number

of the Igbo in the city socialize freely with the Yorubas and have adopted some Yoruba values. For instance, it is common to see the Igbo eat *amala*, *ewedu*, *gbegiri* and *jyan*, which are mainly Yoruba foods.

In addition, respondents indicate that while most aged people still maintain the greeting posture that the Igbo are known for, which includes a younger male shaking an elder with two hands while standing and the female turning their backs for patting by men, most younger Igbo males in Ibadan, just like the Yoruba, bow to greet elders while their female counterparts genuflect with both knees. In terms of dressing, older Igbo males still subscribe to the attire that the Igbo are known for, particularly worn during special ceremonies such as weddings, naming ceremonies/christening, TUA meetings and others. On the contrary, a large number of Igbo youths in Ibadan are not particular about traditional attires, but prefer the western-type of dressing. As a result, it is difficult to determine these young people's ethnic identity merely by their dressing, unlike what obtained in the past.

### **The Igbo and politics in Ibadan**

Respondents discussed the Igbo and politics in Ibadan from two perspectives. First, from the angle of general involvement in the wider Ibadan politics; second, with specific respect to politics among the Igbo. Participants in the study noted that in the broader sense, the Igbo in Ibadan, like other Nigerians partake in the electoral process mainly as voters or indirectly as advisers to office holders. They hardly contested elections in the city even for the least political positions for fear of failure.

On politics among the Igbo, the study found that until a few decades ago, the idea of politics outside TUAs was inconceivable. Recently, however, the notion of a united front in Igbo leadership has gradually crept in and become both contentious and dangerous. Some of the respondents noted that it was a surprise that the main actors equated their prospective positions with *Eze/Igwe* or the equivalent of *Oba* among the Yorubas or *Emir* among the Hausas. The struggle for this non-existing position has left the Igbo in Ibadan more divided than can be imagined. Data reveal that two notable factions struggled fiercely to woo TUAs for support — the situation became so messy that the Oyo State government had to intervene. One of the IDI respondents simply characterized the situation as unfortunate especially considering the fact that notable Igbo intellectuals were involved in the turbulence. She stated further:

The assumption that someone could become *Eze* (king) outside Igboland is laughable and childish... it is pitiable that some Igbo

intellectuals in Ibadan went as far as getting conferred with chieftaincy titles by the so-called *Ezies* without domain. Was it not funny that back home, the people that paraded themselves as *Ezies* paid glowing tributes to recognized traditional rulers? . . . for right thinking people, those individuals were jobless and wanted cheap popularity.

The study revealed that the contradiction presented by such an attempt at arrogant recreation of the political culture and history of the Igbo attracted the attention of traditional rulers in Igboland, who quickly disbanded and condemned such anti-normative positions and corresponding unacceptable nomenclatures, not only in Oyo State, but also throughout Nigeria. Results indicate that the position of *Onye ndu* (leader) in towns outside Igboland was unanimously endorsed by these traditional rulers. However, in the spirit of *let us not lose it all*, the struggle for the latter position and supremacy continues between the two camps.

#### **Ibadan-based Igbo and linkages with families in the southeast**

In an era of improved communication technology, exemplified mainly by mobile phones and the internet, interactions have been made much easier. However, linkages as used in this paper connote more of the physical presence of an Ibadan-based Igbo or group in Igboland and/or financial or material remittances to distant or close relatives. Some of the respondents pointed out the importance of having a house/building back home as a strong factor for travelling during major festivals. An aged male IDI respondent elucidates further:

An Igbo man that does not have a house at home is regarded as irresponsible by family members and kin-group... as somebody with a chicken-brain (*ofogori*) and a spendthrift notwithstanding the occupational status of the individual. In order not to be so labelled, Igbo especially those in the Diaspora (living in urban centres and abroad) struggle to erect structures even if it means not fully utilizing them.

Clearly, such traditions exert socioeconomic pressure on the Igbo. As a result, many young men opt for businesses rather than acquire tertiary education. Business is perceived as a quicker means of getting rich and owning big houses. How far some of these business men and women have been able to achieve such dreams is debatable, for as it is known, most magnificent structures either in urban or rural centres in Igboland are owned by individuals with some level of tertiary school education. The data further revealed that other factors that motivate the Igbo in the Diaspora to travel home during festivals such as Christmas, Easter, New Yam, among others. Indeed, these ceremonies apart from re-uniting families, relatives



and friends, are also avenues for initiating new projects and searching for life partners. The findings also showed that the Igbo outside Nigeria are particularly encouraged to participate in these festivals at home to keep abreast of developments and challenges.

It was also revealed that although the Igbo in Ibadan look forward to travelling during these major ceremonies, economic hardship is a major disincentive to embarking on such journeys. Respondents added that, recently, the fear of being kidnapped became a strong factor in discouraging the people from travelling back home. This development meant that people of low socioeconomic status had better chances of not being kidnapped in the south-eastern parts of the country, unlike their affluent counterparts who could be targets. Some participants noted that some Igbo in Ibadan never bothered about travelling home for unidentifiable reasons. This category of individuals could afford to go back occasionally, but are unwilling to do so even prior to the widespread kidnapping in Igboland.

#### **Major challenges faced by the Igbo in Ibadan**

The challenges faced by the Igbo in Ibadan are also common to other Nigerians outside their traditional homes. This paper argues that ethnic-based discrimination is pervasive and is a defining attitude in relationship building in Nigeria, with over 380 ethnic groups.<sup>19</sup> The respondents identified discrimination as one of the major challenges that the Igbo in Ibadan face when it comes to employment opportunities. Further, those that have struggled to be employed are still discriminated against in the work place. The study revealed that to safeguard their jobs, these Igbo put in extra efforts to keep their jobs. The advantage is that in the course of such rigour, the victimized gradually masters the work process and becomes an expert such that the protected eventually consult them for mentoring and learning of skills.

Another major challenge relates to the difficulty of renting an apartment from some Yoruba landlords. Respondents stated that some of these landlords, as a matter of policy, would not take the Igbo as tenants. An Igbo interviewee, who himself is a landlord explains:

Some of us that now have houses in Ibadan were forced to do so as a result of the high level of discrimination and rejection that we faced in the hands of Yoruba landlords. Some of them give definite instructions to their agents not to have us accommodated for reasons

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<sup>19</sup> O. Otite, "Nigerian Peoples and their Cultures" in B.J. Matthew-Daniel, A.B. Mamman, S.W. Petters, J.O. Oyebanji, editors, *Nigeria: A People United, A Future Assured*, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja, 2000.

that I do not know... in instances where some of these landlords rent apartments to Igbo, they still make life uncomfortable for them... so there is unbearable pressure for the Igbo in Ibadan to put up their own structures.

In a way, such rejection becomes a blessing in disguise for the Igbo whose circumstances compel them to own their own houses. Perhaps without this discriminatory attitude, the number of the Igbo that own houses in Ibadan would not be as high as it is today. Undoubtedly, this has indirectly contributed to the physical expansion of Ibadan, reputed to be the largest city in West Africa. One of the IDI respondents, however, observed that most Igbo put up simple structures in Ibadan so that they could easily dispose of on retirement from either the private or public sector.

### **Conclusion**

Results of this study have shown that it is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of the migration of the Igbo into Ibadan to a particular point in time. A combination of factors such as scarcity of land among a densely-populated people and the quest to partake in trade among others is linked to the motivation to migrate to urban centres including Ibadan. While these factors explained out-migration into Nigerian cities and beyond, the socioeconomic, physical and psychological effects of the Nigeria-Biafra civil war on the Igbo amplified the zeal to struggle for survival outside the Igboland, mainly because they did not have faith in the reintegration, reconstruction and rehabilitation (RRR) proclaimed by the then military government.

Coming to Ibadan was envisaged as a first step towards overcoming powerlessness and frustration. While this has proved true for some of these migrants, others have continued in their penury. This suggests that relocation is not sufficient in itself to overcome poverty, but rather insight, diligence and prudence. For this and other reasons, TUAs not only have the responsibility of guiding its members against frivolous behaviour, but also financially aiding those that are disadvantaged. Although the discrimination against the Igbo in the public sphere disheartens them, such discrimination is not the case in the private sector where, due to ingenuity in trading, the Igbo dominate the Ibadan-business landscape. Indeed, these economic power differentials and their attendant weaknesses and strengths serve as push factors respectively for an intending employee (a Yoruba, an Igbo, etc.) in deciding the most appropriate employment path to follow.

This paper reveals that while older Igbo in Ibadan have hardly adopted the Yoruba culture, except the few that were born and bred in the city, the younger are

both *Yorubanized* and/or westernized; an attitude that readily manifests in their proficiency in the Yoruba and the English languages at the expense of the Igbo language. It is observed that exogamous marriage between the Igbo and the Yorubas or other cultural groups is one of the ways of curbing the effects of ethnicity in Nigeria. This should be encouraged.

While healthy political rivalry is advocated, especially within TUAs, this paper condemns, in strongest terms, getting involved in dangerous politicking for a position such as *Eze-Igbo* in Ibadan. It is argued that it is sensible to prioritize more visible linkages with family and relatives in the southeast than engage in a venture that demobilizes efforts at unity and development.

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## Ben Enwonwu's *Risen Christ* as a Religious Icon at the University of Ibadan

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Peju Layiwola

Atop the 60 feet high tower built in honour of the first resident and travelling commissioner, Sir Robert Lister Bower, who served between 1893 and 1897, one can see a panoramic view of the city of Ibadan. The astonishing view of Ibadan calls to mind John Pepper Clark's seminal poem *Ibadan*.

Ibadan,  
 running splash of rust  
 and gold-flung and scattered  
 among seven hills like broken  
 china in the sun.<sup>1</sup>

His reference to the sea of rusty roofs like 'broken china in the sun' is so characteristic of the Ibadan of that period. The Ibadan Clark spoke about in 1960 is gradually yielding to forces of change, with new, corrugated, long span aluminium roofs, intermittently breaking the rusty roofs of the many rows of houses in the city. This social change applies not only to the architecture, but also to many facets of the city's life. Yet, Ibadan still holds a fascination which derives largely from its topography — the undulating hills and valleys, the sheer size of the city, the stream of amazing architecture, and the Brazilian houses which are a sight to behold.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.cafeafricana.com/Poetry.html>

Ibadan is also known for its richness in various arts and crafts such as blacksmithing, goldsmithing, cloth weaving and dyeing, practised in many parts of the city, particularly at Oja'ba, Oje and Beere. Within the Ibadan township are a number of monuments and institutions tied to the political history of the city. Such significant landmarks include Mapo Hall at Beere, Bower's Tower at the top of Oke Are and the University of Ibadan.

The University College, Ibadan, as the University of Ibadan was once known, was established in 1948. It houses one of the most beautiful architectural masterpieces in the city of Ibadan known as the Chapel of the Resurrection. It was designed by a British architect, George Pace, and was consecrated in 1954. The Chapel of the Resurrection was conceived as a tomb from where Jesus resurrected. The sculpture of Christ and Mary Magdalene placed in the back pew of the church has become, unarguably, one of the most valuable contemporary sculptures in Ibadan. The work titled *The Risen Christ* was carved by the artist, Ben Enwonwu (1917-1994). It symbolizes the importance of the Christian faith and the belief in Christ, the saviour, who defeated death on the cross by his resurrection. The concept of the sculpture is intertwined with that of the chapel, as demonstrated in a 1975 poem titled the Chapel of the Resurrection.

And as the Congregation  
knelt with Mary Magdalene  
(Head and hands on pews lean'd)  
I saw a vision of Salvation  
In The Risen Christ.<sup>2</sup>

### **Ben Enwonwu and the Chapel of the Resurrection**

Benedict Chukwudibia Enwonwu was born a twin on 14 July 1917. His father, Emeka Enwonwu, hailed from Umuezeoroli Quarters of Onitsha.<sup>3</sup> His father was an artist who specialized in making ceremonial insignia for his fellow Ozo

<sup>2</sup> Ayo Abidogun. "The Chapel of the Resurrection" *Ibadan*, 1975, p.36.

<sup>3</sup> Sylvester Ogbechie. *Ben Enwonwu: The Making of an African Modernist* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), p. 24.

titled members. Enwonwu was conversant with Igbo traditions much the same way he knew about Edo traditions. Enwonwu claimed he learnt the indigenous style of representation from his father. This dual exposure to the traditional art forms and the more academic methods in a western art school further enriched his art. Enwonwu obtained a diploma in fine arts from the Slade School of Art, London in 1948. Ogbegie observes that he was the first African to attain significant international recognition as a modern artist. His works featured alongside many of the prominent European modernists in the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris in 1946.<sup>4</sup> Enwonwu's exhibitions have been very well reviewed in the international media. His fame as a renowned modernist sculptor in Europe may have informed his selection as the artist to make a work for the prestigious university chapel.

In 1953, the chapel officially commissioned the sculptor and painter to carve the statue of the Risen Christ. The artist



Figure 9.1 Ben Enwonwu carving *The Risen Christ*, University of Ibadan, Ibadan; courtesy: The Ben Enwonwu Foundation.

had earlier done a painting with the same title in 1949. Various sketches of the sculpture of the Risen Christ were produced in 1952 and are presently in a private collection in Lagos.<sup>5</sup> In Ibadan, he began work in a shed close to the students' hostel, which gave the students the privilege to interact with the artist at work. The statue of the Risen Christ was completed in 1954. It was meant to be completed for the consecration ceremony of the church scheduled for 17 November 1954. The dedication of the sculpture was done in a colourful

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Some of these drawings can be found in the Omooba Yemisi Adedoyin Shyllon Art Foundation collection.





**Figure 9.2.** A full view of the sculpture after the second restoration, Chapel of the Resurrection premises, 2011. Photograph credit: Peju Layiwola.

piece of mahogany wood, in the artist's records, the sculpture reveals that it was carved from Iroko wood. This log of wood had been kept to season for about twenty years and was presented as a gift to the university by the UAC sawmill in Sapele. From the same piece of wood, Enwonwu claimed he made two other sculptures—one titled *Nwanyi*, a seven foot female form and a reclining figure, measuring about 1 x 2 ft in size.

*The Risen Christ*, a larger than life sculpture comprises three separate components, which includes a base, a standing figure of Christ and a kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene. Both figures were mounted on the base. The entire surface of the work is textured with a chisel effect. The base consists of an exquisitely carved dense work of leaves representing Easter foliage. The work

ceremony, with the artist in attendance, on 9 December 1954.

One interesting irony that illustrates the complementarity of the Christian faith and African traditional religion presents itself in the manner in which the artist consecrated the sculpture at its commencement. Enwonwu is reported to have performed some purification rites to ensure the success of his work. He fasted for three days and then poured libation to his ancestors before starting work on this statue.<sup>6</sup> Although Ogbechie claims the statue was made from a four-ton

<sup>6</sup> Sylvester Ogbechie, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

depicts Christ during his ascension with Mary kneeling whilst trying to hold Him from leaving the earth. In its animated pose, the tension that exists between doing the will of the Father and human love for Christ is expressed. Christ shields His face with His hand from the overwhelming light that was before Him as He makes His way upwards during ascension.<sup>7</sup>

### **The Risen Christ and the rising incidence of religious crisis in Nigeria**

Tamuno observes that the sculpture was first mounted on a marble platform outside of the main entrance to the chapel, but had to be moved into the church behind a metal grill for protection after it was set ablaze on 5 May 1986 by unknown Muslim fundamentalists in a conflict between the church and the newly-sited mosque on the campus.<sup>8</sup> Prior to this date, there had been complaints made by Muslims on the campus against the citing of the Christian cross mounted within the premises of the chapel grounds. The Muslims complained that the symbol of the cross was interfering with their meditation, when they looked up during prayer. The then vice chancellor, Professor Ayo Banjo, in a bid to quell this conflict, invited both warring parties to several meetings between 1985 and 1986. While the Muslims felt it was anathema to see the cross while praying and asked that the cross be removed, the Christians did not understand the reason for removing a cross which had been sited there for over thirty years, long before the inception of the mosque.<sup>9</sup> The crisis moved from being a local university disagreement to the state and national levels, involving officials of the Federal Ministry of Education and the commissioner of police. It was later resolved that a wall screen be built between the mosque and the church to mask the view of the cross from the mosque. Till date, the cross remains in its original position on a mound, in line with the original concept of the architect.

It is interesting to note that during the inferno and assault at the church building, the statue could not be destroyed. Burn marks are visible on one side

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> Tekena Tamuno, *History of the Chapel of the Resurrection University of Ibadan* (Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publishers Ltd., 2008), p.20.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*, p.82.

of the work extending from the base to the sides of both figures. In my view, the burnt marks provide a black colouration which contrasts the brown tan of the wood, which in a way enhances the sculpture. Today, the statue of *The Risen Christ* in surviving the inferno, further reiterates Christ's victory over death and establishes one of the early histories of religious crisis in Nigeria. It has become one of the most celebrated sculptures in Nigeria, not only for its artistry, but also for the history that it represents.

Enwonwu regards this work as his greatest sculpture in wood. In 1958, Ferguson remarked that Enwonwu's bronze sculpture of the queen lacked the vigour and originality of *The Risen Christ* at the University College, Ibadan.<sup>10</sup> Enwonwu's work has always been caught up in some controversy or the other. In 1958, Fraenkel recounts the series of discussions in the foreign news that embroiled the representation of the queen, who many thought had the likeness and characteristic nose and thick lips of an African.<sup>11</sup> Many believed that Enwonwu Africanized the image of the British queen.

The production of the portrait of the Queen of England was another landmark in the career of Enwonwu. After a series of modelling sessions by Queen Elizabeth II herself in the studio of Sir William Reid Dick, Enwonwu produced representations of drawings and clay models, which received wide coverage in the international press. He was awarded the MBE medal of the British Order in November 1955, at Buckingham palace by Queen Elizabeth II. Enwonwu returned to Nigeria to pick up employment as the art adviser to the federal government.

### Restoration of the Risen Christ

The first restoration of the sculpture soon after the fire incident in 1986 was carried out by the artist. To forestall another attack on the sculpture, the work was then moved inside the church building for safekeeping. It was initially mounted on a marble platform at the entrance to the church. Its present

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<sup>10</sup> John Ferguson, "The University Colleges of West Africa—An Architectural Contrast", *Ibadan*, 1958, February. p.22.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Fraenkel, *Ibadan: A journal* published at the University of Ibadan, February 1958, p. 21.





Figure 9.3 The image of Mary Magdalene in the *Risen Christ* during the restoration work, Chapel of the Resurrection premises, 2011. Photograph credit: Peju Layiwola.

location inside the church keeps the work quite close to members of the congregation, but also makes it more susceptible to breakages as it is situated along a passageway. In 2011, it became apparent that further restoration work needed to be carried out. Under the chairmanship of Professor R.O.A. Arowolo, the chapel committee sought for an artist who could restore

the work at a moderate cost. At this time, the figure of Mary had lost most of its fingers, several parts of the foliage were broken, while the layer of lacquer on the work needed to be reapplied. Furthermore, a widening crack which ran through the head of the figure of Mary extended downwards to its legs and needed to be filled up. Interestingly, between



Figure 9.4 The base of the *The Risen Christ* during the restoration work, Chapel of the Resurrection premises, 2011. Photograph credit: Peju Layiwola.

5-10 September 2011, two brothers of the Muslim faith, Lukman and Tunde Alao restored the work. Luqman Alao had already been known to the university, where he had made extensive wall murals on the façade of the courtyard at the Institute of African Studies. The newly-restored sculpture was rededicated during the service by the Bishop of Ibadan North Diocese, Right Reverend Segun Okubadejo, on 2 October, 2011.

Enwonwu carried out various notable commissions for the Nigerian government. Two other sculptures of great importance by Enwonwu are



Figure 9.5 Lukman Alao doing the second restoration, Chapel of the Resurrection premises, 2011. Photograph credit: Peju Layiwola.

*Anyanwu* in front of the National Museum, Onikan, Lagos and the statue of the Yoruba god of thunder and lightning, *Sango*, in front of the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA, now PHCN office) headquarters in Lagos. The value of the artist's work has increased tremendously. Early in 2012, at the prestigious Art House Auction in Lagos, a replica of the Anyanwu work sold for 28 million naira. While the sculpture of Anyanwu has several copies made in bronze, *The Risen Christ* is the only figure of its type made by the artist.

## Conclusion

This wooden sculpture has become priceless and, in its present form, remains a timeless piece. *The Risen Christ* attracts a large number of visitors to the university and, invariably to the chapel, which can now boast of one of the most exquisitely carved works by one of Nigeria's finest modernist artists and painters, Ben Enwonwu. It is a work created prior to the independence of Nigeria. It has become a relic of the past, with histories connecting both the University College, Ibadan, which was a college of the University of London, with that of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria's premier university.



Adeoyo Maternity Hospital, Ibadan

Adeoyo Maternity Hospital Ibadan is a specialist service hospital located at Yemetu, Adcoyo, Ibadan in Ibadan North L.G area of Oyo State. It was established in 1927.



Mapo Hall, Ibadan

Mapo Hall is the colonial style city hall, perched on top of Mapo Hill, in Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. Mapo Hall was commissioned during the colonial era by Captain Ross in 1929. It was renovated in 2006.





Bower Tower, Ibadan

The over 60 feet tall tower is on the hill top of Oke Are in Igbo Agala (Agala forest) area of Ibadan . It is the highest hilltop in the city . The Tower has about 47 spiral steps , designed by Taffy Jones in the early 1930s . It was unveiled on December 15 , 1936 by Captain Robert Lister Bower.



Race Course, Ibadan was established circa 1946



Lafia Hotel, Ibadan, a member of Odu'a Group of Companies, established in 1947 is a subsidiary of Odu'a investment Company Limited. It is the first hotel to be built in the whole of the former Western Nigeria. It is a five star hotel situated on a 25 acre luxuriant land, just a few kilometers outside the bustling Ibadan metropolis, on the Ibadan-Abeokuta Road.



University of Ibadan, Ibadan

The University of Ibadan (UI) is the oldest and one of the most prestigious Nigerian universities and is located five miles (8 kilometres) from the centre of the major city of Ibadan in Western Nigeria. The university was founded on 17 November 1948.



The University College Hospital, (UCH) Ibadan was established by an act of parliament in November 1952 in response to the need for the training of medical personnel and other healthcare professionals for the country and the West African Sub-Region.





COOP Building, Ibadan

COOP building is one of the earliest multi-storey edifices in Ibadan. It is situated at Lebanon Street, Dugbe, Ibadan. It was established in 1954.



High Court, Iyaganku Ibadan

High Court, Iyaganku, buildings were designed in 1960 by J. E. K. Harrison (Chartered Architect).



Magistrate Court, Ibadan, was established in 1960



Central Bank of Nigeria, Ibadan Branch

The Central Bank of Nigeria was established by the CBN Act of 1958 and commenced operations on July 1, 1958.



Liberty Stadium, Ibadan, was renamed Obafemi Awolowo Stadium in 2010.

This historic stadium was opened in 1960 during the tenure of Chief Obafemi Awolowo as the Premier of the Western Region. It has a seating capacity of 25000.





Cocoa House, Ibadan

Cocoa House, completed in 1965 at a height of 105 metres was once the tallest building in tropical Africa. It is located in the city of Ibadan in Nigeria. It was built from proceeds from commodities (e.g., Cocoa, Rubber, Timber and so on) of the then Western State of Nigeria.



Old Western Assembly, Ibadan

The Oyo State House of Assembly has its origin in the old Western Regional House of Assembly. The foundation stone of the Parliament Buildings was laid on Tuesday, 1st March, 1955 by Sir John Dalzell Rankine, while the official opening was done by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II on the 16th February, 1956.



The new State House of Assembly, Ibadan, Oyo State .



Asejire Dam, Ibadan

The Asejire Reservoir is situated in Oyo State in the south west on the Osun River, about 30 kilometers east of Ibadan. The reservoir was built in the late 1960s. The reservoir provides raw water to the Asejire and Osegere water treatment plants in Ibadan.



Premier Hotel

Premier Hotel, a subsidiary of Odu'a Investment Company Limited was incorporated in 1966 as a resort, amusement, pleasure and relaxation centre. Premier Hotel located on top of Mokola Hill, Ibadan is definitely one of the oldest and the best hotels in West Africa. It is jointly owned by the Odua states namely Ekiti, Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, and Osun states.

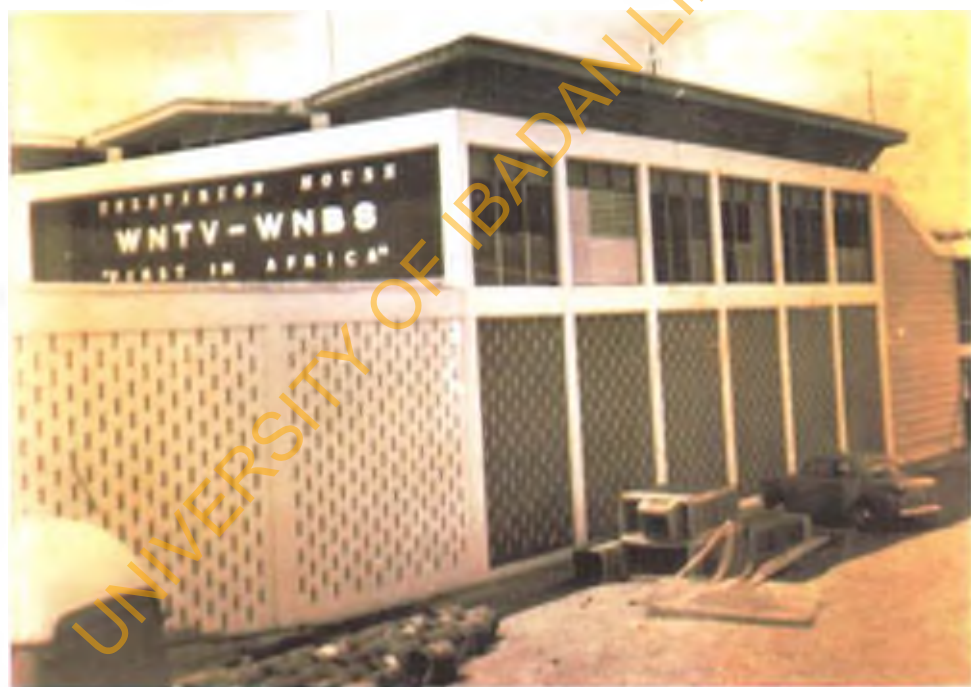




The International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) was established in 1967 and is headquartered in Ibadan, Nigeria, with several research stations across Africa. IITA is a nonprofit organization governed by a Board of Trustees, supported by several countries and the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR).



Cultural Centre, Mokola Ibadan was established in 1977



#### NTA Ibadan

The Nigerian Television Authority - also known as NTA - was inaugurated in 1977 and is the government-owned body in charge of television broadcasting in the country. Formerly known as Nigerian Television (NTV), the network began with a takeover of regional television stations in 1976 by the then Nigerian military authorities, and is widely viewed as the authentic voice of the Nigerian government. Television began broadcasting on 31 October 1959 under the name Western Nigerian Government Broadcasting Corporation (WNTV). It was based in Ibadan and was the first television station in Tropical Africa.



Agodi Gardens was established by the Western Regional Government in 1957, as part of the Ogunpa Forest Reserve. However, it had been neglected for many years, was overgrown with grasses, weeds and trees. The present government of Oyo State restored the garden in 2014 and it is once more a user-friendly recreational facility now renamed Agodi Park and Gardens.



5. *The infectious diseases unit.* This is similar to the food hygiene unit. Its primary assignment was to carry out regular house-to-house visits. Many people did not know the value of vaccination and even those who knew might ignore the call to get themselves vaccinated, hence the need for this house-to-house visitation. The inspection also included veterinary duties on pets and other domestic animals.
6. *The anti-malaria unit.* This section was in charge of the cutting of the bushes. It ensured that the immediate surrounding of each house was clean. This prevented the breeding of mosquitoes and other pests.
7. *The health education unit.* This unit was designed to help health inspectors to educate people on the importance of living in a well-kept environment. This section enabled the housewives and others to know the importance of cleanliness in their day-to-day life. This helped the people in the local government area to make some improvements in their standard of sanitation. They usually visited schools and colleges to ensure cleanliness in the various institutions of learning.
8. *The statistics unit.* This unit of the health department collected data in connection with environmental sanitation for various reasons. First, for planning their own approach to the solution of environmental sanitation problems, and second, for the evaluation of the success or otherwise of their efforts in that direction.
9. *Omnibus or complaint unit.* Every individual contributed their quota to effective sanitation in Ibadan. To this end, the health department was usually notified about the possibility of an out-break of cholera or other diseases. The relation of any affected person or persons were usually visited and sent to the hospital for treatment (and vaccination if needed). Records of these affected areas were kept in the head office so as to enable the council to plan ahead on how to combat its health and sanitation problems. Members of the public were always encouraged by the council to report suspected cases of infectious diseases in time so that the council could curb and arrest the situation. False alarms were always checked and nipped in the bud.

The council had the power to arrest any person or persons who infringed the provision of the Public Health Law.<sup>3</sup> However, what was strange here was

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<sup>3</sup> Power of arrest is given under section 72 of Public Health Law and a bye-law under section 64 of the Public Health Law Cap. 103 was made by the council in 1961 to prevent the dumping of refuse in streams. A close look at the Public Health Committee

that the health officers at Onireke undertook such prosecution. The health department usually prosecuted such defaulters in the customary courts. Most of the cases ended up not being prosecuted.

To worsen the situation, a bye-law drafted on health affairs in 1976, was approved only in 1978 by the state government. Hence, the hands of the Ibadan Municipal Government were tied and, even if defaulters were found, it had no power to prosecute them. The result was that if the health inspectors gave strict warnings, those warnings were lightly regarded by the public because they knew that the inspectors could only bark and could not bite. The situation worsened between 1976 and 1978, when epidemics of infectious diseases were reported in Ibadan. The law enforcing ordinances and agents had no legitimate standing to prevent the unsanitary behaviour of the city by bringing them to book in the court.

10. *Preventive health service units.* Immunization was provided against specific diseases like cholera, measles and smallpox. The health inspectors carried out the disinfection of premises in a bid to prevent the incidence of infectious diseases. This unit of the council was also charged with protecting sources of water supply (other than pipe borne) in their areas. The unit was also charged with conducting bacteriological examination and analysis on samples of water used in the council area.

The Ibadan Municipal Government had other units like the pest control unit, vermin control unit, and the cemetery unit for the disposal of dead bodies found in public places other than road accidents. There was a unit for the provision and maintenance of slaughter houses. Here, we shall outline the Council's achievements and problems before a final discussion of Refuse Disposal in Ibadan Municipal Government.

### **Health care delivery**

The Ibadan Municipal Government had four maternity centres and two health centres with staff clinics. The maternity centres are:

1. Inalende Maternity Centre
2. Agbongbon Maternity Centre
3. Oranyan maternity centre

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minutes book of 8/5/61 is explicit on this. Subsequently, the bye-law was suspended and a new one was made in 1976.

## 4. Alafara Maternity Centre

The health centres are:

1. Mapo Health Centre
2. Onireke Health Centre

The historical details of these centres are presented in table 11.1. Table 11.2 shows the number of persons treated in both the Mapo and Onireke health centres between 1978 and 1979. Tables 11.3 and 11.4 give the statistical returns on all the maternity centres and the dispensaries established within the council area. A list of the revenue and expenditure in the centres between 1978 and 1979 is shown in table 11.5.

**Table 11.1** Historical details of the maternity and health centres

Name	Year established	Initial amenities	Improvement	Personnel
Inalende Maternity Centre	1960	20 beds, 2 labour ward beds and 22 cots	In 1972, it was expanded and had 50 beds, with 4 labour ward beds.	In 1978/79: 6 midwifery sisters, 27 staff midwives, 11 ward servants, 4 ward maid, 2 gatemen, 1 gardener and a watch man.
Agbongbon Maternity Centre	1962	6 beds, 1 labour ward bed and 1 cot	In 1972, it was rebuilt. In 1978/79, it had 33 beds, 33 cots and 4 labour ward beds.	1978/79: 5 midwifery sisters, 6 staff midwives, 16 washer men servants, 3 washer men and 1 night watchman.
Oranyan Maternity Centre	1962	6 beds, 6 cots, 1 labour ward bed and 1 cot		2 midwifery sisters, 10 midwives, 4 ward maid servants, 1 watchman & 1 gardener.
Alafara Maternity Centre	1962	6 beds, 6 cots and 1 labour ward bed	The centre collapsed in April 1978 and was abandoned since then.	Up till April 1978: 10 midwives, 4 ward attendants and 1 night watchman.
Mapo Health Centre	donated by Egbe Ibile Obinrin to the council in 1972			1 health sister, 1 dispensary health assistant, 1 principal inspector, 1 ward attendant & 1 night watchman.
Onireke Health Centre	1978		The clinic started to function when the state government staff moved to the newly-	1 health sister, 1 dispensary health assistant & 1 attendant.



			built state health office at Jericho.
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**Table 11.2** Number of persons treated at the Mapo and Onireke health centres

Type of Clinic	Mapo Health Centre	Health Office Onireke Centre
School children	-	6,287
Children treated	5,128	-
Staff treated	104	1,498
Total	5,232	7,785

**Table 11.3** Statistical returns: maternity centres (1978/79)

Type of treatment	Maternity centres		
	Inalende	Agbongbon	Oranyan
Antenatal (new)	5,435	4,994	2,104
Antenatal (old)	23,434	19,742	7,104
Deliveries	3,908	3,499	1,287
Postnatal	796	677	224
Tetanus for antenatal	3,014	2,636	-
Infant welfare	5,418	3,093	2,991
B.C.G. immunization	3,050	3,903	-
Measles immunization	4,161	2,301	-
Triple antigen	4,161	5,886	-
Immunization	2,089	2,058	-
Small pox vaccination	4,161	5,366	-
Polio			
Total	59,427	54,173	13,630

**Table 11.4** Statistical returns: dispensaries (1978/1979)

Name of dispensary	Children			Adult			Grand total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Agodi	19,434	14,949	34,383	805	1,105	1,910	36,293
Oranyan	10,735	7,155	17,890	194	369	563	18,453
Molete	5,033	6,862	11,895	171	167	338	12,233
Aremo	11,012	7,571	18,583	135	158	293	18,876
Mapo Health Centre	4,668	3,507	8,175	294	330	624	8,799

**Table 11.5** Revenue and expenditure of Ibadan Municipal Government (1978/1979)

Revenue		Expenditure	
Burial permit fee	₦14,190.00	Established staff salaries	₦507,636.57
Hearse fees	₦2,383.00	Daily paid wages	₦78,807.24
Dogs feeding refund	₦340.00	Other charges including drugs and dressings	₦695,453.11
Expenditure Balance	₦1,264,983.92		
Total	₦1,281,896.00		₦1,281,896.92

### Refuse and nightsoil disposal

Local governments have been given the primary responsibility to make bye-laws for the control of refuse and night soil disposal in their areas of jurisdiction. In this way, they see to the collection of all refuse found in the streets, those deposited in household refuse bins, and in places such as motor parks and markets. It was the responsibility of the local government to provide locations where the refuse collected would be deposited.

The local government also provided and maintained latrines and urinals for members of the public. In houses where the pail system was in use, the local government provided septic tanks and night soil men were always sent to collect the excrement. Refuse disposal presented lots of management problems for the Ibadan Municipal government, especially as it pertained to the relationship between the council and the state government.

Up till 1968, the Ibadan Municipal area was zoned into five different segments called A, B, C, D and E for refuse collection purposes. These five segments were further divided into 46 wards. While segments A to D dealt with the indigenous areas, segment E covered the government reservation areas like Agodi, Secretariat, Jericho and Moor Plantation.

During this time, the environmental sanitation officers were responsible for refuse disposal in the local government. In the areas covering segments A to D, the refuse jobs were usually supervised by an assistant health superintendent from the ministry of health. These officials (both from the council and the ministry) also undertook house-to-house sanitation inspection, meat and food inspection, building and building plans inspection and the control of infectious diseases

### **Method of collection**

Refuse collection was done through the house to house system in Ibadan council area. To enable the council perform well on this system in 1968, about 8608 dustbins were purchased and distributed to various households. The environmental sanitation officers could then collect and dispose the refuse either by the tipping (landfill) or incineration system.

In the tipping system, the refuse collected were usually dumped into the valleys, pits and marshy low-lying lands needing reclamation. When the level of the dumped refuse were up to a certain volume, they were usually covered up so as to prevent their obnoxious smell. As for the incineration system, the council abandoned it because of the difficulties encountered from using it. One of the difficulties was the incessant smoke emanating from the burning of the refuse.

In addition to these two systems, refuse was also dumped at designated sites. Some of the refuse dumped at these sites were not buried in the ground. As a result, the sites became breeding places for flies. Further, the sites were notorious for emitting unpleasant odours. Moreover, it was discovered that the labourers working in the sites were working without masks. In addition, these workers also used their hands and headpans to empty refuse vans instead of the use of mechanical devices.

### **State and council relationship**

The relationship between the state government and the council was far from cordial. The strain in their relationship was likely caused by the inability of the state government to adequately support the council financially. For instance, between 1967 and 1968, £19,000 was estimated and only £14,000 was granted by the state government. In 1968, the Ibadan Chambers of Commerce gave the council 40 refuse drums, with a promise to donate another 80, which never came. Other organizations like the Western State Youth Council also rendered similar assistance.

On the whole, the problems associated with sanitation became serious in Ibadan during this period. As a result, a waste disposal board was formed. Its main objective was to combat environmental sanitation problems in Ibadan. However, the board later encountered some difficulties and it was eventually dissolved.

On 1 April 1978, the services of waste collection and disposal were transferred to the Ibadan Municipal Government. But the actual collection and disposal did not take off until 5 May 1978, when the state government released some vehicles and equipment to the municipal government.



## Solid waste

The Ibadan Municipal Government experienced considerable hardship as a result of the sudden change in the disposal board. The municipal government was not prepared as it was not given adequate notice by the state government. The ineffectiveness of the municipal government became very pronounced when no refuse was collected during the months of April and May in 1978.

The state government realizing the problems faced by the council, donated 32 vehicles. In addition, the state government took part in the collection of refuse. The Ibadan Municipal Government also set up a seven-man technical advisory panel on problems connected with the collection and disposal of waste with a view to making useful recommendations on how to solve the problem. The panel comprised the following members:

1. Dr. Akinyele (University of Ibadan): Chairman
2. Dr. T.B. Adesina (Chief Medical Officer of Health, Ibadan Municipal Government): Member
3. Engr. J.S. Omotosho (Engineer, Ibadan Municipal Government): Member
4. Engr. Tokun (Osot Associates — Town Planners and Engineering Consultants): Member
5. Mr. Yomi Kongi (The Polytechnic, Ibadan — Management Consultant): Member
6. Arc. Oladejo Adedapo (Nominated Councillor, Ibadan Municipal Government): Member
7. Engr. Biyi Ladipo (Waste Disposal Engineer, Ibadan Municipal Government): Member.

The panel met and submitted a report. Part of the report were adopted for the effective management of waste disposal in Ibadan. Within a short period, some of the problems associated with the collection and disposal of waste re-emerged. It was reported that only 8 out of the 32 vehicles donated by the government were roadworthy. The council made appeals to various associations and philanthropists until the Tipper Owners' Association lent the municipal government 30 tippers free of interest for only five days. This kind gesture by the Tipper Owners' Association, however, could only do little and the problem persisted.

However, in August 1978, the council authorized the hiring of vehicles for the collection of waste and refuse. In addition, the military administrator, Colonel Paul

Tarfa, declared an emergency operation to tackle the problems of poor sanitation in Ibadan. The Nigerian Army, the Ministry of Works and Housing (Sewage Division) of the municipal government and some firms like Messrs Tilbury Nigeria, Strabag, Solel Boneh and G.A. Towogbade also assisted in the collection of refuse. This joint operation was very successful, as it improved the poor sanitary conditions considerably. Messrs. A.G. Leventis also donated two tractors and trailers to the municipal government to alleviate the situation.

### **Night operation**

The night operation brought about considerable improvements in the council's collection and disposal of refuse. Fewer vehicles at night meant less hindrances. Hence, the operation was easier than what it used to be during the day. Also, the quantity of waste usually collected and disposed of were found to be much more than what was usually collected during the day. However, this system had its own disadvantages. For instance, the wear and tear on vehicles that are kept on the road for upward of 22 hours everyday reduced the life span of the vehicles. Similarly, the effect on the men was noticeable through frequent sick leave.

### **Liquid wastes (conservancy services)**

This is another aspect that constituted a lot of problems to the council. The problems became pronounced after the waste disposal board was dissolved. It became very tough to collect excrement from individual homes. In the meantime, the municipal council made use of its conservancy staff.

### **Education and community development**

In 1954, the Western Region was controlled by the Action Group. But the then Ibadan District Council was under the control of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Because of the political differences, the tension between the government and the council was almost palpable. Apart from cases of victimization and abuse of power levelled against the regional government, there were glaring acts of discrimination. This eventually affected the management of education schemes by the then district council. For instance, the government came up with a policy on primary school building and the acquisition of school sites, stating that the building programme would be carried out by the local government councils throughout the Western Region. But in the case of Ibadan, the executive council decided that the Ibadan Council should not participate in the scheme.

To justify the exclusion of the Ibadan District Council from participating, the

executive council stated that the Ibadan District Council was corrupt. Since the council had just started barely two months before that decision was taken, and since no allegation of corruption had been levelled against the council before that date by the regional government, the claim by the executive council was baseless. It was discovered that because many Action Group members lived at Oke-Ado, plots of land that were acquired compulsorily by the council for educational purposes were later given to their respective owners on political grounds.

### **The administration of education**

The administration of schools was under the supervision of the council from 1954. The Ibadan District Council employed one Mr. Adeegan as the first education secretary. Later on during the Local Education Authority system, Chief Oyedele was appointed as the local education secretary. In 1959, Professor Bayo Akinola became the local education officer and after him was Dr. E. O. Adetunji, who was succeeded by Mr. Fatoki.

In July 1968, the local education authorities and the joint education boards were abolished and their functions were transferred to the local school boards, which were under the direct control of the Western State Ministry of Education.

Between 1954 and 1955, the local government councils in the state were authorized to promote education schemes. Thus, they were in charge of primary schools, secondary schools, as well as Grade II teacher training colleges. Grants were usually given to any school which met certain requirements laid down by the state government.

The responsibility for primary and adult education was formally transferred to the Ibadan Municipal Government in April, 1978. At this time, the municipal government was responsible for about 284 schools. In addition, there were 18 nursery schools established and run by private individuals and 34 secondary schools, one polytechnic run by the Oyo State Government and one university run by the federal government, within the jurisdiction of the Ibadan Municipal Government.

In addition to the schools owned and maintained by the municipal government, there was a vocational training centre for women. Twenty-one trainees graduated from the centre in September 1979. Another batch of 25 trainees were enrolled in October 1978. In 1979, the centre turned out 285 graduates.

There was clamour in some quarters that the duration of the adult education



course should be extended from one year to two years. Between 1978 and 1979, 415 adults enrolled in the ten centres and 310 completed the adult literacy course.

### **Community development in Ibadan Municipal Government**

Community development was given special attention in the Ibadan Municipal Government. For administrative purposes and effective management, the community development section was divided into three parts in the municipal government. These are:

- The self-help project
- The adult literacy education unit
- The youth service section.

The self-help project schemes involved the construction of roads, bridges, culverts, the sinking of wells and so on. The municipal government established the self-help committees to help the municipal government to link up with the people and help them take decisions for the improvement of the areas.

### **Grants**

There were three categories of grants usually given by the Ibadan Municipal Government for community projects.

1. Special grant given on big projects, ranging from ₦4,000 to ₦5,000.
2. Occasional grants
3. General grants given to cover things like youth service and so on.

Grants were usually given after the inspection of the projects by an agency of the government. In the first place, a recommendation for the grant would have to be made by the community development inspector to the zonal inspector. The zonal inspector would then pass the recommendation to the appropriate ministry of the government for action.

### **Selected readings**

1. Ortegay, G. J. 1966. *Mission of the University*. W.W. Norton, New York
2. Gould, J. and Klob, W. 1964. *A Dictionary of the Social Science*. Free Press, New York.
3. Harris, P.J. 1957. *Local Government in the Southern Nigeria*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 27.

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## Christian Missionary Enterprise in Ibadan: 1851-2000

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S. Ademola Ajayi

### Introductory Remarks

One of the centres of intense missionary activity in Nigeria in the 19th and 20th centuries was Ibadan. Christianity was first introduced to Ibadan in 1852. The advent of Christian missionary work in Ibadan is, however, better understood within the larger framework of the genesis of missionary activity in Western Nigeria in particular and in the entire country in general. Missionary activity in Western Nigeria had its historical antecedent in the second half of the 15th century. It began when the Portuguese made contacts with the coastal areas of Nigeria in about 1472.<sup>1</sup> Since then, Christian missionary influence started to be felt in various parts of Western Nigeria. The Portuguese missionaries operated in the Benin Kingdom between 1515 and 1538 at the invitation of the Oba of Benin.<sup>2</sup> But their early efforts failed to completely displace the traditional religion. However, the Portuguese missionaries achieved some measure of success in Warri where, from the 1570s, they began to make considerable impact on the *Olu*,<sup>3</sup> the paramount ruler, but this impact had a political base. For, according to Professor Groves,<sup>4</sup> his real desire seemed to have been for Portuguese military support, rather than for

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1 A. Babs Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), p. 74.

2 For details, see J.F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1965), p.2.

3 Ibid.

4 C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, Volume 1 (London: Lutherworth Press, 1948), p. 58.

Christianity. The *Olu* needed the Portuguese missionaries to support his fight for independence from Benin. In any case, this early missionary effort did not endure. Thus, in spite of the fact that the religion operated there for about a century or more, it never spread beyond the court. Even at the court, true Christianity was confined to the king and princes, as well as the sons of important chiefs. The others in the court merely paid lip service to the religion in order to please the king.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, at the end of the 18th century, the missionary efforts of the Portuguese missionaries in Western Nigeria had failed. The only impact was that a few citizens had their secular lives influenced, to some extent, by European ways and this was because of economic, political and social advantages.

However, by the beginning of the 19th century, there was a new missionary zeal to evangelize not only Western Nigeria, but the entire country. The impetus behind this movement was largely the evangelical revival of the 18th century, which had its base in Britain, and later in the United States of America. The evangelical revival owed much to the work of John Wesley.<sup>6</sup> It was an attempt to evangelize beyond the court, but what gave evangelization so much strength to succeed in Nigeria, as in other parts of West Africa, was its close association with the anti-slavery movement.<sup>7</sup>

The humanitarians and philosophers of the Age of Reason and Enlightenment (most of whom were evangelicals themselves) had advocated that the slave trade should be attacked right from its source of supply in Africa. They therefore brought the whole weight of the evangelical movement behind the anti-slave trade movement. The solution to the problem of abolition, it was believed, was to be found partly in Christianity, which was hoped would open the minds and eyes of the people to see the evils of this nefarious trade.<sup>8</sup>

At any rate, the enduring and successful missionary activity in Nigeria in the 19th century began largely in Yorubaland and other parts of southern Nigeria. Consequent upon the anti-slave trade and anti-slavery abolitionist acts of 1807 and 1833, respectively, many freed slaves of Yoruba origin returned from Freetown

5 Readers interested in a comprehensive account will benefit from the analysis in J.F. Ade Ajayi, *op. cit.*, p3.

6 *Ibid.* p.7.

7 *Ibid.* p 8-9.

8 *Ibid.*



(Sierra Leone) to Badagry, Lagos and Abeokuta in the 1830s. By 1842,<sup>9</sup> no less than five hundred liberated slaves from Sierra Leone had settled in Abeokuta alone, while some three hundred ex-slaves were reported to have returned to settle in Badagry. It is significant to note that many of those emigrants had become Christians. These Christians appealed to the Wesleyan Mission and the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the missionary arm of the Anglican Church, then based in Sierra Leone, for missionaries to work among them. Consequent upon this appeal, therefore, the CMS and Methodists began to establish missions in Yorubaland. This effort began in 1841, when two CMS missionaries, Rev. J.F. Schon and Samuel Ajayi Crowther (who was later to become the first African Bishop of the CMS) accompanied the 1841 Niger Expedition. In 1846, Henry Townsend of the CMS established a resident mission at Abeokuta with Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther (ordained in 1843) as one of his assistants. It was from here that the CMS expanded to Lagos in 1852 and Ibadan in 1853. Other missionary bodies who followed suit in Ibadan and environs were the Methodist and Baptist Missions and, thereafter, the Roman Catholic Mission, among others.

### **Ibadan on the eve of the advent of Christianity**

The advent of Christianity in Ibadan in the mid-19th century was met by two established forces: African Traditional Religion and Islam. A brief analyses of these two groups will provide a sufficient background for an understanding of Christian missionary activity in this area.

### **Traditional religion in Ibadan**

"In all things, they are religious," says Professor Bolaji Idowu, in analyzing the keynote of the life of the Yoruba people.<sup>10</sup> Traditional religion had existed in Yorubaland from the earliest beginnings and, had, for all practical purposes, been firmly rooted in Ibadan before the advent of the Christian missionary work. Its basic features which consist, among others, of the systems by which the people determine their values and means of expressing their existence, include: belief about the deity, the universe and its natural phenomena, creation, belief in spirits and divinities, magic and medicine, witchcraft, life and life after death, etc. In Ibadan,

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9 A. Babs Fafunwa, *op. cit.* p. 77.

10 E. Bolaji Idowu. *Olodumare, God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longman, 1962) p.5

traditional festivals featured prominently. The most prominent of which are the *Oke'badan* and *Egungun* festivals. Such *Egungun* include *Eegun Oloolu* and *Alapansapa*, *Ayelabola*, *Eleeko*, *Opoki*, *Amoniloju* and *Ajagila*.

Another feature which clearly brings out the nature of Yoruba traditional religion, concerns the religious practices of the people, in which their beliefs are practically demonstrated. Such practices include their pattern of praying, sacrifices, offerings, religious ceremonies and rituals. As a matter of fact, the entire behaviour of the people in the pre-missionary era was regulated strictly by their religious beliefs, which covered the following: socio-economic behaviour, marital relationships, military obligations, moral behaviour, use of charms, law and order, and the like. The people of Ibadan, like their kith and kin in other parts of Yorubaland, held firmly to their traditional religious beliefs and socio-cultural practices in the pre-missionary period, for fear of the punishment or consequences of non-compliance with the religious norms. This successfully served the people of Ibadan, before the introduction of Islam and Christianity. Accruing knowledge of some of the characteristic features of the traditional religion was to inform the mode of the work of evangelization of the Christian missionaries when they arrived in Ibadanland.

### **Islam in Ibadan in the pre-Christian missionary era**

By the 1840s, when Christian missionaries got to Nigeria, the Islamic religion had been effectively established in different parts of the country, including Ibadan. Space will not permit a detailed account of the introduction and spread of Islam in Nigeria, or in Ibadan (the focal point of this chapter). Suffice it to say that Islam antedated Christianity in the entire country by several centuries. In Hausaland in particular, and the geographical enclave later known as Northern Nigeria in general, Islam was strengthened by the Fulani Jihad at the beginning of the nineteenth century, specifically from 1804 to about 1831. The revolutionary religious movement, led by Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio,<sup>11</sup> resulted in the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, incorporating the entire northern area of Nigeria and beyond. Outside the Sokoto Caliphate, the religion of Islam rapidly made its influence felt in some parts of southwestern Nigeria, where some of the Christian missionaries first concentrated in the nineteenth century. This was largely due to the influence

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11 For details on the origin and growth of the Fulani Jihad, see D. Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (Longman, 1968) and J.H. Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

of the Fulani jihadists, under the inspiration of Usman Dan Fodio, and their local collaborators, especially in Yorubaland.

Before the introduction of the Christian religion, Islam had reached Ibadan as early as the 1830s,<sup>12</sup> and had been embraced by many, due largely to its flexibility and exercise of freedom in the mode of worship. Because of its relatively easy adaptation to the Yoruba culture and its concomitant assimilation by many Yoruba, Islam enjoyed the patronage of prominent Ibadan chiefs and power holders. As a result, the Muslims wielded great political influence. For instance, the "chiefs always included a few Muslim priests in their entourage,"<sup>13</sup> and some of the important political office holders were Muslims. Prominent among these were Chief Akiliyu and Ladanu (the Seriki), in the time of Oluyole.<sup>14</sup> Besides, Ojo Amepo, a prominent *Aare Ona Kakanfo* in Ibadan, was a Muslim.<sup>15</sup> By the same token, a *Sarumi* under Oluyole, by name Opeagbe, rose to the rank of *Baale* of Ibadan in about 1850.<sup>16</sup> "The only man at Ijaye, for whom Kurunmi entertained any regard," was his Balogun,—"Olasilo alias Ogunkoroju, a Mohammedan and friend of Balogun Odesinle of Ibadan."<sup>17</sup> The point being emphasized is that not only had the Islamic religion been very well-rooted and consolidated, but the Muslim culture had been fairly well integrated in Ibadan prior to the advent of the Christian missions in the area.

Perhaps before rounding off our discussion on the place of Islam in Ibadan before the advent of the Christian missions, it is pertinent to remark that the Yoruba notion of the historical sequence of the three major religions known to them — traditional religion, Islam and Christianity — is well epitomized in the saying:

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12 T.G.O. Gbadamosi. *The Growth of Islam Among the Yoruba* (London: Longman, 1978).

13 Bolanle Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the Nineteenth Century", D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1964, p.124

14 Samuel Johnson. *History of the Yorubas*, (reprt: London: Lowe and Brydone, 1969), p. 291-292

15 Ibid. p.386. Interestingly enough, the great influence which the Muslims maintained in the traditional government of Ibadanland, even to this day, is a matter of common knowledge.

16 T.G.O. Gbadamosi, op. cit, p.25.

17 S. Johnson, p. 283.



*Aye l'a ba 'fa*                      First there was Ifa,  
*Aye l'a a 'mole*                      Then came Islam,  
*Osan angan n'igbagbo wo le de*              Christianity gained influx late in the day.

There is a variant of this saying, which nonetheless gives no difference in meaning.

*Ile la ba 'fa*                      We met Ifa at home  
*Ile la ba 'm le*                      We met Islam at home  
*Osan gangan n'igbagbo wo le de*              But Christianity arrived late in the day.

This notion of the succession of the three principal religions in the entire Yorubaland today is apposite of the place of Islam in Ibadan on the eve of the arrival of the Christian Missions. Thus, by the 1840s,<sup>18</sup> that is, before the Christian missions ever ventured into Ibadan, Islamic religion had become a force to reckon with, firmly rooted in the area and wielding some modicum of influence.

### **The planting of Christianity in Ibadan**

The first set of Christian missionaries in Ibadan were from the Anglican mission. To David Hinderer, a German missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), goes the credit of being the first European missionary to visit Ibadan to lay the foundation of Christian missionary enterprise in the city. In 1851, he penetrated from Abeokuta, where he and Henry Townsend, Gollmer and other CMS missionaries had been on a missionary sojourn. He arrived Ibadan "with a trading party consisting of no less than 4000 people."<sup>19</sup> Such a large party might have been informed by the threat to life which the bush paths posed to solitary travellers occasioned by the internecine wars ravaging Yorubaland. David Hinderer and his team were well received by the Baale Olugbode and his chiefs, who demonstrated great hospitality to the missionary. After spending five exploratory months in Ibadan, they returned to Lagos to prepare more fully to establish a mission station in Ibadan. On his return to Ibadan in 1852, David Hinderer was accompanied by his wife, Anna. The couple secured land from the Baale and thereafter made Kudeti their seat of evangelism. The Hinderers were pioneering missionaries with unbounded zeal, focus and determination, despite the challenges associated with such pioneering ventures. Apart from establishing the first church in Ibadan, that

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18 T.G.O. Gbadamosi, *op. cit.*

19 Anna Hinderer, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, C.A. Hone and D. Hone, editors (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1872) p. 229

## Rams and the Man: War, Culture and Mimesis in Animal Sports

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Ayobami Adeduntan

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### Introduction

Conflict, competition and strife have been dominant keywords in the historical and sociological understanding of Ibadan as a space.<sup>1</sup> Since the middle of the 19th century when it started as a military camp, the mode and temper of social relation in Ibadan have been cast in terms that are essentially agonistic. Some of Bolanle Awe's works reveal this culture of competition and strife.<sup>2</sup> The need to repel invasion from its neighbours and its own campaign against them for slaves, spoil and territorial expansion put considerable premium on its military ability. There were, as such, rewards attached to strength, aggression and bravado. In the century that followed, as the modern state sought to wean the city from its crude expression of aggression and territoriality, war, conflict and strife, with which the Ibadan consciousness works, continue to manifest in subsidiary forms that are either forbidden, yet underhandedly tolerated by the state or statutorily permissible outright. A ready example of the survival of the war instinct could be found among the commercial transport operators in the city, a majority of whom are of Ibadan

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<sup>1</sup> K.A. Adeduntan, "Texts and Contexts of Yoruba Hunters' Narrative Performance", Ph.D. Thesis. University of Ibadan, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> B. Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the Nineteenth Century", D. Phil Thesis, Oxford University, Oxford, 1963.

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"Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example" *The Journal of African History* 1973; 14(1): 65-77.

origin. Gang fights among commercial motorists, most of which end in gruesome fatalities, are not found in Ibadan alone. Examples abound in other cities of Nigeria, such as Lagos and Onitsha. But in Ibadan, power struggle in the 'gangdom' is more unmistakably sub-textual to the larger political situation in the state. For example, the change of power from one party or one faction within a party to



**Figure 10.1.** Ram fight, Beere, Ibadan (07/12/08).

another resonates in the motor parks. Boundaries are redefined to align with the new order, as the new gang drives the old one from the park,<sup>3</sup> taking over from it the right to impose and collect park tolls.

Ram fight, the focus of this chapter, is the fight between two rams for human entertainment. In Sango, Beere, Yemetu and Orita Aperin areas of Ibadan, quick-session matches are organized every Sunday, beginning from about ten o'clock in the morning and ending around one o'clock in the afternoon. The arena, about 20 square metres wide, is cordoned off by a perimeter of rope—a ring in its own right. Usually, it is an undeveloped piece of land used as a football pitch by the youth, or a public school lawn.

<sup>3</sup> The verb used in such context is *gba garage* (seizes the park), putting in relief a sense of siege and garrison.





Figure 10.2 The arena, Beere, Ibadan (07/12/08).

The terms of many of the competitions depend on the wishes of the ram owners. It may be agreed that the rams should fight to the finish, that is, until one of the rams flees or falls and is unable to continue to fight. A ram owner may speculate that another ram cannot stand a particular number of blows from his own animal. In such a situation, the other ram wins if it neither flees nor falls at the count of that number. The ram owner also has a right to withdraw his animal mid-fight, in

which case the other ram is declared the winner.

### Religion and counter-culture

The ram is the sacrificial animal in the Muslim ritual of *Eid al-Adha*. The animal is described in the lore as aggressive. In this light, the following two Yoruba proverbs are readily



Figure 10.3. Fight to the finish, Yemetu, Ibadan (15/08/11).

invoked: *Agbo t'o ta 'di m' eyin, agbara lo l o mu wa* (a ram that moves backward during a fight has not been defeated, but has gone to renew its strength) and *Agbo meji o gbodo mu mi ni koto* (two rams cannot drink at the same time from one pot). These proverbs suggest a conflict situation. The first connotes the tact of retreating in order to return and deal the enemy a harder blow. The second underlines uncooperation between two warring parties. The bellicose nature of the ram might as well also be the reason it is held as sacred to Sango, the irascible and quick-tempered deity of thunder, lightning and rain. The Muslim Eid al-Adha is, however, the main factor for the wide dispersal of different breeds of ram among the Yoruba. Today, not only the local dwarf breed is used in the Muslim yearly rite, but also the exotic hybrid types generally known as *Ruda*.

As it seeks to entrench solemnity and ritual sanctity, religion also spawns counter-practices that are as rebellious and profane. By this, one does not mean the kind of liminal licence that Turner<sup>4</sup> shows as permissible within the ritual structure, from which the agent is meant to recuperate. It is a counterculture that would perpetuate and later stabilize itself to such a point as constitute identifiable hegemony. The history of the origin and development of *Fuji*, a Yoruba musical form, is an interesting illustration of this dialectic. Beginning as *Were*, a musical performance during the period of Ramadan, the Muslim thirty days of fasting, the form has been secularized to such a degree that *Fuji* music now thematizes sexuality and eroticism. Just as Islam frowns at the explicit portrait of eroticism and sex, it also disproves of pitting not only rams, but also other animals in a fight. According to Mr M.A. Raji, a practicing Muslim:

Lakokoo na, awon eran yii, Olorun oba lo ro won fun wa, o je ki a l'agbara lori i won nitori Olorun fi ogbon si awa eda eniyan ninu lati le pa won. Bi Olorun se ro won fun wa yii ni a se l'agbara lori i won, nitori pe agbara to wa lara ogoji i gende lo wa lara maalu eyo kan soso. Ka waa mu awon eran yii nitori Olorun ro won fun wa lati maa fi kan, o je nkan ti o lodi'. Bi igba ti a n fi iya je awon eran yii ni.

Leekeji, awon eran yii, t'aa ba fe fi pa Ileya, won o gbodo ni aleebu kankan lara. Ko gbodo fo l'uju, ko gbo'do ge l'eti, ko si gbodo kan n'iwo. Awon ti won n fi eran kan, won n fi iya je awon eran yii ni,

<sup>4</sup> Victor Turner. *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957).

nitori Olorun ti je ki won l'agbara ju awon eran wonyi lo. O lodi' s'ofin Islam patapata.

First, the animals were tamed for man by God so that we could subdue them with our intelligence and kill them. We have power over them simply because God has tamed them, for only one cow has the strength of forty able-bodied men. Now, to take advantage of their tameness and pit these animals against each other is bad. It amounts to punishing them unfairly.

Second, when these animals have been marked out for the Eid-al-Adha sacrifice, they are not to be maimed in any way. The ram should neither be blind, nor be made to lose any of its ears or horns. So those who use them as game animals are inflicting pains on the animals without justification just because God has given them dominion over the animals. Such practice is entirely contrary to the tenets of Islam.<sup>5</sup>

But the prospect of entertainment seems more compelling than the voice of God. Since the early 1970s in Ibadan, boys and young men who led the family animals to graze on the football fields would not only divert themselves watching the rams fight but, in fact, pit the rams against each other. According to Mr Mukaila Akintunde, who grew up in a largely Muslim extended family in the Yemetu area of the city, the excitement of having a ram to fight other rams for him and his peers in the 1980s surpassed the joy of being bought new attires:

Eran rira, o jo'mo' loju j' aso lo. Ti won o ba r'aso fun wa nigba yen, taa ba ti re ran, ohun t'on se wa ti tan.

To buy a ram used to gratify a child more than buying him a new cloth. Even if no cloth was bought for us at that time, we would not worry as long as we had a ram.<sup>6</sup>

Though ram fights in Ibadan have since moved beyond what was described above, the basis for it was, as it still is, with the more organized outgrowth, the primordial human desire for primacy.

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<sup>5</sup> Personal interaction, 6th July, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Group discussion, 2nd May, 2011.



### Mimesis and Postnymic

The quasi-mimetic dimension of ram fights in Ibadan could first be seen from the point that man swaps identities with the ram. As mentioned earlier, ram fight is a sublime enactment of the same passion expressed in murder, skirmishes and invasion, a few hundred years ago. In that sense, ram fight is similar to soccer, boxing, tennis and many other sports in their highlight of victory and reward. In a polar placement of ritual and game, Layiwola<sup>7</sup> touches upon this aspect with regard to game. In his schema, while ritual is sacred, religious, liberating and fulfilling, among others, game is profane, secular, emphasizing conquest and disillusioning. But more than in many other games or sports, ram fight raises mimesis a bit higher, as man and animal trade identities. As pointed out by Wallace Craig,<sup>8</sup> animals that fight without being induced by man have different reasons for doing so other than entertaining human spectators. It is through that imposition of a role, as upon the actor or the gladiator, that the mimetic is inaugurated. The role-play does become so explicit in certain contexts when an owner or a fan refers to the ram as himself in relation to another's ram: *Oo le gba igbo mejji mi* (you can't stand two blows from me), *Ija ti mo ja l'Okee 'Badan n'lóse tokoja bun o derun* (the fight I had at Oke-Ibadan last week was fierce). Geertz<sup>9</sup> described a very similar attachment between cocks that are induced to fight and their owners in Bali, Indonesia.

In the naming and identification of the rams themselves, the mimetic becomes more definite. While some rams are given names by their owners, even before they make it to the fighting arena, many get their names from spectators, sometimes spontaneously at mid-fight. A ram with a record of fighting two opponents to death was once called 'hired killer'<sup>10</sup> by a spectator, and the name stuck. The same aggressive overtone marks the names given many other fighting rams: *Cause-Trouble*, *Poison*, *Ajagunghade* (he-who-fought-in-order-to-win-a-title), *Warrior*, etc. The naming of the ram echoes the praxis of human re-identification in the social culture in which the ram fight is found. A man formally named *Tooki*, may thus come to be

<sup>7</sup> Dele Layiwola. *A Place Where Three Roads Meet: Literature, Culture and Society* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> W. Craig, "Why Do Animals Fight?" *International Journal of Ethics* 1921; 31(3): 264 – 278.

<sup>9</sup> C. Geertz. *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

<sup>10</sup> i.e. assassin

identified with a similarly sounding name, *Tokyo*, or another man christened *Ayo*, may simply become known as *Cobra*. Such names, referred to as postnymics here, have been shown to be very popularly adopted by the Yoruba hunters, who are typically driven by a consummate variant of such a spirit of rebellion and discovery as the one that powers ram fight as a counterculture.<sup>11</sup>

The temperaments and ideas that the names of the fighting rams denote are numerous. *Pencil*, *baby boy*, *bullet*, *bajaj*, and *bummer* all reference the automobile as luxury to which the ram owners and lovers aspire. Interestingly, these references

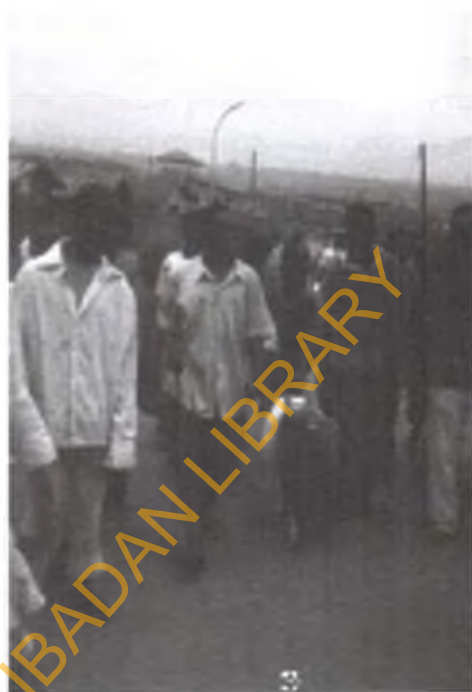


Figure 10.4 Escorting a champion ram, *Lucifer*, to the arena.



Figure 10.5. Champion rams' names inscribed as legends on a vest.

sometimes have already acquired an initial connotative coating before they are deflected to the rams. For example, *Pencil*, in the Nigerian parlance, denotes first the 1997 model of Toyota Camry, and *Baby Boy*, the 1998 Honda Accord. *Bullet* has dual primary referents to which the ram is made to connect: first, the projectile fired from a gun, and second, a 1995 model of Honda Accord. Also, both popular and loathed personages are invoked in the ram's naming:

<sup>11</sup> K.A. Adeduntan, "Texts and Contexts of Yoruba Hunters' Narrative Performance", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 2009.

*Obasanjo, Obama, Lucifer, Osama, Awilo, Akala, Olubadan, K1,*<sup>12</sup> *Alaaji Agba,*<sup>13</sup> *Dangote, Bob Marley,* etc. The culturally disjunctive nature of the postnonyms is best appreciated in the light of some sort of ethic that forbids a human name being given to an animal. In rare moments, when pets, such as dogs, are thus given a known person's name, it is to entrench the performative continuity of a hate-text, an abuse of the original human referent.

But as it concerns ram fight, man is not discounted by sharing his name with the ram, he rather seeks a sort of performative renewal in the process. For example, an animal that had been identified as *Ayegbajeje's* ram, could later be known simply as *Ayegbajeje* when it became a hero, attaining a total assumption of the owner's name. The rams' names also reflect the disconnect from the mainstream values, carried over from the emerging hip-hop amorality that does not only tolerate sleaze and confidence game, but indeed celebrate them. Such names as *Yahoozay, Teke* and *419* are all drawn from the hip-hop picaresque narratives that favour the portrait of the swindler.<sup>14</sup>

### Counterdiscourse

Ram fight is a liminoid outgrowth of an Islamic ritual. It started off in defiance of the Islamic hegemony and thrives in spite of it. In the explanation cited above, Mr M.A. Raji touches upon two important points that are representative of the orthodox Muslim position on ram fight. These two points relate to: the fitness of the animal as an oblation and humanitarian consideration. In response to this popular indictment, one may aggregate the ram fight counter-hegemony in the following terms:

- The fighting ram is neither a sacrificial animal nor ram fight a sacrificial ritual;
- The fighting ram attains a higher dignity in the arena than in the slaughterhouse.

The reflection of Mr Mufutau Salami, better known as 'Marvel', is representative of the ram fight counterdiscourse:

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<sup>12</sup> Wasiu Ayinde, a popular Fuji musician.

<sup>13</sup> Sikiru Ayinde, a popular Fuji Musician.

<sup>14</sup> Examples of such songs are Olu Maintain's "Yahoozay," D'Banj's "Mo bo lowo won" and Kelly Hansom's "Magga don Pay."



Ati kekere ni mo ti n ma n fi eran ja'... Sugbon a je igba Ileya ye n t'aa ma n se e, o n dun, o n dun. Igba ti mo wa n dagba, mo wa ri i pe o ye ki n maa sin eran, nitori eran ti n ba feran t'o lee ja, ko si bi n se le feran e to, awon obi mi a ni ka pa a je ni. Mo wa pinu lati ma a sin eran.

I started fielding game rams as a youth. But it used to be during the Eid season. It used to be very entertaining. When I grew older, I decided to start breeding my own animals, for however much I liked a ram for its ability to fight, my parents would eventually kill it. I therefore decided to start raising my own animals.<sup>15</sup>

Ram fight culture thus confirms its total cleavage from religious ritual. But more significantly, in doing so, it somehow contests the charge of inhumanity to animals that the Muslim text insinuates. It is in recognition of the possibility of the ram attaining some sort of freedom—to fight, to win, and to lose—that the ram fight text tries to refract that charge of inhumanity. Musibau 'Kangol' Atilade, a game ram owner in Orita Aperin, expressed the sentiment this way:

Awa ni belief... pe ko n se tori Ileya ni mo fi n sin i... Ida keji e ni wipe awon eran yii, awon naa stubborn. To'n ba rira a won, lai se pe e de won sira won, won a fee ja ku. Imii si wa to se pe k'ee fi won si raa won d'otunla mefa, won o nii ja. Won o se e force. Nkan t'owu wo' n ni won n se.

Our belief... is that I am not breeding the animals for the Eid season. Also, these animals are themselves very bellicose. When two animals meet, without anyone prompting them, they would fight each other almost to death. And on some other occasions, some rams would refuse to fight even if you prompt them persistently. You cannot force them to do what they otherwise would not do.<sup>16</sup>

Ram fight thereby responds to the hegemony through a subtle *counter-otbering* of the Eid ritual. The game ram is an entity permitted freedom and free will that the sacrificial ram does not enjoy.

<sup>15</sup> Personal interaction, 8th May, 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Personal interaction, 28th November, 2010.

Even in the arena and in the sidelines, the ritual ram is idiomatized as the ‘other’ to which the fighting ram compares. It is held among the game ram owners and spectators that there is always a lull in the quality of fight during the Eid al Adha season, because ‘ill-bred’ rams meant for sacrifice do find their way to the arena. It should be noted that the fighting ram is humanized to a point that it has such character traits as bravery, timidity, circumspection, impatience, etc. Invariably, the ram owner’s judgement of a combination of some of these traits in a game ram is a factor in how his ram would fare in the arena. In a sense, “you do not teach a ram to fight; you seek out a warrior ram and bring him to the arena.” This does not however preclude the necessity of grooming the ram through such means as feeding, medication and moderation of sexual activities.

As Craig<sup>17</sup> notes, propensity for aggression in animals is partly dependent on the condition under which they are reared. It is against this backdrop that the Eid al Adha ram is profiled as a rogue and unfit for the arena. The Eid al Adha ram is not going to be around long enough to be endeared to the cheering crowd and attain the status of a legend as do vintage game rams. So the Eid al Adha is a season of glut when rams of low pedigree—sometimes referred to as *Omo ole* (the lazy ones) — flock the arena. A boy watching an unevenly matched pair of rams in a fight during the 2009 Eid al Adha season once jeered: *Ogufe le n wo hun. One blow lasan, ee se’be ti ee d’ola ni* (That animal is but a mere goat. One blow from the other, and you’ll have meat to cook for the day).<sup>18</sup> The ‘othering’ is realized in the metaphor of ‘goat’, animal for the table, used to identify the Eid al Adha animal among the two.

It is in the informal performance of heroic stories of memorable fights that rams are most humanized. Long after they have quit the arena, names of certain rams are still mentioned in the discussions and comments on the sidelines. One spectator could point to the similarity in the manner in which a ram’s positioning of the horns before impact with the enemy so much reminds him of Abacha, hence one could hear a ram nicknamed “Abacha—the killer ram.” On one occasion, three spectators held a conversation on the fight between a ram named Dangote from Ibadan and another ram in Lagos. In this narrative, Ibadan-Lagos territoriality suggests the idea of battle. The enemy ram in Lagos had been fortified with spiritual powers to ensure that Dangote of Ibadan does not stand thirty blows from the

<sup>17</sup> Craig, W. op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> Observation at Oke Agala, Yemetu, 6 September 2009.

former. But Dangote was clairvoyant as well. He became so unusually sober on the eve of that fight that the owner had to visit a spiritualist, who offered a prayer to God on his behalf. In the arena in Lagos, Dangote received twenty-nine of the enemy's blows without showing any sign of distress. Upon taking the thirtieth, he fell to his knees. As the umpire was about to announce the enemy ram winner and the betting parties start to settle their wager, Dangote rose and made for the enemy. In the heat of the excitement, the owner gave permission that Dangote should fight to the finish. As the fight became tense and the enemy ram started to falter, the enemy owner threw in the towel and Dangote was declared winner.

### Space, Economy and Emergence of New Hegemony

The multiple utility of space in many cultures of Africa complicates the issue of "non-productivity of performance space" raised by Caillois<sup>19</sup> and probed further by Schechner.<sup>20</sup> In relation to such performance genres as plays, soccer and boxing, Caillois and Schechner seem to have agreed that performance spaces "are economically non-self supporting."<sup>21</sup> But Schechner later notes that the television presents us with the "ability to conflate all these [performance] spaces into one box multiplied millions of times."<sup>22</sup> Among the Yoruba, as in many other African cultures, the open market may function as the king's courtyard, the shrine of some deity and the stage for the theatre of Alarinjo. In this sense, determining the status of any such open space becomes intractable on the basis of its utility. A space is only a plot of land designed for a hall, a school soccer pitch, a praying ground or a ram fight arena at the moment of that activity. It is very much unlike the metropolitan theatres "that lie fallow during great hunks of time..., are used on an occasion rather than steady basis, and are unused "during large parts of the day, and often for days on end."<sup>23</sup>

The arenas of ram fight in Ibadan are not underutilized in the manner of the modern theatre. Ram fight takes advantage of spaces that are fallow on Sunday:

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<sup>19</sup> R. Caillois, *Man, Play and Games* (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

<sup>20</sup> R. Schechner, *Performance Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.



public schools, sporting centres, construction sites, etc. Commerce and gambling also thrive on the sidelines. Vendors peddle items ranging from fruits and confectioneries to tobacco and marijuana. Very close to the perimeter, an astute fellow could also make available plastic seats for rent at the rate of ₦50 apiece. Sometimes, stakes and reckoning would end in disputes and fights would break out among the spectators as it ends among the rams. All these and other activities that go on within the relatively short time that the space is an arena would further make it difficult to gauge productivity in accurately and specifically monetary terms.

The scenario described by Geertz<sup>24</sup> is a type of reaction by the mainstream to the marginal culture. It is frontal and expressed in such terms as police raid and imprisonment. It drives the culture underground, while its agency devices decoys to elude persecution, and thereby adding a fresh element of adventure, risk and delight to the carnival. One finds a second type of response in Olorunyomi's study on Fela Anikulapo-Kuti's oeuvre.<sup>25</sup> According to him, there was a trend in the mutation of a counterculture into hegemony. The counterculture is taken from its original source and relocated in the mainstream, often with an exclusionist facility that walls it off from the social class that originated it, thus pushing that class into a new margin, now that the erstwhile margin has become a new centre. Ram fight, belonging in the second category, today aspires to some sort of official recognition.

Associations such as Ram Sports Promoters Association of Nigeria and Nigerian Association of Ram Owners have emerged and seem to be gaining followings beyond the city of Ibadan. With rules and increasing organization, there is now a growing tendency to outlaw some of the elements that bastardize ram fight such as betting and mismatching. Mismatching is used here to refer to a situation where a ram that weighs far less than the other is pitted against it on a condition that the 'under-ram' would be declared winner if it does not flee or fall at the count of a given number of blows. On rare but memorable occasions, the less-weighting rams have put the bigger ones to flight, showing the capacity of liminal action to reveal extraordinary potential. In the official competitions that are organized by the various associations, the use of a scale to determine the rams' categories has totally precluded mismatching. As ram fight in Ibadan aspires to the status of an orthodox sport, the carnivalesque that comes with a sheer disregard for order is endangered. This is the fate of all margins that covet the centre.

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<sup>24</sup> C. Geertz, op cit.

<sup>25</sup> S. Olorunyomi, *Afrobeat! Fela and the Imagined Continent* (Ibadan: IFRA, 2005).

**Administration and Management of Health,  
Education and Community Development  
Services in Ibadan: 1951 – 1979**

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Toriola A. Oyewo

**Preamble**

Since health is wealth, it follows, therefore, that no society can exist for long without good health and environmental sanitation schemes. In short, a good health scheme is the hub around which the existence of any society depends. Therefore, in order to ensure a good standard of living, all organizations try as much as possible to improve their health and environmental services.

This chapter considers in detail the administration and management of health services and the environmental sanitation scheme of the Ibadan Municipal Government from 1954 to 1979. It also highlights the progress that was made and the problems encountered in providing these services.

This chapter also considers the category of health services that were prevalent in the local government area with their management and administrative processes. Lastly, it concludes with an appraisal of the whole scheme.

It has always been the concern of the Nigerian government to cater for the basic health needs of the people and environmental sanitation at the grassroots level. The Nigerian Local Government Edict of 1976 has done a lot by virtually assigning all aspects of environmental sanitation to the local governments.<sup>1</sup> To this end, dispensary, maternity care, proper disposal of waste, etc., fell squarely within the purview of each local government council.

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<sup>1</sup> See sections 64 & 65 of the 1976 edict on local governments for the duties which have been assigned to them.

Also, each local government council is expected to help in the promotion of good health by undertaking programmes of health education, especially with respect to planned parenthood and nutrition. The local government councils are also given exclusive preserve over the following duties: routine sanitary inspection of premises, refuse and night-soil disposal, control of vermin, the provision and maintenance of slaughter houses, food hygiene, control of pests, cemeteries and burial grounds.

## **Health and educational services**

### **Management of health services in Ibadan**

From the native administration period up till 1979, public health has been given top priority in Ibadan. When the Ibadan district council was therefore established in 1954, it had no alternative but to widen the scope of the health services and to grapple with the problems of Adeoyo Hospital.

### **Adeoyo Hospital**

The only hospitals for Ibadan and its environs in 1954 were the Jericho and Adeoyo Hospitals. These were absolutely owned by the Ibadan District Council. Incidentally, in 1948, when the University of Ibadan was established, an interim agreement was reached between the Ibadan Native Authority and the University College, stipulating that pending the completion of its own teaching hospital in 1956, the university college should make use of the Adeoyo Hospital as a teaching hospital.

The terms of the agreement were very favourable to the council. The favourable conditions were not to last, as they were disrupted owing to the rancour and petty sentiments of the councillors in 1954. The council left the entire maintenance of the hospital to the university authority.

It was reported that on 27 October 1954, the assistant house governor wrote to the town engineer and complained about the refusal of the council to pay £2,000, being 50% of the cost of fencing the perimeter of the hospital. He commented further that any request for expenditure on the hospital met with the same reply: "no funds", while the University College Hospital had spent thousands of naira on the improvement and maintenance of Adeoyo Hospital.

Hence, the council did almost nothing in relation to the maintenance of the hospital. Everything was left to the University College, whose estimated



expenditure on the maintenance of Adeoyo Hospital was put at £240,000. Added to this was the report of administrative mishaps and fraudulent practices of the council employees at Adeoyo Hospital. They forged receipts and diverted the hospital's money for private use.

Despite suggestions by the University College Hospital authorities to make Adeoyo Hospital a model, the council passed two unrealistic resolutions which made the administrative efficiency and management effectiveness of the hospital a pie in the sky. The first resolution was that of 2 November 1954, which reads:

That this council takes over the control of the antenatal clinic section of the Adeoyo Hospital in order to allay the fears of Ibadan people who now see things with discontent over the alleged ill-treatment and lack of care and sympathy that may result from the impending re-shufflement of staff and section of management now ably led by Mrs. Leeming.

The second resolution was passed on 2 April 1955, which states:

In view of the fact in 1957 when the Adeoyo Hospital will be handed back to the Ibadan District Council, this council will be unable to bear the expenses that will be incurred if the proposals put forward by the University College Teaching Hospital authorities were carried out. The University College Teaching Hospital authorities should be informed that this council rejected all the proposals and that Adeoyo Hospital be left as it is.<sup>2</sup>

After it became evident that the council had failed in its duty of managing and maintaining the hospital, the state government stepped in and replaced the council in the management and administration of the hospital at the expiration of the former agreement between the council and the University Teaching Hospital.

### **The management of health services in Ibadan**

The council's area of jurisdiction covered what we now have as Lagelu, Oluyole, Ona-Ara and Akinyele local governments respectively. These areas, known as Ibadan lesser city, were styled as rural areas.

In order to combat environmental problems, the Ibadan District Council

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<sup>2</sup> E.W.J. Nicholson. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Administration of Ibadan District Council*. (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1956), para. 246, p. 80-83.

established many committees from the early 1950s to the 1960s. These committees were at various times called: the Public Health Committee (1961), the Rural Development Committee (later known as the Social Welfare Committee) and the Health and Social Welfare Committee (1959). Thus, with the help of these committees, the council was better informed about the public health needs of the people.

Moreover, proper care and attention were given to the development of rural health centres like Ijaiye, Ikereku, Lagun and others. For example, the council allotted a sum of £1,200 in 1958 and a further sum of £800 in 1959 for various maternity centers found in Ikereku and Oranyan. And for the maintenance of the dispensaries built at Agodi and Lagun, a sum of £380 and £1200 each were allotted in 1958 and 1959. Also, in 1959, the council voted a sum of £235,760 for the construction of maternity centres in some rural areas.

By the 1964 -1965 estimates, the council voted a sum of £4,600 for drugs and dressings for the maternity centres, while £1,000 was allocated for the maintenance of the centres. However, £3000 was voted for drugs and dressings for dispensaries, while their maintenance was put at £1000 in the 1964/65 estimates.

In 1969/70 and 1970/71, money voted by the council for drugs and dressings for maternity centres was £12,000 and £15,000, respectively, while £7600 and £8000 were allocated for drugs and dressings in the dispensaries.

### **Management and administrative structure**

The Ibadan District Council had a separate health department situated at Onireke, Ibadan to deal with all aspects of public health. The health office had the following units:

1. *The public health nursing section.* This included the midwives, the pharmacist assistants, etc.
2. *The environmental section.* This dealt with the general sanitation of the entire local government area. It saw to the cleanliness of public places like the markets, motor parks, drains and roads, etc.
3. *The local sanitation unit.* This unit is akin to the environmental section. The difference in their function is that the local sanitation unit dealt with the cleanliness of private homes in the local government areas.
4. *The food hygiene unit.* This unit monitored the sale of food, the slaughtering of cattle, sale of meat, regulated premises, corn mills, bakeries and so on. It also dealt with the inspection of animals before they are being slaughtered for sale or for consumption.

is, Saint. David's Church (now St. David's Cathedral) Kudeti, they also established a day school where some of the Ibadan chiefs, high ranking men in the society and interested residents of the town sent their children to acquire Western education. From their initial base in Kudeti, the missionaries went further to establish more churches in other parts of Ibadan, notably in Aremo and Ogunpa.

### Expansion and growth

Before the close of the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Mission, which had been in Lagos since 1863,<sup>20</sup> had spread its tentacles to Ibadan, when Bishop Paul Pellet (later Superior General, SMA) decided to establish a mission in Ibadan, and sent Fathers Pied and I. Klauss to prospect for and possibly secure land.<sup>21</sup> By the beginning of the 20th century, Christianity had been firmly rooted in Ibadan. By this time, several other missionary bodies had established their presence in the town, complementing the efforts of the CMS, Methodist, and Roman Catholic Missions. Early in the 20th century, the Baptist faith, which had started in parts of the country, reached Ibadan, with the establishment of First Baptist Church, Idikan, in 1905. The arrival of the Baptists gave a new impetus to missionary expansion. The 20th century marked an accelerated expansion of churches of various denominations throughout the nooks and crannies of Ibadan.

### Challenges faced by the early missionaries

Like their counterparts who operated in various parts of Yorubaland in particular and Nigeria in general, the early missionaries in Ibadan encountered enormous challenges in the pursuance of their evangelical assignment. In the first instance, the arrival of the missionaries in Ibadan coincided with the political upheaval then ravaging Yorubaland, and Ibadan was at the centrepiece of the ensuing power struggle. The causes of the Yoruba civil wars need not delay us here as there exist a number of comprehensive works on the subject.<sup>22</sup> Suffice to say that following

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20 M.P. Macloughlin, "Highlights of the History of the Catholic Church in the Lagos Ecclesiastical Province" in A.O. Makozi and G.J. Afolabi Ojo, editors, *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan, 1982), p. 15

21 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

22 For the reader who may be interested in the primary insight into these wars, the best account is Samuel Johnson, "The History of the Yorubas", p. 206-637. For a more scholarly presentation, see J.F. Ade Ajayi and Robert S. Smith, "Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century" (Cambridge, 1964).



the demise of the once-powerful Old Oyo Empire, Oyo's hitherto political supremacy in the politics of Yorubaland was being seriously challenged by the rising powers of Ibadan and Ijaye, a situation that resulted in fratricidal civil wars. It was in this prevailing political atmosphere of confusion that the Christian missionaries arrived Ibadan in the mid-19th century. The wars, it must be emphasized, constituted a great hindrance to the Christian evangelization cause in several respects. One of such hindrances at this period was that the wars kept the interior of the Yoruba country, including Ibadanland, in an atmosphere of unrest. Being a period of crisis, the lives of missionaries were in danger. The missionaries were often harassed, captured and detained, thus disrupting their evangelical assignment. In February 1860, for instance, Rev. R.H. Stone of the Baptist Mission, while travelling from Ijaye to Iddo to warn J.C. Vaughan of impending danger, was captured by 100 Ibadan warriors under the command of Balogun Ogunmola's son.<sup>23</sup> Edward Roper, a European CMS missionary, was also captured and detained by Ogunmola<sup>24</sup> in 1862, at the peak of the Ijaye War between Ibadan and Ijaye. It should be noted that the people were not against the missionaries as such, they were only maneuvering them in a political game dictated by the prevailing circumstances. "The constant alarms and occasional actual explosions," remarked Professor Groves, "were severe handicaps to Christian undertaking."<sup>25</sup> The early missionaries in Ibadan, as in some other parts of the Yorubaland, therefore, did not have an easy time in prosecuting their evangelical assignments during the war period, which coincided as it were, with the arrival of the missionaries.

Thus, the attention of many missionaries was diverted from their primary evangelical assignment, being compelled by the exigencies of the war to partake in it to the relative neglect of their primary work. Restraint must, however, be exercised in order not to over emphasize such adverse effects. For on some occasions, such military engagements, though boiled over with the threat of immediate danger, still carried with it promises of eventual advantage. On the other hand, the wars often stood the missionaries in a good stead in their evangelical works, attracting to them a large followership. The occasional interference and influence of these missionaries in the local political affairs in their host

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23 Rev. R.H. Stone Papers: Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Library, Ogbomoso. See his entry for Feb. 20, 1860. Cf. Ajayi and Smith, *op. cit.*, p.30

24 S. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

25 Groves, p.54.

communities during the period, interesting as it looked, had a logic of its own. Saburi Biobaku meant this when he said, "events in Yorubaland had placed missionaries under the protection of chiefs who were at strife with one another and they tended to support their particular protector."<sup>26</sup>

Traditional religion, which had been in operation before the arrival of Christianity, remained resilient. The Yoruba people were already involved in the worship of God, known and addressed as *Olorun* or *Olodumare* (that is, God). There was of course a plurality of divinities such as *Ogun*, *Sango*, *Oya*, *Obatala*, and *Orisa-oko*, who were believed to be intermediaries between the people and God. For all practical purposes, traditional religion served the needs of the people. Consequently, a complete break with traditional religion, which was in vogue on the eve of the advent of the Christian missionaries, was difficult. This indeed posed a serious challenge to the early missionary work in Ibadan. As Professor Omosade Awolalu succinctly points out, with respect to the Yoruba in general, sometimes the conversion from traditional religion was superficial and emotional.<sup>27</sup> Many a convert accepted a copy of the Holy Bible, and used it mainly as a magical companion that was kept under the pillow 'to ward off evils' and sung lustily, 'other refuge have I found'. Yet, he still carried an amulet hidden somewhere on him. Many of such converts found justification in singing the ditty:

<i>Awa o soro ile wa o</i>	We cannot but fulfil our traditional rites
<i>Awa o soro ile wa o</i>	We shall fulfil our traditional rites
<i>Igbagbo o pe kawa ma soro</i>	Christianity does not prevent us from fulfilling our traditional rites
<i>Awa o soro ile wa o</i>	We shall continue to fulfil our traditional rites

In a nutshell, most converts found it very difficult to sever their relationship with their traditional religion and practices, in which they were born. All these factors made it impossible for them to live in a completely separate world of their own. They could not keep themselves completely free from the old, neither could they reject the attraction of the new. Coupled with this were instances of the not-too-friendly disposition to some of the missionary groups. Often times, the missionary groups were given perceived dangerous locations to establish. When the Roman Catholic Church decided to establish a mission station in Ibadan in 1895, for

26 S.O. Biobaku, "The Egba and their Neighbours", p. 70

27 M.P. Macloughlin, op. cit., p. 21.

instance, the missionary party sent, led by Fathers Pied and I. Klaus, went to the Baale and his chiefs, who showed themselves favourable to the establishment of a Catholic Mission.<sup>28</sup> It is true that a site was chosen for the missionary body at Oke Are, but, as M.P. Macloughlin clearly points out, "... the site was a thick bush, almost impenetrable and unapproachable and, sacred to certain fetish worshippers. Few people would risk passing there during the night. Later when clearing the site, many skeletons and sacrificial offerings were found."<sup>29</sup> This was indicative of the dilemma some of the pioneers faced on the field in the Ibadan of old. Despite afflictions and persecution, the missionaries still laboured to establish or expand their mission work, counting their lives a worthy sacrifice for the course of Christianity. Many converts were won because of their strong will and determination to succeed.

The challenge of Islam was equally there to contend with. The Muslim population, which had wielded a considerable degree of influence earnestly opposed the new dispensation. Mojola Agbebi, one of the native Baptists, lamented the situation in the entire West African sub-region in the following words:

One... apparent difficulty in the way of native church-work in Africa, without which it would be an easier task to attack the strongholds of Satan and reap large harvest of souls is Mohammedanism... the native churches in West Africa have only the Mohammedan for their antagonists in the field of labour.<sup>30</sup>

He then concluded in bitter terms: "...without Mohammedanism, it would be an easier task to Christianise the country."<sup>31</sup>

It has been observed that in the traditional Nigerian setting, especially among the Yoruba, "the relationship between Islam and Christianity was marked by the eternal competition for the souls of men."<sup>32</sup> This was no less a reality in Ibadan throughout the period covered by this study. The degree of such competition was

28 Ibid.

29 J.O. Awolalu, "Continuity and Discontinuity in African Religion" in *Orita*, Vol. XIII/2, December 1981, p. 16.

30 Mojola Agbebi, Sermon at the First Anniversary of the Native Baptist Church, Africa and the Gospel p. 11.

31 Ibid., p. 13.

32 T.G.O. Gbadamosi, p. 316.



high, having a concomitant effect on the growth of Christian missionary work in general. In later years, such competitions and the attendant rivalry was to become a vital and unavoidable factor in the body politic of Nigeria as a nation-state. In the course of such competitions, one weapon employed by the Muslims was to embark on subtle campaigns of calumny against their Christian counterparts. The attempt by Rev. David Hinderer, a German missionary of the Church Missionary Society, to establish a station in Ibadan on his first missionary journey to the town in 1851, for instance, was met with bitter opposition by the Osi Osundina, a staunch Muslim chief in the town, who advised the Baale-in-Council against granting such permission. He decried: *Awon obaiye je ni iwonyi* (These are saboteurs), adding, "There is no country they enter but misfortune will follow for that place."<sup>33</sup> Thomas Jefferson Bowen of the Baptist Mission had the same harrowing experience in a few places visited in the 1850s, where the Muslims had been fostering the notion that war and disease followed the missionaries wherever they went.<sup>34</sup> This was part of the means by the adherents of the Islamic religion to checkmate the progress of Christianity.

Another great challenge to the missionary work in Ibadan, as elsewhere in West Africa, was the hostile climate and the attendant health hazards. The result was that very few missionaries were willing to serve in this part of the tropics, an area that was then tagged "the white man's grave," only to meet their inevitable death. It is therefore not altogether surprising when Anna Hinderer sadly reported on 19 January 1855 that "of the fourteen who sailed together in one ship two years ago, only four are left to labour here."<sup>35</sup> By the same token, Rev. Kefer, also of the CMS, was reported to have caught a serious fever while preaching in an open air service at Lalupon in May 1855. He had to be taken to Ibadan where he died a few days later. David and Anna Hinderer went through the same harrowing experience of intermittently catching fever throughout the period of their missionary sojourn in Ibadan. That indeed was the general experience among the pioneer missionaries, an experience that cut across all the denominations.

The above instances were indicative of the hindrances that prevailed on the field which initially made missionary work in Ibadan, as in most other parts of

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33 Johnson, p. 316, literal translation of the original Yoruba words.

34 Bowen Letters: T.J Bowen to Bro Jas B. Taylor, Executive Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, USA, November 21, 1851.

35 Anna Hinderer, op. cit.

Yorubaland, in those early days quite daunting. It was the little that was achieved in various directions during the early difficult days of missionary adventure that became the springboard of their work in subsequent years. As a matter of fact, looked at from the point of view of the prevailing circumstances of the pioneering days, it is surprising that the seed did germinate and flourish eventually. The success of missionary work from the 20th century onwards depended partly upon how much the missionaries utilized the achievements already recorded, and partly on how the missionaries tackled some of the issues that confronted their predecessors, and how far the political tranquillity had prevailed in the Yoruba country as a whole. Somehow, there was a spell of comparative peace from the 20th century, and it was possible for the missionaries to yield more results and make more impact on the lives of the people.

Before rounding off our discourse on the challenges faced by the Christian missionary endeavour in Ibadan, it is important to mention one of the contemporary challenges, especially in the education sector. It would be recalled that Western education was the handmaiden of the early missionaries in their evangelization drive. Wherever a church was planted, a mission school was equally established. The schools became potent agents of transformation. Even when government and community schools were established to complement the efforts of the Christian missions, the schools earlier established by the missions remained prestigious in terms of quality of scholarship and moral upbringing. These included the likes of Loyola College, St. Luke's College, Ibadan Grammar School, St. Louis Grammar School, Baptist Grammar School, among others. The second half of the 20th century, however, witnessed daunting challenges in the education sector. These challenges affected the fortunes of the mission schools. "The takeover of educational institutions managed by the missions and other non-government agencies in the 1970s left a moral vacuum in the nation's educational system."<sup>36</sup> This was indeed a matter of grave concern to all well-meaning citizens, especially the products of mission schools in those heydays. Underlying the above challenges, Christian missionary work left its imprint in several realms.

### **Impact of missionary work on Ibadan**

The consequences of the missionary enterprise in Ibadan, as the case was, in other parts of the country, was the eventual western influence in all aspects of life —

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36 Historical Committee, *First Baptist Church, Idikan, Ibadan: Early Years and Growth*. (Ibadan: Bounty Press, 2005), p. 57.

religious, economic, social and political. Their greatest and perhaps most remarkable achievements were in the areas of religious/spiritual development, as well as the provision of educational and health/medical services.

Even though the missions adopted different approaches to the implementation of their policies, they all regarded education as an indispensable tool in the course of evangelization. Thus, it was promoted right from the beginning. Indeed, it was because of their singular contribution in this respect, perhaps, which inspired Otoni Nduka to assert that "of all the agents of imperialism, it was the missionary who made the most revolutionary demands on the Nigerians."<sup>37</sup> Yet, it should be grasped that missionary education in Ibadan, as in other parts of the country, was designed to aid religion – to enable converts to read and have greater understanding of the Bible. But even then, parents favoured the schools, for reasons other than religion, because of the opportunity of learning useful skills such as reading and writing of English, arithmetic, etc., which the schools provided. Meanwhile, no sooner had Christian missionary work been established in Ibadan than schools were opened in various locations such as Kudeti, Ogunpa and Aremo, all under the auspices of the Anglican mission. Indeed, records indicate that Saint David's School, Kudeti, founded in 1853, was the first school to be established in Ibadan. Contemporary schools in Ibadan were Saint Peter's School at Aremo and Saint James' School at Ogunpa, in 1865 and 1869, respectively. The CMS equally established schools in other locations in Ibadan, the most notable of which was Saint Paul's School, Yemetu in 1894. In later years, other mission bodies followed the footsteps of the CMS in establishing schools. These include: The Wesleyan Methodist Mission (1888), the Roman Catholic Mission (1895), the Baptist (1906), the Salvation Army (1921), the Seventh Day Adventist (1926), as well as the Apostolic and Aladura missions. Along with primary schools, the various missionary bodies equally established post-primary institutions, some of which included: the Wesley College, founded by the Methodist Mission in 1905, and the Ibadan Grammar School, established by the Anglican Mission in 1913. The Anglican Mission equally founded the Ibadan Education Training Centre, which was later re-christened St. Luke's College in 1948. In 1966, all the Baptist Churches in Ibadan jointly established at Oke-Ado, a Baptist Grammar School.

Along with the above post-primary institutions, Christian missionaries established numerous primary schools for boys and girls throughout Ibadanland.

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37 O. Nduka. *Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background* (Ibadan: University Press Ltd. 1982.) p. 10



These schools became the most effective tool or agency of evangelization. It is significant to note that until the early years of the 20th century, the establishment of schools in Ibadan was more of an affair of the missionary bodies. Indeed, direct government participation in the education of children in Ibadan started in 1905, when it established an elementary school for the sons of chiefs. This was the Baale School, which was formally declared opened in September 1906 at the Oranyan area of Ibadan.<sup>38</sup> The point being emphasized is that before the involvement of the community and government in expanding the scope of access to Western education in Ibadan, the mission schools were indeed forerunners who helped in producing within their limited scope, men and women who later became notable leaders in different spheres of human endeavour among their people. Many of such products of mission schools in later years laid the foundation of the present-day educational development in Ibadanland.

While in Ibadan, some of the early missionaries did embark on a systematic study of the Yoruba Language to surmount the language barrier. A few even went the extra mile towards developing a vernacular literature. Rev. David Hinderer made a spectacular mark in this direction when he translated John Bunyan's classic, *Pilgrim's Progress*, into Yoruba, and entitled it *Ilosiwaju Ero Mimo*, which was quite a remarkable stride in the history of the Yoruba Mission.

### Contemporary trends in the growth of Christian missionary work in Ibadan

Thus far, we have dealt with the highlights of the history of Christian missionary activity in Ibadan and its aftermath. It would be apposite at this juncture to examine the growth of the church in the city, as it affects recent and contemporary trends. The contemporary situation in Nigeria is no doubt replete with numerous socio-economic challenges. Such challenges are concomitant with the mass movement of people to major towns and cities, including Ibadan, to seek for greener pastures. The number of unemployed school leavers and graduates of tertiary institutions keep soaring by the day. By the same token, several churches of various denominations, especially those that preach prosperity,<sup>39</sup> now adorn the city of

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38 E.O. Adeoti, "The First One Hundred Years of Western Education in Ibadan: A Historical Analysis, 1852-1952" in G.O. Ogunremi, editor, *Ibadan: A Historical, Cultural and Socio-Economic Study of an African City* (Lagos: Oluyole Club, 1999), p. 370.

39 For a fairly comprehensive account of the genesis and *modus operandi* of the new generation and prosperity churches, see S. Ademola Ajayi, "Prosperity Churches in Nigeria: A New Phenomenon in a Depressed Economic Setting" in Jane I. Guyer,

Ibadan, with fierce and aggressive competition for members craving for economic solace and solutions to myriads of economic-related problems. Today, the church in Ibadan, as in other major towns and cities in Nigeria, boasts of thousands of adherents permeating the entire city. Christian denominations and ministries operate thousands of churches and schools, and possess a large body of indigenous clergy and well-administered central organizations. It is significant to stress, however, that in the light of the increasing prevalence of vices in the city of Ibadan in particular and the Nigerian society at large, a development that has not excluded Christians of all denominations, there is the need to deepen Christian ethics, since many adherents of the faith never truly accepted the new life in Christ Jesus or are half-heartedly rooted in the religion and easily relapse in moments of crises or challenges. The increasing socio-economic ills in the contemporary Nigerian society, where Christian Missions of various denominations have operated for over one hundred and fifty years, and where about half of the populace profess the Christian faith, is a trend that calls for stock-taking and sober reflection by the entire Christian community in Nigeria. The level of corruption in the country has reached such an alarming crescendo that Nigeria today is classified by the Transparency International as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. The corruption level is a direct consequence of excessive greed, inordinate ambition and aggressive materialism, which are fast becoming a way of life and of which Christians of all denominations are not exonerated. The problem of injustice has reached a hopeless and alarming proportion. Allied to this are unfair competition, nepotism, bribery, the rising cost of living, violence, misrule by the governing class, embezzlement and the like, which are the order of the day. This is a situation in which the church not only lives and operates, but must carry on its task of preaching, teaching, healing and comforting the down-trodden, the dispossessed, the disadvantaged and the hopeless. It is rather ironical that while the Christian Church in Ibadan in particular and Nigeria as a whole keeps 'growing', recording astronomical increase in votaries, the problems appear more and more intractable as the days go by. Today, a growing number of Christians seem to be getting disenfranchised from the promise of 'lighter burden' as they watch the church, especially the new generation ones, evolve into huge capitalist ventures with no viable response to their yearnings and aspirations.

Analysts cannot help but keep asking what the church, with such an

exponential growth in number, size and membership, as well as a superfluous display of wealth, prosperity and spiritual power, is doing to liberate the society from the myriads of cancerous forces of evil, or at least ameliorate the unwholesome trend. The situation calls for greater awareness and evaluation by all Christian groups in the country as a whole. The problems certainly are not insurmountable. In the light of the above, there is no gainsaying the fact that the task ahead is great indeed. Be that as it may, if the past is anything to reckon with, the Christian church in Nigeria can confidently blaze the light of greatness and progress, given the determination of the people, the cooperation of all Christian denominations, the Nigerian government and other stakeholders in the onerous task of nation building. The Christian community must conceive its responsibility in terms of membership in the divine and universal society; it knows that it must give answer to the God who is Lord of heaven and earth for everything with which it deals.

### **Concluding remarks**

A review of the nature of Christian missionary work in Ibadan during the period covered by this chapter, shows how much it achieved by way of establishment, consolidation and impact. Although there are specific and peculiar characteristics of the trends of development in Ibadan, there are also some processes common to the development in the entire country. The venture was rough, yet the fact cannot be denied that the commencement of missionary enterprise in Ibadan in the mid-19th century was an epoch-making event. From the mid-19th century to the present time, Christianity remains a potent agent of transformation and change in Ibadan. Notwithstanding the government take-over of church-owned schools and hospitals in many parts of Nigeria, Christian missions have continued to involve themselves in education and in the development of health programmes. On the whole, Christian missionary work has indeed contributed in no small a measure to the overall growth and development of the city in all spheres of life, especially in the educational realm. The lives of many individuals, as well as groups underwent some remarkable changes. Many of the converts became outstanding personalities, who were able to contribute something towards the advancement of Christianity in particular and national development in general. The life and works of Bishop A.B. Akinyele, Chief T.A. Ayorinde, Chief T.L. Oyesina, Saka Anthony Agbaje, Venerable Emmanuel Alayande, etc., are outstanding examples that need to be mentioned here. Indeed, through Christian missionary work in Ibadanland, a revolution was set in motion, which had important political, economic and social consequences on Ibadan and indeed Nigeria.



Trends in Traditional Religious Worship  
in Ibadan, 1951 – 2010

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O.O. Adekola

Introduction

Traditional religious worship is widespread and has an extensive followership not only in Nigeria, but also in other African countries. It also has many followers in Brazil, the West Indies, North America and Europe.<sup>1</sup> The early study of Yoruba traditional religion was carried out by foreign writers who were travellers and visitors to Yorubaland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> These writings were fleeting impressions and coloured by strong preconceptions. After these, there emerged general surveys by both Yoruba and non-Yoruba writers.<sup>3</sup>

In like manner, ethnographic studies on the city of Ibadan have been carried out by renowned foreign and indigenous scholars at various periods, particularly in the middle and the latter parts of the twentieth century. A significant study on the religious beliefs and practices of the inhabitants of Ibadan was done by Parrinder.<sup>4</sup> This was perhaps the first comprehensive study of the people's religion.

Parrinder chose Ibadan as his study base because he realized that although a

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<sup>1</sup> P. McKenzie. *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Brill, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> S. Johnson. *History of the Yorubas*. (Lagos: CMS Bookshops, 1948); J.O.K. Olupona, 1993 "The Study of Yoruba Religious Tradition in Historical Perspective" *NUMEN*, 1993; 40: 240 – 273.

<sup>4</sup> G. Parrinder. *Religion in an African City*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953).

survey of Nigeria or the whole of Africa would be very useful, this could not be undertaken successfully without long years of preparation and a large number of field staff.<sup>5</sup> Such a project would also require a large amount of money for execution. However, having observed that "Ibadan is not an amorphous dormitory town but composed of numerous small groups and in some ways, an assemblage of villages," Parrinder felt that the study would be of great significance.<sup>6</sup> He was also convinced that though some critics claimed that the city was uninteresting and shapeless, Ibadan as the biggest and most populous town in tropical Africa, presented undoubtedly a most impressive and fascinating human scene.

Parrinder's study was aimed at discovering the extent to which the traditional religious practices persisted in Ibadan at the period and how these practices have been influenced by the newly-introduced orthodox faith. From his findings, Parrinder submitted that there were numerous deities worshipped in Ibadan, and that Islam and Christianity seemed to be dominating and gradually reducing the followership of the indigenous faith. He therefore thought that since the practitioners of the indigenous faith were mostly old men and women, these religious practices might soon become extinct.

Parrinder's work shed more light on the current situation of both indigenous and orthodox religions in Ibadan. This notwithstanding, it was observed that Parrinder, like some of his predecessors, made some wrong assertions or submissions about the nature and procedures of worship of some local deities. He also made sweeping statements 'forecasting' that the traditional faith might soon become extinct or fade away gradually.

Another study on Ibadan was done by a team of scholars in the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> This study focussed on a general appraisal of the city of Ibadan, discussing religion, government and politics, economy, geographical environment, etc., from the earliest beginnings up to the middle of the 1960s. The study highlighted some significant aspects of Ibadan traditional beliefs and practices. It also discussed the city's natural endowments and some socio-cultural changes that had taken place over time. Most significantly, the study narrates the position of the indigenous faith

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> P.C. Llyod, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

and its interaction with the orthodox religions. Also in this study,<sup>8</sup> Idowu discusses the *egungun* cult and its significance among the Yoruba people in general. He highlights the role of other principal or major deities found in the city of Ibadan. Although this study is fascinating and interesting, it is not detailed enough to give readers an understanding of the true nature and characteristic features of some of these deities.

Another scholar whose work on Ibadan is worthy of note is E.G. Simpson<sup>9</sup> (1980). Like Parrinder, Simpson discussed the nature of the major deities worshipped in Ibadan. He further emphasized the practice of traditional medicine and its relationship with the indigenous faith. However, Simpson like his predecessors did not explain clearly the current position or future of traditional religions.

The fact still remains that the papers discussed above gave no detailed information about the present cultural and religious situation in Ibadan. Several developments have taken place which could be reviewed to update existing knowledge. This paper therefore highlights the contemporary trends in traditional religious worship in Ibadan with a view to analyzing the dynamism of culture in this rapidly developing city. It further examines the changes that have taken place over the years, particularly at the turn of the 20th century. It also makes a critical analysis of observed changes and discusses how modernity and the orthodox religions have affected the development of traditional faith in the city. This information will no doubt provide the missing link between old and new records. Finally, suggestions are given on how traditional religious practice could be reviewed to suit the yearnings of the contemporary society and enhance the socio-cultural, political and technological advancement of the city and the global society in general.

### Research methodology

Field investigation was used in addition to literary data collection. During the fieldwork which covered twelve months, oral interviews were conducted with priests, priestesses and other worshippers of traditional religion in Ibadan and its environs. Books and journal articles were consulted to validate other sources.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> E.G. Simpson. *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1980).



Opinions and comments of well-informed religious traditionalists and adherents of the orthodox religions were sought to authenticate submissions from the field. Places of worship were visited and the author was a participant observer in some of the weekly religious services and also during some of the annual festivals. The snowball method of field investigation was also adopted. In this method, an informant would lead or direct me to another informant until all the available informants in an area had been reached. Group focus discussions and oral interviews with worshippers were occasionally held when necessary.

### **Study area**

Like Parrinder and other scholars who had focussed their research on Ibadan, this paper focusses on the city of Ibadan for some obvious and rational reasons. Apart from being the most populous city in West Africa, Ibadan has grown considerably faster than any other Yoruba town, both in population and size. Secondly, Ibadan was like a large refugee camp at various times in her history and it has served as a haven for settlers from all parts of Nigeria and beyond. These include Yoruba sub-groups like the Ijebu, Egba, Egbado, Awori, Ekiti, Ondo, Ijesa, Igbomina, Akoko, Sabe, Ketu, etc. Furthermore, the bulk of the people in Ibadan are Yoruba, which makes it adequately representative of Yoruba culture. The present-day heterogeneity of the city has been attributed to her open-door policy to the receipt of migrants<sup>10</sup> and this has made the city a magnetic attraction to migrants. Moreover, Ibadan is also the economic and political nerve centre of modern Yorubaland. Finally, it has been quite some time since such an academic team project was carried out on Ibadan. Undoubtedly changes would have occurred. It is therefore, pertinent to examine the present position of traditional religion in the town to know the changes that have occurred and give some useful suggestions for the adaptation of these practices for development. Some earlier misconceptions and misgivings about the indigenous beliefs are discussed and explained. To give a reliable submission on the current position of traditional worship in Ibadan, major deities worshipped in Ibadan have been discussed.

### **Okebadan**

The word Okebadan is derived from the contraction of the words *Oke* (hill or mountain) and *Ibadan*. Hence, Okebadan means Ibadan hill or the tutelary deity of

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<sup>10</sup> I.O. Albert, T. Awe, G. Hérault and W. Omitoogun. *Informal Channels for Conflict Resolution in Ibadan, Nigeria* (Ibadan: IFRA, 1995), p. 10.

Ibadan hill. The hill of Ibadan is believed to harbour a supernatural or spiritual being which protected the early settlers from the wrath of their enemies and attackers. It is widely believed among its worshippers that this deity is a goddess who loves the people and usually offers them children and the material things they need. Thus, the people refer to this goddess as *Atage olomu oru* (huge mother with immense breasts).

Okebadan is significant in the religious and socio-cultural lives of the people of Ibadan, and this accounts for why the Okebadan festival is celebrated annually with pomp and pageantry. This is not peculiar to Ibadan people, as there are other hills and mountains of sacred significance or deities of similar nature worshipped in several other Yoruba communities. Examples of such deities are the *Asabari* in Saki, *Iyamopo* in Igbeti and *Olumo* in Abeokuta. These are often associated with hill settlements.<sup>11</sup> The people believe in the sacredness and sanctity of Okebadan. Consequently, sacrifices are made to the goddess periodically and annually. This belief of the people was attested to by Theophilus Kerfer, a Swabian pastor who visited the shrine in 1853. He submitted that

We saw the sacred grave [sic] at a short distance, where, as it is said among the people, supernatural beings, little men in white garments, could be seen in large numbers. But bad people went out with guns to shoot them, therefore they have disappeared and come only in extra-ordinary times.<sup>12</sup>

The above account seems to corroborate the people's faith in the sanctity of Okebadan and the belief that supernatural beings inhabit the sacred place and could be seen physically even by non-believers. It was also learnt that probably due to the introduction of orthodox religions, there was a period of neglect, when the worship of Okebadan was abandoned. It was then said that there were various groans and sighs heard from the heart of the hill and that these brought some chaotic happenings. According to David Hinderer in 1859, Okebadan demanded a series of sacrifices, which were then offered and, soon afterwards, a number of laws were promulgated from the diety for the better ordering of the life of the community.<sup>13</sup> Up till today, *Ifa* (the oracle deity) is consulted to find out what the goddess would

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<sup>11</sup> Mckenzie, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 26

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

take as a sacrifice or offering so that the city would be prosperous, peaceful and free from chaos. Whenever an unfavourable incident happens or when there is drought, Okebadan is usually appeased. This practice may seem irrational in some quarters today, one should understand that the people have a strong faith in the deity and this relieves them psychologically during difficult times.

The Okebadan festival continues to be celebrated up till today to commemorate the event that brought the people closer to the numina inhabiting the sacred hill. The tradition has been firmly established and even the educated and indigenous elites continue to support and uphold this old tradition.<sup>14</sup> It is the people's contention that the hill was established there for their protection and benefit.

The reason for the fixing of the annual Okebadan festival to coincide with the early rain in mid-March is based on the belief that this period is the right time to propitiate the goddess. They therefore use this occasion to pray for the early rain, believing that rain is a symbol of peace, goodwill and prosperity. Invariably, if there is a drought before the festival period, the Okebadan priest makes special sacrificial offerings to appease the numina of the hill. Coincidentally, there have been reports of rain falling immediately after the offerings.

However, it is worthy of note that some changes have occurred in the celebration of Okebadan festival. In the recent past, no one was allowed to light a fire on the festival day, but now there is an element of flexibility built into this system. This taboo has been relaxed. Though inhabitants of the city can make a fire to cook in their homes or restaurants, an open fire is forbidden, especially on the routes where Okebadan followers pass on the festival day. If anyone breaks this interdiction, the priest and his followers may pounce on such a defaulter and disrupt the fire-making and/or beat up the disobedient person.

During the one-day festival, the Okebadan priest leads his followers through the streets singing Okebadan songs. They also visit the high chiefs in Ibadan and the *Olubadan*, the traditional head of the city. Certainly, this celebration and the worship of Okebadan may continue for a long time and as long as the indigenous inhabitants live.

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<sup>14</sup> O.O. Adekola and G Alamu. *Okebadan: Discussions on the Significance of Okebadan Festival* (Ibadan: Okebadan Union, 1991).



### *Egungun*

The myth and the development of the Egungun cult has been explained in detail by Babayemi (1980).<sup>15</sup> The cult among the Yoruba is believed to be a celebration of “the collective spirits of the ancestors who occupy a space in heaven...” Therefore, the Egungun masquerades are usually referred to as *ara orun* (natives of heaven). Some Egungun are wild, cruel and fierce, while some are gentle and easy-going. While the fierce and wild-looking Egungun always have whips or canes that they use to beat one another and/or the spectators, the gentle ones dance and pray for people on the streets and request cash gifts from the spectators.

The annual celebration of the Egungun festival among the Yoruba generally arose out of the belief that the ancestral spirits keep constant watch over their relations on earth. During the annual outings of the Egungun masquerades, these ancestral spirits bless and pray for the living.<sup>16</sup> Even when they are in the spiritual realm, the people believe that the ancestors have the power to protect, guide, warn or punish their earthly relations, depending on how these relations remember or neglect them. A significant example of a person who neglected his ancestral spirit can be found in the *Odu* canto which says:

<i>Pepe awo ile,</i>	Pepe, the home-based <i>Ifa</i> priest,
<i>Otita awo ode,</i>	Otita, the <i>Ifa</i> priest of the distant place
<i>Alapandede lo kole tan,</i>	It is the sparrow which builds its own nest,
<i>La koju e sodoodo...</i>	And puts its entrance face-down.
<i>Ko kanmi, ko kanke...</i>	The nest neither touches water nor rests on something.
<i>O n wo Olojumare lojuloju...</i>	It faces the heavens directly
<i>O n wo omo araye lenlenu...</i>	And sees the earth (human beings) clearly
<i>O wa koju e sodoodo...</i>	Puts its entrance points down in a curve
<i>A dia fun Oyeepolu...</i>	<i>Ifa</i> divination was cast for Oyeepolu,
<i>Omo isoro n'Ife ...</i>	Offspring of those who performed rites in ancient <i>Ife</i>

<sup>15</sup> S.O. Babayemi. *Egungun among the Oyo Yoruba* (Ibadan: Board Publications Ltd., Ibadan, 1980).

<sup>16</sup> E.G. Simpson, p. 49.

<i>Eyi ti iya re yoo fi sile...</i>	Whose mother would leave him
<i>Ni oun nikan soso lenje lenje</i>	When he was young
<i>Eyi ti baba re yoo fi sile</i>	Whose father would leave him all alone
<i>Ni oun nikan soso lenje lenje</i>	When he was young
<i>Igbati Oyeepolu dagba tan,</i>	When Oyeepolu grew up
<i>Ko mo obun oro ilee baba re mo</i>	He did not know the rites of his family
<i>Gbogbo nnikan re wa n daru</i>	And his life became confused
<i>O wa obinrin, ko ri</i>	He sought for a wife to marry, but found none
<i>Bee ni ko ri ile gbe</i>	And did not have peace at home. <sup>17</sup>

The Ifa canto above highlights the type of difficulties being faced by the mythical personality (Oyeepolu) for neglecting his ancestral rites. In this case, the traditional Yoruba person believes that it is mandatory on the living to propitiate and offer sacrifices to the ancestral spirits periodically so that the cordial and mutual relationship between them could continue undisturbed.

In Ibadan, notable Egungun masquerades include *Atipako*, *Alapa-nsanpa*, *Gbodogbodo*, *Oloolu*, *Afidielegee*, *Iponriku*, *Lawrye* (hunters' masquerade) and *Duro-nkika*, to mention just a few. The annual festival usually comes up by the middle of June and is celebrated with much fanfare, and is even more elaborate than the Okebadan festival.

Today, the Egungun annual celebrations have been adapted to the contemporary political, social and religious situations prevalent in the community. Even people who claim to be Muslims or Christians can be found participating directly or indirectly in the Egungun tenet, claiming that propagating one's family tradition does not adversely affect one's faith. This is corroborated with the popular adage which says: *Igbagbo ko so pe ka ma soro ilee wa* (being a member of an orthodox faith does not deter one from participating in one's lineage tradition).

Clashes often occur between the adherents of the orthodox religions and the traditional worshipers, particularly between the Muslim preachers and some popular masquerades in the city. While some of the Muslim clerics frown at the beliefs and

<sup>17</sup> W. Abimbola. *Ijinle Obun Enu Ifa*, Apa Kini (Glasgow: WM. Collins, 1968).

S.O. Babayemi and O.O. Adekola. *Isedale Awon Odu Ifa*, Apa Kini (Ibadan: Occasional Publication, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1987).

practices of the traditional worshippers, the indigenous believers are convinced that no religion is inferior to the other and that each serves as a 'path' to the heavenly kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

In recent times, there have been clashes between Muslim preachers and the Egungun worshippers in Ibadan. A notable example was the incessant clashes between the late *Ajagbemokeferi* (muslim preacher)<sup>19</sup> and the Oloolu<sup>20</sup> masquerade. *Ajagbemokeferi* and his followers were adamant in their insistence that the Oloolu practices are pagan and that the activities must be checked. The Oloolu on the other hand, saw the attackers as an ill-formed group of religious fanatics and vowed not to be overcome by their threats.

Meanwhile, political thugs and hoodlums (nicknamed 'area boys') now hide under the umbrella of the annual Egungun celebrations to perform criminal acts capable of causing violence and disrupting the peaceful co-existence of the community. Consequent upon this, the government has introduced stern security measures to forestall and curtail the activities of the hoodlums and the religious fanatics during the annual festivities and religious celebrations.

Despite the above submissions, the Egungun, during the annual festival, still pay homage to the *Olubadan*, his traditional high chiefs and the state governor, showering on them prayers of blessings, long life and prosperity. These traditional rulers and the governor, irrespective of their religious affiliations, welcome and receive the *ara orun* with generosity and offer them gifts. The Egungun festival is still celebrated annually in Ibadan as in other Yoruba towns to further establish the belief in the hereafter.

### ***Orisa-nla or Obatala***

Orisa-nla, alternatively called Obatala, is renowned and worshipped throughout Yorubaland. This deity is believed to be the foremost of the Yoruba deities. As the

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<sup>18</sup> Bogunbe, personal communication, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> The word *Ajagbemokeferi* implies 'someone who keeps in check the activities of the pagan'.

<sup>20</sup> *Oloolu* is an Ibadan masquerade who performs rituals for the city during times of disaster. No woman is allowed to see this masquerade physically and any woman who disobeys this interdiction would face serious consequences.



name implies, he is the supreme divinity of Yorubaland.<sup>21</sup> Orisa-nla is known by various names and appellations in various Yoruba communities. He is called *Obatala* or *Itapa* deity in Ile-Ife, *Olufon* deity in Ifon, *Akire* deity in Ikire, *Orisako* in Ikonifin, *Ogijan* in Ejigbo, *Orisarounu* in Orile-Owu, *Ijaye* deity in Ijaye, *Oloba* deity in Oba-Ile (near Akure), *Idifa* deity in Ife-Odan and *Gbegbekunegbe* in Ibadan.<sup>22</sup> The worship of Orisa-nla in Ibadan has been declining gradually and several shrines of this deity have been abandoned, as most of the priests and priestesses are dead or aged, while the majority of their children have embraced Christianity or Islam. A significant example is the popular *Gbegbekunegbe* shrine in Adeoyo compound, where the roof of the shrine has been blown off by windstorms and the walls are becoming dilapidated due to a long period of abandonment.

### *Esu*

Esu has been depicted as a versatile character and one must be wary of what one says about him.<sup>23</sup> Generally, the attitude of people to Esu is generally one of dread. It is also believed that he is held in constant fear by other deities. Nonetheless, Esu is believed to protect his worshippers and offer them gifts of various kinds.

Esu is believed to be ubiquitous and capable of causing upheaval if he is not properly worshipped or venerated. Like Orisa-nla, Esu is known by several names or appellations among the people. Such names include *Laalu*, *Latopa*, *Odara*, *Elegbara*, *Bara*, *Laaroye*, *Ajongolo*, etc.<sup>24</sup> The status of Esu among the Yoruba deities is difficult to assess, but he plays a significant role in the pantheon. There is no doubt, however, that he has a very close link with *Orunmila*, the oracular deity. This claim is affirmed by various Ifa canto. For instance, in an *aji-ogbe* verse, Ifa says:

<i>Emi o roju aperemopete</i>	I am not worried by any argument
<i>Emi o roju aperemopete</i>	I do not mind any insult
<i>Emi o roju aperemopete</i>	I am insensitive to any disagreement
<i>A dia fun Orunmila</i>	Ifa divination was cast for Orunmila

<sup>21</sup> B. Idowu. *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longman, 1962), p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> O.O. Adekola. "Orisa Gbegbekun-egbe ni Ilu Ibadan", B.A. Project, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, 1983.

<sup>23</sup> B. Idowu, p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> I. Animasaun, "Bibo ati Pipe Orisa Esu ni Ilu Ibadan ati Ilu Oyo", B.A. Project, Dept. of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, 1983.

*Ifa n sowo epo rele Ilawe*

Ifa was going on a palm oil business trip to Ilawe

*Gbogbo ara Ilawe si niyi,*

But all Ilawe indigenes are wicked

*Ika ni won.*

*Won ni ki Orunmila rubo*

Orunmila was mandated to offer a sacrifice

*Igba ti Orunmila rubo tan,*

After the sacrifice

*Lo ba mura, o di ilu Ilawe*

He set out to the outskirts of Ilawe

*Bi awon ara Ilawe ti foju kan*

As the people of Ilawe saw Orunmila

*Orunmila*

*Ni won ba dide si i...*

They rose up against him

*Won lo ku ibi ti Orunmila o wo*

They challenged him

*Ni Esu ba di ategun*

Esu therefore became invisible

*O ba te le Orunmila*

And followed Orunmila

*O ni ki Orunmila mase ba won ja*

He told Orunmila not to confront them

*Orin ni ki o maa fi won ko*

But should start singing to them

*Ni Orunmila ba fi iyere sohun, aro o ni.*

Hence, Orunmila started to chant with an iyere tone, saying:

*Ara Ilawe, mo rufo ol*

People of Ilawe, I am carrying palm oil

*Ara Ilawe, mo rufo ol*

People of Ilawe, I am carrying palm oil

*Epo ti mo ru,*

The pot of palm oil which I am carrying

*E ma ma je o fa*

Should not be broken

*Ara Ilawe, mo rufo ol*

People of Ilawe, I am carrying palm oil<sup>25</sup>

The above eji-ogbe verse corroborates the submission that Orunmila and Esu are close associates, and he (Esu) assists Orunmila in times of need. Whenever Orunmila wishes to embark on any difficult task, he often employs Esu's power to achieve his goal.<sup>26</sup>

Though Esu is still worshiped in Ibadan today, the worshipers are declining in number. The reason for this decline can be attributed to the activities of the

<sup>25</sup> W. Abimbola, p. 23 - 24.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

orthodox faiths, which are now daily gaining more converts from the traditional worshippers. This notwithstanding, small shrines of Esu are still seen in some compounds, apart from those in *babalawo's* temples and houses. The large Esu shrine near *Oja'ba*, popularly known as *Esu Awele*, still stands till today. Most of those who claim to venerate Esu or offer sacrifices to him are now Muslims, who regard the shrine as an archival monument which should be preserved for posterity.

### *Sango*

Sango is believed to be a historical figure who was deified after his demise. It is generally believed among the Yoruba that Sango was the fourth *Alaafin* of Oyo. Various legends describe with characteristic exaggeration the mode of Sango's deification<sup>27</sup> One of these legends states that he discovered the ability to use charms to control thunder and lightning, but the manipulation resulted in his destruction, ending his reign on a tragic note.

Another legend states that Sango had a lot of domestic problems. He tried to tackle these problems but without success. He therefore mounted his horse and rode into the forest where he hanged himself on an *ayan* tree. A few loyal subjects organized a search party. When they saw that their mentor had hanged himself, they kept the matter secret and told the townspeople that Sango had ascended into the heavens by means of a chain and that he would be ruling them from the astral plane. It is therefore believed that Sango ascended into the skies, where he remains up till today as an invisible king.<sup>28</sup> The followers believe that he can let loose thunder and lightning from his spiritual realm of existence upon those who disobey his injunctions.

A variant to the above account states that after discovering that Sango had hanged himself, his loyalists went to Nupe, the maternal home of Sango to procure a magical charm to attract thunder and lightning.<sup>29</sup> Having succeeded with this plan, Sango's loyalists returned and started manipulating the thunder phenomenon upon the Oyo inhabitants, claiming that it was Sango's wrath.

Meanwhile, one of the greatest problems connected with the apotheosis of Sango is that his devotees are convinced that Sango was a king who ruled with

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<sup>27</sup> B. Idowu, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Sangogbemi, personal communication, 1990.

<sup>29</sup> S.O. Babayemi. *Content Analysis of Oriki Orile* (Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, n.d.), p. 67.



impartiality, justice and fair play and, as a custodian of social morality, he was against stealing, lying, witchcraft and sorcery. On the contrary, most of his subjects saw him as tyrannical, crafty, wicked and ruthless. In fact, the people were of the view that he did not possess the qualities ascribed to him by his devotees and that it was one of the primordial deities known as *Jakuta*<sup>30</sup> who was believed to be the custodian of social morality. Therefore, to harmonize these two contradictory strands of opinion, it may be submitted that the devotees of Sango knowing that there were similarities between Sango and Jakuta might have transferred the attributes of Jakuta to Sango. This implies that Sango had been credited with the power and virtues that (probably) he did not originally possess. In other words, Sango has been raised at the expense of Jakuta to become a principal Yoruba deity.

Though there are a few old people who still worship Sango in Ibadan, the worship of the deity is fast declining. Most Sango devotees have embraced Christianity or Islam, although some of them do participate directly or indirectly in Sango's annual worship. The shrine of Sango at Akuru's compound near the Methodist Cathedral, Agbeni, Ibadan, is still functional, though the Sango priests and priestesses have declined in number.

### *Yemoja*

The word 'Yemoja' is derived from a contraction of the phrase *Yeye omo eja*, which means 'mother of fishes'. Yemoja is a female deity who controls the rivers, the ocean and all creatures inside water. The adherents of Yemoja believe that those who disregard or disrespect her authority would face her wrath. She is believed to cure stomachache and can bring floods on the community.<sup>31</sup> This is probably why during the Ogunpa flood disasters in August 1980 and August 2011 in Ibadan, the Yemoja worshippers were of the view that the floods were a manifestation of Yemoja's wrath.

Yemoja devotees also contend that this river goddess is a benevolent deity who provides children for her followers and protects them from the menace of the malevolent forces who may want to hurt them. Originally, Yemoja was believed to

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<sup>30</sup> *Jakuta* means 'one who hauls or fights with stones'

<sup>31</sup> D. Westerlund, "Yoruba" in A. Jacobson-Widdings and D. Westerlund, editors, *Culture, Experience and Pluralism: Essays on African Ideas of Illness and Healing* (Uppsala: Department of Cultural Anthropology, University of Uppsala, 1989), p. 195 – 218.

be the first wife of *Oranmiyan*<sup>32</sup> who, due to her heroic character, was deified after her demise.

In Ibadan, Yemoja is worshiped up till today and a compound (*Popo Yemoja*) is named in her honour. The present chief priest of Yemoja is a middle-aged and literate man. He is well versed in historical, legendary and mythical narrations, and contemporary events on Yemoja and other deities worshipped in Ibadan. The statue of Yemoja with various objects associated with the deity are still found in a large room at *Popo Yemoja*. According to the priest and the priestesses of Yemoja, Yemoja was a close companion of Sango and she later became his favourite wife. The priest of Yemoja further stated that the origin of the deity evolved from an *Odu Ifa* known as *Ika (Eleja)*, which says:

<i>E pa kubekube awo Osun</i>	The lobbyist and priest of Osun
<i>A dia fun Osun</i>	Ifa divination was cast for Osun
<i>E pa kubekube awo Yemoja</i>	The lobbyist and priest of Yemoja
<i>A dia fun Yemoja</i>	Ifa divination was cast for Yemoja
<i>E pa kubekube awo Yemoja</i>	The lobbyist and priest of Yemoja
<i>A dia fun Yemoja</i>	Ifa divination was cast for Yemoja
<i>Ki a fari kodoro tan,</i>	To shave ones head completely,
<i>Ki a fi osuka ewon te e</i>	And put chain pad on it,
<i>Ki a gbe yangi ka a</i>	And thereafter put laterite on it.
<i>A dia fun Yemoja ayayo</i>	Ifa divination was cast for Yemoja the beautiful maid
<i>Ti yoo fi ebo rara</i>	Who would offer a bountiful sacrifice
<i>Gba aayo loun oko re</i>	Hijack a favourite wife from her husband...

The above Ifa canto explains how Yemoja, due to her cheerfulness, beauty and good behaviour became Sango's wife. Although the worship and veneration of the Yemoja goddess continues today, one notes that the seriousness of the worship has continued to decline considerably. It is also worthy of note that the orthodox religions have drawn many of the Yemoja followers into their fold. The young ones who could have carried on the worship of this goddess have been converted to Christianity or Islam.

<sup>32</sup> *Oranmiyan* was the first *Alaafin* of Oyo.

### Ogun

Ogun, one of the primordial deities is indisputably ranked high in status among the Yoruba deities. He is indispensable among his worshippers, who believe that the deity is ubiquitous, and the control of all iron and steel is accredited to him. He is believed to preside over oaths and covenants. Therefore, the worshippers generally make oaths and pacts before Ogun by biting on either a knife or a cutlass.<sup>33</sup> Up till today, the traditional believers still swear with iron in western courts of law before they can serve as witnesses. This is done because the traditional religious worshippers generally believe that:

... if one were to break one's covenant at all, it must never be with Ogun, as anyone who breaks his covenant with Ogun would not escape, but would die in a gruesome accident connected with iron and steel.<sup>34</sup>

The excerpt above corroborates the submission that Ogun is widely and popularly worshipped throughout Yorubaland up till today. The worship of Ogun even extends to people who claim to be literate or those who have embraced Christianity and Islam. Some of the people whose work is connected with iron and steel – drivers, mechanics, iron-benders, engineers, iron smelters, carpenters – who use iron implements periodically, do participate in the worship of Ogun.

Tomori<sup>35</sup> noted that in the early 1970's, some groups of drivers in the Maintenance Department of the University of Ibadan bound themselves together to worship or make sacrifices to Ogun in their department. They did this to avoid the wrath of Ogun and to make their journeys accident-free. Meanwhile, they failed to realize that the mere slaughtering of dogs and the provision of palm wine for Ogun would not prevent road accidents. They needed to learn that the mastery of the art of driving under sober conditions tends to reduce road accidents considerably. Nonetheless, the psychological effect of the people's faith cannot be undermined.

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<sup>33</sup> B. Idowu, p. 88.

<sup>34</sup> A. Tomori, "The Effect of the British Administration on Religious Practices in Ibadan, C. 1893: A Historical Analysis", *African Notes* 1982; IX(1): 35 – 50.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 39



Nevertheless, Islam, Christianity and Western education have contributed to the decline in the worship of Ogun in the past decade. It should also be noted that Ogun is a deity popularly worshipped by hunters and warriors. The deity is believed to be fierce, powerful and sometimes cruel. All these notwithstanding, Ogun is taken to be a deity of justice, fair play and rectitude. Today, many people, irrespective of their religion, still take oaths by kissing something made of iron and asking Ogun to witness the oath. Sometimes, when there are disagreements on a particular issue, a cutlass or gun is put on Ogun's shrine, water is poured into the barrel of the gun and those involved would be asked to take an oath by drinking the water.

In Ibadan, there are numerous minor shrines for Ogun. These shrines are built outside the houses of the adherents. In the shrines, periodic offerings and sacrifices are made to Ogun. There is a central Ogun shrine or temple by the side of the *Ose Meji*<sup>36</sup> temple at Oja'ba. Here, Ogun is worshipped annually by all Ogun devotees and believers, most especially by hunters who, through co-operative efforts, go into the forest and kill a number of wild animals for the celebration. The priests pray for health, happiness and blessings for all and, thereafter, sing, dance and feast for a whole day amidst the chanting of *Ijala*<sup>37</sup> poetry.

It is also worthy of note that the hunter's death rite (*Isipa Ode*) is still performed in Ibadan. After the death of a famous hunter, his colleagues go hunting and kill several animals which they believe Ogun has sent to them for the rites. This ritual ceremony usually involves keeping a night vigil and chanting the *iremoje*<sup>38</sup> chants to pay their last respects to the departed hunter. It is believed by the hunters guild that performing such death rites for a departed hunter is mandatory to prevent the dead comrade from tormenting his colleagues who are still alive.

### *Orunmila*

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<sup>36</sup> *Ose Meji* temple is the central Ifa shrine where *Orunmila* worshippers converge every Saturday for their weekly service to the deity. Adherents of other deities also worship with the *babalawo* in this temple every Saturday.

<sup>37</sup> *Ijala* is the hunters poetry usually chanted whenever there are joyful celebrations among the hunters' guild.

<sup>38</sup> *Iremoje* is the hunters' dirge chanted by the guild of hunters during the *Isipa Ode* ceremony.

Orunmila plays a very prominent role in the service of several other deities. In Ibadan and other Yoruba communities, "Ifa has clearly assumed full divine status in terms of constant grace and providence."<sup>39</sup> He is held to be the mediator between *Olodumare* and human beings. Ifa is held in high repute among the people, because he is regarded as the deputy of *Olodumare* in all matters pertaining to omniscience, counselling and wisdom. This accounts for the reason why he is given the praise-name:

<i>Elerii ipin</i>	Witness to all destiny
<i>Akerofinusogbon</i>	Small in stature by full of wisdom
<i>Akoniloran bi iyekan eni</i>	He who counsels like one's sibling
<i>Opitan Ile-Ife</i>	A great historian of Ife land

The above praise-poem is a testimony to Orunmila's wisdom and upholds the general notion among the traditional Yoruba people that he is one of the primordial deities.

The *babalawo* (Ifa priests) interviewed claim authoritatively that by the aid of Ifa, they can predict what shall befall anyone or reveal what had happened in the remote past or what is happening presently. In a nutshell, Ifa is generally known as the god of divination. This is why many people go secretly or otherwise to look into their future, or to enquire about their destiny in life.

Further, the origin and practice of Ifa divination have been discussed and analyzed in full details by various scholars.<sup>40</sup> In Ibadan, the worship of Orunmila and the practice of Ifa divination originated with the founding of the town. It was even stated that the city was founded on the instructions of Ifa. In spite of the oppression and persecution of the worshippers of the traditional deities over time by Christians and Muslims, the worship of Orunmila and the associated divination practices could not be easily suppressed. Many of those who have been converted to these orthodox faiths still patronize and participate in periodic consultations with the *babalawo* to know what the future holds for them. As a result, numerous Ifa priests abound in Ibadan and its environs. These *babalawo* have shrines in their houses and attend to clients on a daily basis. In the past, the *babalawo* and other

<sup>39</sup> P. Mckenzie, p. 472.

<sup>40</sup> W. Abimbola. *Ifa: An Exposition of Ifa Literary Corpus* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1976).

adherents of Orunmila met regularly at Oja'ba every fifth day to praise and adore the deity. This practice, according to Tomori<sup>41</sup> continued until the British administration began to systematically disrupt the social and political set-up in Ibadan.

The early period of British administration in Ibadan was significant in that the new ways-of life adversely affected the religious and socio-cultural practices of the people. As a result, the progress and expansion of indigenous religious practices were negatively affected, particularly with the introduction of some harsh political laws.

Despite the harsh religious measures by the orthodox faiths, the worship of Orunmila and the Ifa divination continue to flourish. Today, the congregational worship of Orunmila is held regularly, every Saturday in the Ose Meji temple at Oja'ba between 11 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. The worship procedure in this central shrine has been modernized. At each of these weekly services, one of the high priests leads the congregation and chants invocation poems to draw the spirit of Orunmila into their midst. He then pays homage to the deity and his associates in the spiritual pantheon and seek for their favour and spiritual presence.

The Ose-Meji temple can accommodate about 350 worshippers at a time. The seats are arranged at both sides. There is a space in the middle for the passage of the priests to the altar. The seats at the right side are for the women. This arrangement may not be unconnected with the traditional notion that women should be placed at the right side of the menfolk for necessary protection. Just in front of the female worshippers are the members of the choir robed in white in the likeness of the choir in Christian churches. There is a raised platform where the officiating priests sit at the end of the temple and to the right of these priests stands a rectangular wall of about eight feet wide and twelve feet high. This is the Ose Meji shrine where rituals are performed when necessary. Entry into the shrine is forbidden to non-initiates and women.

Prayers are offered for individuals, families of worshippers and the entire community in general. Members of the choir sing melodious songs of Ifa in praise of Olodumare and Orunmila. A special 'sermon' is presented to educate and advise participants. After the sermon, offerings are collected and blessed before the service is brought to an end. Apart from the weekly service held in the Ifa central temple, there are several mini temples built by some affluent babalawo in Ibadan.

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<sup>41</sup> Tomori, p. 36.



Worship proceedings in these mini temples are similar to that of the central temple at Oja'ba, though the structure of the buildings differs in certain respects.

In addition to the weekly congregational services, a more elaborate annual Ifa festival is held at the central temple. This festival draws many participants from far and near and is usually celebrated with much fanfare. It is worthy of note that many of these babalawo are world travellers and have visited places in America, Europe and Asia.

### Some other deities worshipped in Ibadan

Apart from the deities discussed above, other deities worshipped in Ibadan include *Osanyin*, *Sonponna*, *Osun*, *Osoosi*, *Orisa-Oko*, *Ibeji*, *Eleriko*, *Orin* and *Ori*. Although these deities are popular among the Yoruba, their worship in Ibadan has declined considerably. Some of these deities are venerated by a few people while the worship of some of them has become extinct.

*Osanyin*, the deity of herbal medicine, was apparently a partly anthropomorph, ventriloquist image of wood, which was held to have apotropaic powers if consulted in time.<sup>42</sup> His believers are of the view that he drives away misfortune, prevents bad dreams and gives verbal answers to those seeking advice and assistance. *Osanyin* is closer to *Ifa* than any other deity and is believed to have a deep knowledge of herbal remedies to many ailments. *Osanyin* is now generally consulted as an oracle by many people of Ibadan, but not worshipped as elaborately as *Ifa*, *Ogun* and *Okebadan*.

*Sonponna* is the dreaded god of smallpox and is believed to cause epidemics. Like *Osanyin*, *Sonponna* is not worshipped by the generality of the Ibadan people, but his devotees propitiate him, particularly during the hot weather and dry season. However, the belief that *Sonponna* causes small pox has died out with the introduction of modern health facilities in the community.

*Osun* (goddess of *Osun* river), *Orisa-Oko* (god of agriculture), *Ibeji* (god of twins) and *Osoosa* (god of the hunters and a close associate of *Ogun*) are diminishing in popularity. Most of the shrines belonging to these deities are now in ruins in Ibadan. Veneration of these deities remains with specific families who hold the deities as their lineage gods. Some symbols of the deities can still be found among these people and are preserved as archival material for their offspring.

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<sup>42</sup> P. Mckenzie, p. 73.

## Conclusion

This paper has examined traditional religious worship in Ibadan over the past sixty years and the changes that have occurred over time. It is a fact that the number of adherents of the traditional deities in Yorubaland have declined over the past 60 years. While the Muslims and Christians have increased, the Yoruba *orisa* cults have hardly retained their identity.

It is also pertinent to note that the early scholars who wrote about Yoruba deities were either ignorant about the people's faith or were biased due to racial prejudice. However, it has been observed that towards the middle of the twentieth century, more objective studies of Yoruba religion have been carried out by both Yoruba and non-Yoruba scholars. It should also be noted that the second half of the twentieth century witnessed significant changes in the worship of traditional deities among the Yoruba. In this same period, the extinction and power of the deities in Ibadan was apparent. Elaborate ceremonies for some of these deities have decreased in number. Attendance at large annual ceremonies has also decreased, especially among the younger people who have embraced Christianity or Islam.

The worship and veneration of some of the deities has begun to decline gradually due to persecution of the worshippers of these deities by the followers of Islam and Christianity, many of the deities continue to wax stronger. For example, the traditional worship of Ifa became enriched because of the unflinching faith which many people (including some Muslims and Christians) have in the oracle and his predictions. According to Tomori,<sup>43</sup> "the Ifa oracle is consulted both by the Muslims and the Christians." The popularity of Ogun in social, economic and judicial matters in contemporary life remains significant as we have seen in this paper. Therefore, it may be submitted that while most of the deities have been forgotten or ignored by the adherents of Christianity and Islam; and others through the influence of Western education. However, some of the *orisa*, ie, Okebadan, Obatala, Ifa, and Orunmila and Ogun continue to stand the test of time and compete with Christianity, Islam and Western education.

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<sup>43</sup> A. Tomori, p. 44.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### The Imamate in Ibadan

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Ismaheel A. Jimoh

#### Introduction

The traditional Ibadan republican form of government is not confined to the kingship institution alone. It also applies to the imamate institution. The imamate in Islam is central to the corporate existence and development of the Muslim community. Hence, there is always the need to have an educated leadership in terms of a learned cleric who, apart from leading the community in prayers, also teaches and guides them morally and spiritually. The leader to whom such a role is entrusted in Islam is an *imām*.

The origin of imamate in Ibadan is almost always synonymous with the emergence of Islam in the city. Bello,<sup>1</sup> El-Masri<sup>2</sup> and Nasiru<sup>3</sup> maintain that as early as 1829 C.E., the Muslim community recognized one ‘Abdullahi Gunnugun, otherwise known as *Igun-Olobun* as their imām. Unfortunately, very little is known about the man. He was, however, believed to have lived and died at Ayeeye area of Ibadan.

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1 Ahmad Rufā’ī Bello, “Nabadhatun min tarājim ajdādi’l-muslimīn fībaldat Ibādan”, Ms., n.d., f.2.

2 F.H. El-Masri, “Islam” in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, editors, *City of Ibadan*, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 250.

3 W.O.A. Nsiru, “Islamic Learning among the Yoruba (1896-1963),” Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1976, p. 70



The imamate, as noted by Gbadamosi,<sup>4</sup> Oloso<sup>5</sup> and Abbas,<sup>6</sup> is central to the corporate existence and development of the Muslim community. As in many other *sūnnī* Muslim communities the world over, there are two categories of imām in Ibadan. These are the compound imām (*Imām Rātib*) and the central imām (*Imām Jāmi'*). While the former leads the canonical five daily prayers in a compound mosque, the latter leads the Friday congregational prayer (*Ṣalātu'l-Jumu'ab*), as well as the *Eid* prayers in the central mosque and praying ground, respectively. Each town has as many compound and central mosques depending on the geographical spread and the Muslim population. As a corporate entity, there is always an overall central mosque under the administration of the town's imamate from where the affairs of the Muslims in other mosques are coordinated. The jurisdiction of the Ibadan imamate covers eleven out of the thirty-three local government areas of the present Oyo State. These are Akinyele, Egbeda, Ido, Iagelu, Oluyole and Ona-Ara, Ibadan South-East, Ibadan South-West, Ibadan North, Ibadan North-East and Ibadan North-West.

### Ibadan Central Mosque

Before assuming the present shape in its present location, the Ibadan Central Mosque had, at one time or the other, been moved from one location to another. The mosque was first built in Iba's palace at Oja'ba during the reign of Basorun Oluyole (1830-1847 C.E.). It was about the same period when Sheikh 'Uthmān Abūbakr Bāsunu, the second Chief Imām of Ibadanland, arrived amidst jubilation. He was received with glamor foretold by the Basorun's priests and was lodged in a place known as *Ita-Okoḥ*, very close to Iba's palace. The mosque was, however, later razed to the ground shortly after its erection on the order of Basorun.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the mosque was moved from Iba's premises to *Idi-Ogede* in Oja'ba

4 G.O. Gbadamosi, "The Imamate Question among Yoruba Muslims", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 1972; VI(2): 229-237.

5 K.K. Oloso, "Appointment, Functions and Deposition of Imams in Islam," *AL-FIKR* 1992; 13: 37-45

6 L.O. Abbas, "Imamship in Islam: Its Concept and Practice among the Yoruba of Oyo and Osun States", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 2003.

7 M.O. Abdul-Rahmon, "A thematic and stylistic study of Arabic poetry in Ibadan (1876 - 1976)", Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1989, p. 23.

quarters. It was about 300 metres from Oja'ba along the place presently known as the Oja'ba –Born Photo Road.<sup>8</sup>

The rapport between the Muslims and the ruling class continued after the death of Basorun Oluyole. When Opeagbe became the Baale in about 1850 C.E., he gave permission for the reconstruction of the mosque earlier destroyed by Oluyole.<sup>9</sup> Chief Oshundina, who was then the leading Muslim chief in Ibadan, was instrumental to the innovation. This marked the beginning of the Oja'ba Central Mosque. The mosque then was a small building of mud walls, initially with thatched roof, before it was renovated with corrugated iron-sheets in 1900. Later on, the mosque evidently became too small for the growing Ibadan Muslim population. The first attempt for the repair and extension of the old mosque was sponsored by the late Chief Salami Agbaje and some other Ibadan elites between 1921 and 1924.<sup>10</sup>

During the reign of Oba Okunola 'Abbās Alesinloye of Isale -'Jebu (1930-1946), a remarkable development was recorded in the history of the Ibadan Central Mosque. Oba Okunola contributed immensely to the development of the mosque. Apart from his contributions towards the cost of the repair and extension of the old mosque, he also made possible the acquisition of additional plots of land for the expansion of the mosque. Similarly, the present Agodi Eid praying ground was also expanded by this energetic Muslim ruler.<sup>11</sup> Notable Muslim preachers such as Alhaji Najmudeen Akindele and Shaikh Ahmad Rufā'ī B. Abūbākr, popularly known as Alfa Nda Salāṭī (d. 1966) of Ilorin, played active parts in the drive for the reconstruction of the mosque.<sup>12</sup>

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8 Bello Adebayo Rufā'ī, "An assessment of variant views of Ibadan 'ulamā' of the 1940s and 1950s on the issues of *Nisābu'ṣ-ṣakāh* and *aqallu's-sadāq*", M.A. dissertation in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, 1987, p. 10.

9 I.B. Akinyele. *Iwe Itan Ibadan*, 4th edition (Ibadan: Board Publications Ltd., 1981), p. 50.

10 The Ibadan Muslim Progressive Committee, "Facts about the Ibadan Central Mosque", n.d., p. 3.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibadan scholars composed a thirty-line *dāliyyab* poem on 23 *Sha'bān* 1371 A.H./18 May, 1952 to express their gratitude to Alfa Nda Salāṭī for his support in the restoration of the Ibadan Central Mosque. The poem was later rendered into pentastich by one of the latter's students, Muhammad b. Alhaji Ibrāhīm b. Sālih b. 'Umar an-Nafāwī

The Ibadan Central Mosque Building Fund Committee was inaugurated in 1955. The committee was renamed Ibadan Muslim Progressive Committee (IMPC) in 1958 and registered as a corporate body. The committee was charged, at its inception, with the planning and erection of a befitting central mosque for Ibadan, under the chairmanship of Alhaji Salami Laniyan 'Alī. The Oja'ba Central Mosque in its present location is the fruit of the efforts of the committee.<sup>13</sup> The Ibadan Muslim Progressive Committee was then saddled with the maintenance of the Oja'ba Central Mosque and the Agodi Eid praying ground.

The foundation stone of the Oja'ba Central Mosque in its present location was laid by the Imām of Madīnah, Saudi Arabia, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Azeez on 9 July 1963. The mosque was officially commissioned on Saturday, 9 January 1982. There was an attempt to trespass on the remaining portion of the mosque land for the extension of the Olubadan's palace. Through the combined efforts of Imām Muili 'Abdullāh, the twelfth Chief Imām of Ibadanland (1940-1982)<sup>14</sup> and other Muslim clerics and philanthropists, the matter was resolved in favour of the Muslims, and the place was eventually used for the construction of a hall for the Muslim community. The approval to this effect was granted and duly signed by Oba Daniel Akinbiyi (1977-1982), through the influence of Chief Busari Adelakun, a former commissioner in Oyo State.<sup>15</sup>

For many years, the Oja'ba mosque served as the only central mosque for the whole of the Muslim community in Ibadanland. Due to the heterogeneous nature of the city and the existence of many ethnic and different religious groups within the Muslim community, there has been a considerable increase in the number of both central and compound mosques in the area over the years. The groups include *Ansārudeen*, *Nawāirudeen*, *Anwāru'l-Islām*, and *Abmadiyyah* mission and movement.

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(d.1982). See J.O. Hunwick and R.S. O'Fahey, *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol. II (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1995), 503.

13 Oral communication with Alhaji (Engineer) Rafiu Olatunde Ladipo, the secretary of the Ibadan Muslim Progressive Committee, in its secretariat at Oja'ba Central Mosque on 12 April, 2000.

14 See Appendix 2 for the photographs of the some of the past Chief Imāms of Ibadanland.

15 Oral communication with Ahaji Yūsha'u Tāhīr of Motala, the *Alfa Tafsīr* of Ibadanland, in his residence on 23 January 2000.



Others are Lanase, Bamidele, *Tijāniyyah* and *Qādiriyyah* orders, as well as Tapa and Hausa Muslim communities. The first of the groups to have its own separate central mosque is the Hausa community at its Sabo quarter. The mosque was established in 1938<sup>16</sup> during the imamate of 'Alī Muhammad Ajagbe Afase-gbejo (1935-1940), the tenth Chief Imām of Ibadanland. Sheikh 'Uthmān Lanase (d.1954) was the first Ibadan indigene to have a separate central mosque in his compound at Oja'gbo around 1950. The influence of the *sūfi* orders also manifested itself on the Ibadan Muslim community. For instance, a *Tijāniyyah* scholar, Shaikh 'Abdu'-Salām Adebolu b., Muhammadu'l-Awwal of Medina, Elekuro area, pioneered a mosque where the tradition of folding of hands (*qabd*) during the standing posture in obligatory prayers was formalized among the *sunnī* Muslims.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, other Muslim groups and societies such as Ansārudeen Society and Ahmadiyyah, which were introduced in Ibadan around 1937 and 1923, respectively, built many compound and central mosques wherever they had their branches in Ibadan. Besides, the ever-growing population of the Muslims in Ibadan was another major factor for the increase in the number of the mosques in the area in recent times.

The application for the establishment of a new mosque is made to the Imām-in-Council at Oja'ba Central Mosque, which in turn delegates some of its members to inspect the site of the proposed mosque. Such applications are normally routed through the community representative on the League of Compound or Central Imams (*Jam'īyyat a'imati'r-rawātib* or *Jam'īyyat a'imati'l-jawām*), as the case may be. The consent of the imām of the existing mosque in the locality is also sought for. The turbaning and presentation of staff of office such as *al-Kinba* cap, sceptre and the text of *khutbabs* to the imāms of central mosques are performed by the Imām-in-Council or its representatives. Once such an imām is appointed, he is entitled to join and attend meetings of the League of Central or Compound Imāms at the Oja'ba Central Mosque. About 160 central mosques and 1,850 compound mosques are registered under the Ibadan Imamate at the Oja'ba Central Mosque.<sup>18</sup>

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16 Oral communication with Alhaji Muhammad Ghālī Dikko Zungeru at Sabo, on 12 April 2000.

17 Murtadā Abūbakr Oke-Koto, *Mir'ātu 'n-nāziqīn fi ta'rīfi 'l-āsāl mina'l-'ulamā' 'fi balad Ibādan* (Cairo, Dāru't-Tabā'ati'l-Hadīthah, 1993), p. 34-35.

18 Oral communication with Alhaji Yūsha'u Tāhir of Motala, in his residence on 25 March 2008.

### Establishment of the Council of *Ulamā* in Ibadan

From the inception of Islam in Ibadan till the imamate of Sheikh 'Abdullāh 'Uthmān Bāsunu in 1896, there was no proper mosque administration. Hence, the activities of the *ulamā* (Muslim scholars) were not coordinated. It was a tradition in Yorubaland that whenever a thunderbolt hits a house or a person, the victim's house must be raided by the priests of Sango. If the victim was taken alive by these priests, they beat him or her to death and looted his or her house.<sup>19</sup> It was reported that around 1902, a Muslim called 'Abdu's-Salām of Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura's house, near *Idi-Arere*, died as a result of a thunderbolt that hit his house one night. Imām 'Abdullāh was in the victim's house the following day when the Sango priests came to loot the deceased's house as usual. He drove them away and prevented them from taking away the man's property. The priests reported the matter to Basorun Fajimi (1897-1902) who subsequently sent for the imām. He threatened him that such an action of his might cause the anger of Sango, the god of thunder. Imām 'Abdullāh was reported to have, in the same manner, retorted and warned that Allah, the creator of everything, including Sango, might unleash His wrath on the Basorun and his subjects, among whom were the Sango worshippers. The imām successfully withstood the Sango devotees with his prayers, thus he over-powered them and put an end to this oppressive practice through his spiritual power.

This incident brought the Muslims, especially the *ulamā* and the imāms of other compound (*rātib*) mosques together. They began to do things in common and to hold meetings together. This event led to the formation of the Council of *Ulamā*. The council was inaugurated during the reign of Oba Okunola 'Abbās. The council brought about changes for the better and yielded desired results for the Muslim community in Ibadan.<sup>20</sup>

### The Ibadan Imamate

The Ibadan imamate was pioneered by the itinerant Muslim clerics who migrated from Nupe, Ilorin and other places in northern Nigeria. Many of them acted as preachers, teachers, spiritual advisers and medicine-men. One of the major factors that made the traditional ruling class to accommodate them was their ability to proffer solutions to most of the prevailing social problems and for the efficacy of

19 E. Bolaji Idowu. *Olodumare, God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longman, 1962), p. 91-92.

20 Rufā'ī, p. 12-13.

their prayers.<sup>21</sup> At war times, they acted as spiritual advisers and medicine-men. They purveyed Islamic and herbal charms and amulets to protect their clients against physical injury. As mentioned earlier, Sheikh 'Uthmān Abūbākr Bāsunu (d. 1871), the second Chief Imām of Ibadan, was overwhelmingly received by Basorun Oluyole for the potency of his prayers. Similarly, during the Kiriji war (1877-1886) between the Ibadan and the Ekiti-Parapo, Alfa Sulaimān Alagufon, the fifth Chief Imām (d. 1886), was reported to have participated actively in the war-front. He was actually nicknamed *Imām-Ogun*, because he became the chief imām while he was on the battle field in 1884, during the reign of *Aare Latoosa*, the *Aare Ona-Kankanfo* (1871-1885). His successor, Ibrāhīm Gambari, the sixth Chief Imām (1886-1896), was also appointed as on the battle field. Many of these Muslim scholars, who impressed the people of Ibadan and its Muslim community, in particular, were prevailed upon to stay and lead them as imāms. Thus, many of the early imāms were appointed in consideration of their immense roles and contributions to the spread and consolidation of Islam.<sup>22</sup>

In Ibadan, there are two hierarchical lineages from which the imām is selected alternately. These are the *Mogaji* and *Alfa* lines. Since the introduction of Islam to Ibadan till date, there had been seventeen chief imāms.<sup>23</sup> It is evident from the list of these imāms that the first six pioneered and, at the same time, paved the way for succession to the imamte through the *Mogaji* line for their subsequent descendants. *Mogaji* is a Hausa word which means a successor. It is known as *Arole* in Yoruba and *kehalifah* in Arabic. In effect, the *Mogaji* line consists of all the senior surviving descendants of the first six imāms, who as a condition must also be learned. Both the seventh and the eighth imāms were descendants of the second and the third imāms, respectively. Hence, they were the first set of *Mogajis* to become imāms in Ibadan.

On the other hand, the *Alfa* line comprises the outstanding Muslim scholars whose forebears had contributed immensely to the consolidation and growth of

21 Ādam 'Abdullāh al-Ilūrī, *Nasīmu's-sibā fi akhbārī'l-Islām wa 'ulamā' bilād Yoruba*, 3rd edition (Cairo: Maktabat, 1990), p. 121 & 128. See also Parrinder Geoggretey, *Religion in an African City* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 64-65 and Ivor Wilks, "The Muslim Impact in Ashanti Society" in I.M. Lewis, editor, *Islam in Tropical Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 331.

22 Abdul-Rahmon, p. 13-14.

23 See Appendix 1 for the list of Chief Imāms of Ibadan.



Islam in Ibadan, and as well had either hitherto become imāms or not. In order not to restrict the Ibadan imamate to the descendants of the first six imāms, the Alfa line was created to give to new set of long-standing Muslim scholars ample opportunity to become imāms in Ibadan. Consequently, Hārūn Matanmi, popularly known as *Alfa Oke-Gege*, became the ninth chief imām in 1922. Since then, the rule of alternating the appointment of the chief imām between the Mogaji and the Alfa lines is followed till today. The only exception to this rule was the appointment in 1988 of the fourteenth imām, Alhaji Mudaththir 'Abdu's-Salām, whose predecessor, Alhaji Sadīq Folorunso, was also from the Alfa line.

There were many factors that contributed to this deliberate flouting of the 'alternating rule'. First, for old age, Alhaji Mudaththir acted for his predecessor for four years, three months and fifteen days before the death of the latter in 1988. Besides, Imām Sadīq came to the mosque few months<sup>24</sup> before his death and asked Alhaji Mudaththir to lead the *Jumu'ah* prayer, while he too was in attendance. After the service, Imām Sadīq rose up with the microphone in his hand and asked the congregation thus: "Is the person I nominated up to the task or not?" The people retorted in affirmation saying very clearly and loudly: "Yes! Yes!!, he is up to the task!" By the standing rule, however, Alhaji Liadi Inakoju, who was then the most senior Mogaji (Mogaji Agba) was supposed to have been appointed as the chief imām. Without any objection, he accepted the usurpation in good faith.

Since then, the appointment of the last three imāms in Ibadan has been a succession between the Mogaji and Alfa lines in rotation. The pact of the imamate succession in Ibadan of 17 December 1991<sup>25</sup> further strengthened and stressed this rotational method for the appointment of the chief imām in Ibadan. It was, however, conditional that only knowledgeable and qualified scholars are to be promoted to the Council of Mogajis and Alfas.

### **Imām-in-Council**

The former Council of Ibadan Ulamā metamorphosed into the Imām-in-Council. It comprises the chief imām and five scholars each from both the Mogaji and Alfa

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24 It was precisely four months and fifteen days before the death of Imām Sadīq.

25 The pact was drawn during the appointment of Alhaji Liadi Inakoju as the Chief Imām in 1991, immediately after the death of Imām Mudaththir. It was duly signed by the Muslim elders forum, under the chairmanship of Chief K.O.S. Are, the then *Baba 'sale Musulumi* of Ibadanland.

lines. This is the body that administers the Ibadan imamate. It is from these ten members that the new imāms are to be drawn. Whenever there is a vacant position within the council, another qualified scholar is upgraded and enrolled into the council. The vacant position determines the line from which the promotion will take place.<sup>26</sup>

### Functions of the Council

As indicated earlier, the council has its secretariat at the Oja'ba Central Mosque. The council serves as a pool from where new imāms are drawn. It meets fortnightly on Mondays. As the highest authority on religious matters, it coordinates the activities of all other central (*jawāmi'*) and compound (*rawātib*) mosques. It disseminates information to the entire Muslim community in Ibadan through the imāms of such other mosques. One of the major channels by which information is disseminated is the weekly *Jumu'ab* sermon (*khutbah*). To facilitate this, there is a league each for all the imāms of both the central and compound mosques, namely the *Jam'iyyat a'imati'l-jawāmi'* and the *Jam'iyyat a'imati'r-rawātib*. The former holds its meetings on penultimate Thursdays of every month, under the chairmanship of the chief imām of Ibadan and two vice-chairmen. The other league also meets fortnightly on Wednesdays.

There is also a joint meeting of the Imām-in-Council and the League of the Central Mosque Imāms of Ibadan once in every month. Two representatives of each central mosque, usually the imām and his deputy (*Nā'ib*) or the secretary are expected to attend the meeting. If any misunderstanding arises in any of the compound or other central mosques, it is the responsibility of the Imām-in-Council to settle it. The council serves as the spokesman of the Ibadan Muslim community to make requests to the government on any religious issue. More importantly, the council presents a candidate among its members for the post of the chief imām to the consultative forum of Muslim elders in Ibadan for ratification. The composition of the consultative forum of Muslim elders is as follows:

1. The *Baba'sale Musulumi* of Ibadan (chairman)

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26 There are, however, some instances that a scholar would prefer to be enrolled under a line other than the one he belongs to, especially when he is sure of having a chance of rapid promotion to the post of an Imām in such a line. A typical example is a former *Mufti*, Sheikh 'Abdu'r-Ra'uf Busari of Oke-Gege (d. Sept. 19, 2003), a descendant of Sheikh Hārūn Matanmi of Oke-Gege, the ninth Chief Imām (1922-1935). He was enrolled in the council under the *Alfa* line rather than the *Mogaji* line.

2. Representatives of the Ibadan Muslim Progressive Committee (*Egbe Ako-Mosalasi*)
3. The *Otun Baba'sale Musulumi*.
4. The *Osi-Baba'sale Musulumi*
5. Representatives of the Muslim intellectuals
6. Representatives of the Muslim title holders

The turbaning and presentation of the staff of office take place at Mapo Hall. The Olubadan and the muslim community are normally in attendance. The turbaning is performed by a selected group of Islamic scholars from any part of the world. For instance, the fourteenth chief imām, Alhaji Mudaththir, was turbaned by a delegate from Saudi Arabia.

### The major title holders among the council members

#### 1. The Chief Imām

As the chief executive of the Ibadan Imamate, the chief imām is the leader and spiritual head of the Muslim community of Ibadan. He leads them in prayers and delivers sermons (*khutbahs*) on Fridays at the Oja'ba Central Mosque and at the Agodi praying ground on Edi days. At funerals, he also leads the prayer for the deceased if he is invited. He is the current chairman of the League of Imāms and Alfas of Oyo State. He and other chief imāms and alfas of *Tafsir*, as well as representatives of other Muslim organizations from major cities deliberate on religious issues, such as the commencement and breaking of the *Ramadān* fast, and other issues that affect the Muslim community of Yorubaland.

#### 2. The *Mufti* (Jurisconsults)

He is the final authority on religious matters, hence the appellation *Alfa Agba*. His functions change from time to time. At times, he performs the functions of a *Mufassir*, otherwise known as *Alfa Tafsir* (the chief Qur'ānic commentator) and gives sermons at funerals. At other times, the post of a mufassir is given to another scholar. For instance, when Sheikh Tāhir Motala (d. 1958) was the *mufti*, he was also the mufassir. The same trend was followed when Sheikh Ahmad Rufā'i Bello of Oke-Are (d. 1971) was the *mufti*. However, when Sheikh Sanusi Alaka of Elesinmeta (d. 1990) was the *mufti*, another scholar, Alhaji Mudaththir 'Abdu's-Salām (d.



1991), served as the mufassir on health accounts of the former. Alhaji 'Abdu'l-Kareem was also a mufassir when he became the mufti in 1992. Alhaji 'Abdu'r-Ra'uf Busari of Oke-Gege in 1993, also combined both functions till the 1999 *Ramadān*, when the post of the mufassir was transferred to Alfa Yūsha'u Tāhir Motala, and the responsibility of giving sermons at funerals went to another scholar, Alhaji Akeusekisa Tijani Folorunso of Popo Yemoja. The present mufti, Alfa Yūsha'u Tāhir of Motala, since 2005, also combined both functions, while Alhaji Akeusekisa Tijani Folorunso retains his ceremonial responsibilities. Both scholars are members of the Imām-in-Council. In the present dispensation, one of the major functions of the mufti is the presentation of a general sermon in Yoruba language prior to the presentation of the *khutbah* by the chief mām on Fridays at the Oja'ba Central Mosque.

### 3. The *Mufassir* (Chief Qur'ānic Commentator)

Great importance is equally attached to the post of a mufassir (popularly known as Alfa Tafsīr) in the imamate of Ibadan. As a public relation officer and a spokesman of the whole imamate, the candidate for the post is always a well-acknowledged scholar. This is the more reason why in some cases, the mufti (Alfa Agba) is always the mufassir. The first scholar to occupy the post was an Ibadan indigene, Sheikh Abūbākr Qāsim, popularly known as *Alfa Alaga* (d. 1884).<sup>27</sup> He used to run his commentary on the Qur'ān in the Hausa language, while Sheikh Hārūn Matanmi of Oke-Gege interprets in Yoruba. He was the founder and the first rector of the first organized Qur'ānic and *'ilmī* school, from where many of the early *mallams* and teachers graduated. The intellectual tradition he laid down was continued by the later generation of Ibadan indigenous scholars.

The Ibadan central Tafsīr sessions at the early stage were held throughout the month of *Ramadān* at the premises of the palaces of traditional rulers, as a mark of honour and in appreciation of their contributions to the course of Islam. The Oja'ba Central Mosque has, however, for many years become and remained the permanent venue for the Ibadan central Tafsīr sessions.

### 4. The Senior *Munassu* (*Ajanasi Agba*)

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 3 for the list of the past *Mufassir* (Qur'ānic commentators) of Ibadan.

He is the assistant to the chief Qur'ānic commentator. He also serves as the missionary in-charge of the women wing (*Alasalatu*) of the Oja'ba Central Mosque on Fridays.

There are also within the Ibadan imamate, other religious posts outside the membership of the Imām-in-Council. These include the *muezzin* (*Mu'adhdhin*), who proclaims the hours of prayers from the minaret of the mosque. Another post is the *arowaasi* (interpreter), who re-echoes what other scholars say in a very clear and loud voice. Also, honorary titles such as *Aare Musulumi*, *Balogun Adini*, *Ogun Balogun*, *Osi Baba'sale*, *Asaqun Adini*, *Giwa Adini*, *Seriki Musulumi*, *Iyalode Musulumi* and *Iya Suna Musulumi*, among others, are given to worthy philanthropist members of the Ibadan Muslim community.

### Conclusion

Attempts have been made in this paper to trace the origin and development of imamate succession in Ibadan. Frankly speaking, there are always within the Muslim community many capable people for the prestigious office of the chief imām. In Ibadan, however, the appointment is restricted to the members of the Imām-in-Council. Hence, the Ibadan imamate, in its present organizational structure, no doubt, averts the possible controversies that are often associated with the succession to the post of an imām. The study reveals that the appointment of the chief imām of Ibadan is reposed in both the Imām-in-Council and the forum of Ibadan Muslim elders. The former nominates one of its members for the onward transmission to the latter for ratification. Both bodies constitute an electoral college (*shūrā*) to whom the processes of the imamate succession are designated.

The Oja'ba Central Mosque symbolizes the unity of the whole Ibadan Muslim community. The mosque, therefore, serves as a telescope by which the Ibadan imamate is teleguided. Consequently, the roles of the major functionaries that constitute the central working body of the mosque are thoroughly examined. These are the Alfas, the Ibadan Muslim Progressive Committee and the forum of Muslim elders. The success of the imamate rests on the cordial relationship that exists among the three parties on one hand, and the generality of the Muslim community on the other. The leadership as well as the individual Muslims in the community should therefore endeavour to join hands in pooling their resources together for the regular maintenance of the central mosque and the execution of various lofty programmes expected of an imamate. These include vocational workshops, as well

as enlightenment campaigns for the Muslims, and welfare of the indigent members of the community.

One other major source from which funds could be adequately generated for the imamate is *zakāt*. The imamate should as a matter of urgency therefore set in motion a machinery to revisit the manner in which the institution of *zakāt* is presently being haphazardly administered. For instance, the situation in which advertisements for the distribution of *zakāt* were made on the radio and television by some Muslim philanthropists is often associated with many problems. First, many people who are really entitled to share from such payments were sometimes denied due to lack of proper disbursement. Worse still, damages were always caused to the louvers of the Oja'ba Central Mosque when people were struggling to get their share of the *zakāt*. It is high time for the imamate therefore to initiate a motion towards the decentralization of collection and proper disbursement of *zakāt*. There is no gain saying the fact, however, that the *modus operandi* of peaceful succession to the Ibadan imamate attests to the *status quo* of Ibadan as one of the world's major Islamic centres worthy of emulation.



## APPENDIX

## 1. List of Chief Imāms of Ibadanland (c. 1829 to 2015)

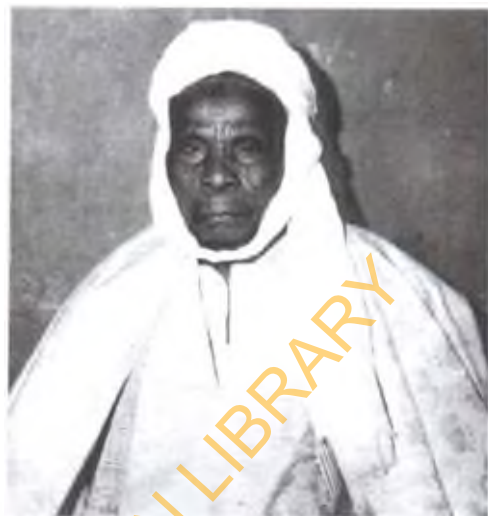
No.	Name	Date	Location in Ibadan
1	'Abdullah Gunnugun (Igun Olohun)	1829 - 1839	Ayeye
2	'Uthman Abubakr Basunu	1839 - 1871	Ita-Okoro
3	Ahmad Qifu	1871 - 1872	Isale-Alfa
4	Harun Tijani Afase-gbejo	1872 - 1884	Agbeni
5	Sulaimon Alagufon	1884 - 1886	Ile-Alagufon, Agbeni
6	Ibrahim Gambari	1886 - 1896	Oja-Igbo
7	'Abdullah Basunu (Son of the 2nd Imam)	1896 - 1911	Ita-Okoro
8	Muhammad Lawal Qifu (Son of the 3rd Imam)	1911 - 1922	Isale-Alfa
9	Harun Matanmi	1922 - 1935	Oke-Gege
10	'Ali Muhammad Ajagbe (Son of the 4th Imam)	1935 - 1940	Agbeni
11	Muhammad Bello Yusuf Inakoju	31/5/1940 - 27/9/1940	Oja'ba
12	Muili Adisa Basunu (Son of the 7th Imam)	1940 - 1982	Ita-Okoro
13	Alhaji Sadiq 'Ali Folorunso	1983 - 1988	Popoyemoja
14	Alhaji Mudathir 'Abdu's-Salam	1988 - 1991	Isale-Osun
15	Liadi Bello Inakoju (Son of the 11th Imam)	1991 - 1993	Oja'ba
16	'Abdu'l-Kareem Rufa'i	1993 - 1995	Oke Are
17	Busari Harun Agbeni (Descendant of the 4th/10th Imams)	1995 - 2015	Agbeni

Source: 1. El-Masri, F.H. 1967. Islam, p. 257. In: P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, editors. *The City of Ibadan*. London: Oxford University Press.

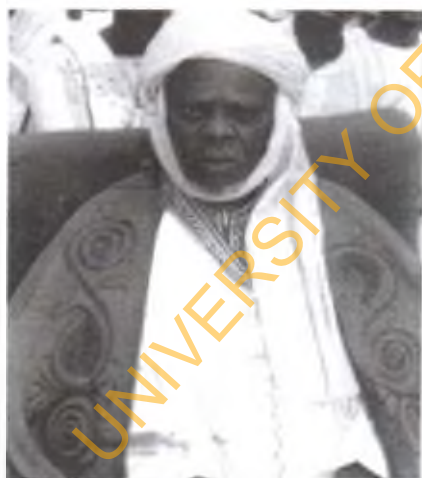
2. Oral communication with Alhaji Yūsha'u Tāhir Motala.



**Figure 14.1** Alhaji Muili Adisa Basunu  
(12th Chief Imam of Ibadan).



**Figure 14.2** Alhaji Sadiq Aliyu Folorunso  
(13th Chief Imam of Ibadan).



**Figure 14.3** Alhaji Mudathir Abdu's-Salam  
(14th Chief Imam of Ibadan).



**Figure 14.4** Alhaji Liadi Bello Inakoju  
(15th Chief Imam of Ibadan).



Figure 14.5 Alhaji Abdu'l-Kareem Rufa'i  
(16th Chief Imam of Ibadan).



Figure 14.6 Alhaji Busari Harun Agbeni  
(17th Chief Imam of Ibadan).

### 3. List of *Mufassirs* (Qur'ānic Commentators) of Ibadan

Name	Date
Alfa Abubakr Qasim Alaga	c. 1876 - 1884
Alfa Harun Matanmi Oke-Gege	1885 - 1922
Alfa Bello 'Uthman Oke-Are	1923 - 1931
Alfa Bello Yusuf Inakoju	1931 - 1940
Alfa Tahir Malik Motala	1940 - 1958
Alfa Rufa'i Bello Oke-Are	1959 - 1971
Alfa Sadiq 'Ali Folorunso	1972 - 1982
Alfa Mudathir 'Abdu's-Salam	1983 - 1988
Alfa Abdu'l-Kareem Rufa'i Oke-Are	1988 - 1992
Alfa Abdu'r-Ra'uf Busari Oke-Gege	1992 - 1998
Alfa Yusha'u Tahir Motala	1999 - to date

*Source:* Personal Records of Alfa Yūsha'u Tāhir Motala.



## Evolution of Central Mosques in Ibadan – Future Implications on Religious and Traditional Leadership

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Tirimisiyu A. G. Oladimeji

### Introduction

A mosque, known as *Mosalasi* among the Yoruba (*Masjid* in Arabic), refers essentially to the house of worship for the adherents of Islam. It is the only Islamic architecture directly related to the Islamic faith that came with Islam to Africa. A mosque provides the avenue for the congregational prayer (*salat*). It is of three types: *musalla*, *masjid- al -Ratib* and *Masjid-al-Jami*.<sup>1</sup> The *musalla* is an open space marked off from the surrounding area for ceremonial (*Eid*) and compulsory daily prayers, while the others are built up structures. *Masjid-al-Ratib* (*Mosalasi Ratibi* or *adugbo*) serves sections of the community for the compulsory prayers, while *Masjid-al-Jami* (*Mosalasi Jimoh*) is meant for the Friday-noon prayers (*salat-al-Jumuah*). In the early times, only one *Masjid-al-Jami* used to exist in a community. However, with the proliferation of sects, increase in the population of Muslims and tribal factors, there are now more than one in a town.

Ibadan is a Yoruba settlement in southwestern Nigeria. It is today, a big commercial city and the administrative headquarters of Oyo State in Nigeria. Within the city, there are five local government areas. These are Ibadan North, Ibadan Northeast, Ibadan Southeast, Ibadan Southwest and Ibadan Northwest Local Government Areas. On the outskirts, however, there are Lagelu, Egbeda, Oluyole, Ona-Ara, Iddo, and Akinyele Local Government areas.

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1 I.A.A. Seriki, "Islam among the Egba and Ijebu People (1841-1982)", Ph.D. Thesis, Ibadan, 1986, p. 388.

The Yoruba people believe that they are the descendants of Oduduwa. Oduduwa was believed to have lived in Ile-Ife, which is the supposed cradle of the Yoruba race. They are now settled in various places like Ile-Ife, Ijebu Ode, Oyo Ilesha, Owo and Ilorin to mention a few.<sup>2</sup> Unlike most other Yoruba towns, Ibadan was first occupied by warlords from other Yoruba settlements in the early nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> It has however witnessed the most rapid development and growth to become the largest city in West Africa, and the most populous in Africa, south of the Sahara. Several factors account for this rapid growth. The central geographical position to other towns and the influx of refugees driven southwards when Oyo-Ile was sacked by the Fulani. Again, the domestic slaves seized in raids eastwards into Ekiti and Akoko was another contributing factor.<sup>4</sup> As the supreme military power in Yorubaland, it consequently became a commercial and political centre of the Yoruba people. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ibadan had evolved a system of government with military bias. This is unlike most other Yoruba towns, which are rooted in ascendancy within a family group. In Ibadan then, authority was a form of feudalism where titles are opened to all competitors regardless of their birth or place of origin.<sup>5</sup>

Among the Yoruba people back then, the worship of divinities (*Orisa*) was very common. It was widely believed among the Yoruba then that the Supreme Being is too exalted to concern Himself directly with men and their affairs. In other words, it was a form of monotheism in which God delegates certain portions of His authority to certain divine functionaries.<sup>6</sup> Such divinities include *Ogun* (the god of iron and war), *Obatala* (the creator divinity) and *Ifa/Orunmila* (the oracle divinity). The worship of these divinities are elaborate in some communities and

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2 Kolawole Balogun. *Government in Old Oyo Empire*. (Lagos: Africanus Publishers & Co., 1985), p.7-8. The Yoruba people are now in Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Kwara, Osun, Ekiti, Kogi and Ondo States of Nigeria, as well as in Benin Republic (Dahomey) and Togo.

3 See Kemi Morgan, *Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan*, Part I (Ibadan: Caxton Press, 1970) p.5-27 for the early history of Ibadan.

4 P.C. Lloyd, "Introduction" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, editors, *The City of Ibadan* (London: Cambridge, University Press, 1967), p.3.

5 Bolanle Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the 19th Century", Somerville College, Ph.D Thesis, 1964.

6 E.B. Idowu. *Olodumare-God in Yoruba Belief*. (London: Longman, 1962), p. 58.

sometimes next to being forgotten in others. Consequently, some divinities are uniquely known with some specific communities. In Ibadan, *Egungun* (the spirit of ancestors), which caused the sack of the first settlement, is still extant. Also connected with this is the *Okebadan* (the spirit of the hill), which protected the Ibadan people during their early wars. Apart from these two, *Oro*, *Ifá*, *Sango*, etc., were also embraced by the Ibadan people.

Islam, which was better adapted to the Yoruba social structure, was better received than Christianity, which had a monopoly of Western education. Islam spread peacefully into the Yoruba settlements through the Nupe people, Muslim slaves and itinerant Muslim preachers.<sup>7</sup> In Ibadan, Islam came with the first settlers. The few Muslims then, led by Imam Abdulai Gunnungun, introduced Islamic practices in Ibadan. This group was later joined by itinerant Muslim preachers from Katsina, Borno, Bida, Zaria, and Oshogbo. These early Islamic leaders later became imams of Ibadanland at one time or the other.<sup>8</sup>

### Ibadan settlement and political development

The original settlement of Ibadan was founded by Lagelu Oro-Apata-Maja, a great Ife war chief around 1820. After some time, the population of the settlement rose to about one hundred thousand inhabitants. This first Ibadan settlement was unfortunately sacked by *Alaafin Sango* of the Old Oyo kingdom, for revealing the secrets of the *Egungun* cult. The second Ibadan settlement started with just fifteen people (including Lagelu) who escaped into the forest. The *Gbagura-Egba*, *Iseri* and *Ile-Ife* people later joined them at the Awotan hill. Incidentally, it was overrun again by the Owu people and later got resettled by the Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and Ibadan soldiers.<sup>9</sup>

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7 J.S. Eades. *The Yoruba Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 7. Alhaji Raheem Gbadamosi, a *mufti* of Ibadan mosque, interviewed on 10 & 11 July 1999, traced Islam through Mali, hence it is called *Esin awon Mali* and eventually compressed to *Esin-Imale*'.

8 F.H. El-Masri. "Islam" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, editors, *The City of Ibadan*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 249 - 257.

9 Bolanle Awe, "Ibadan – Its Early Beginnings" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, p.13. Also, see Kemi Morgan, *op.cit*.



Ibadan since then developed its military tradition. Maye Okunade became the first *baale* of Ibadan. The people of Ibadan later moved to a better terrain at the present Oja'ba site and the Egba group joined them. Succeeding the proud and bad tempered Maye as Baale was Oluyedun, with the title of *Aare Ona-Kakanfo*, an Oyo military title. He was an old and weak ruler. Lakanle, a brave soldier from Oyo ruled next. He was a great military strategist, who fought in the following wars successfully: Ipetumodu War, Owiwi War (1832), Oniyefun war, Arakangba/Jabara war (1835) and Iperu War (1836). A rebellion from his chiefs led to his suicide. Oluyole, an Oyo prince and soldier succeeded Lakanle as Basorun. Since Lakanle's time, the Oyo people took over the rulership and petrified Ife soldiers who aspired to rule. Oluyole was famous for his bravery at the Oshogbo war of 1840, the first Ijaiye (Batedo) War and the Aye War, which started the raids into Ekitiland. Baale Opeagbe took over from him in 1850. This period marked the advent of Christianity into Ibadan. He died in 1851 and Oyeshile Olugbode was installed as Baale of Ibadanland.<sup>10</sup>

It was during Baale Olugbode's time that various military titles were conferred on brave war-chiefs. He also created Baale titles for civic responsibilities. The titles were so formalized that Ibadan since then became very peaceful. The system of open succession was used in the selection of a traditional ruler. After an *Otun-Balogun* lineage, the highest rank in the civil lineage (*Otun-Olubadan*) becomes the ruler. The lower rank in the two lines is the *Mogaji*, the head of an *agbo'le*. This system is still in use till date in the selection of the *Olubadan*.<sup>11</sup> The crown, as paraphernalia of office was introduced in 1976 during the reign of Oba Gbadamosi Akanbi Adebimpe (1976-1977). Thus Ibadan, the nineteenth century Yoruba city with a military-political tradition, became settled and developed. It is perhaps the only Yoruba city without a hereditary ruling family. Besides, another tradition in the leadership of Ibadan was the absence of a permanent royal palace. It was the practice for an incoming ruler to rule from his family's compound (*agbo'le*). It has been noted that these family compounds were usually renovated and expanded to

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10 Kemi Morgan, p. 55-111.

11 Ibid, p. 6-7. Also see P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, p.6 and Bolanle Awe, p. 352 for a list of chieftaincy lines of Ibadan.

befit an oba. It was only during the reign of Oba Yesufu Oloyede Asanike that a permanent palace was built at Oja'ba, which he also refused to use.<sup>12</sup>

### The central mosque tradition

Islam was introduced to Ibadan during the town's early settlement. The early settlers were adherents of the traditional religion. The few Muslims, led by Imam Abdulai Gunnugun of Ayeye area of Ibadan, introduced Islamic practices to other inhabitants of the city. Salat was initially performed privately and later in quarter mosques known as mosalasi-adugbo. As time went on, these few Muslims came together to establish a central mosque in the frontage of Iba Oluyole's compound at Oja'ba in 1831. It was a mud structure with thatched roof and not bigger than a 16 feet by 12 feet room space. This was burnt down in the night by the adherents of the traditional religion, who far outnumbered the Muslims. To them, it was disturbing and too close to the Ose-Meji shrine beside it.<sup>13</sup>

Around 1850, before the first central mosque was burnt, there was a quarter-mosque built by Osi Momodu Osundina, the Osi-Balogun, during the reign of Baale Olugbode (1851-1864). He was also granted on request a piece of land for the purpose of a central mosque. This was close to the current central mosque spot at Oja'ba, even though it was a smaller piece.<sup>14</sup>

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12 Igbinosa A. Okundaye, "A Comparative Study of Some Ibadan Palaces", University of Ibadan M. A. Thesis, 1986.

13 Alhaji Chief Hameed Apampa, the Mogaji of Osi-Osundina family claimed that the first mosque was established at the instance of Iba Oluyole. It is on record that Oluyole settled some Hausa Muslims from Northern Nigeria in his compound. According to Comrade Abubakr Umba Bawa, my informant at Sabo, Ibadan, they were led by one Mohammed Nagarke. The descendants of this group are still found at Oja'ba. See Kemi Morgan, p. 86 and J.S. Eades, p. 129. I.D. Abdur-Rahman, *Islam in Nigeria* (Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation, 1984), p. 197 could not record when the first mosque surfaced in Ibadan. They were however sure that it was initially a musalla type.

14 Alhaji Hameed Apampa also confirms the claims of Kemi Morgan, op.cit., p.107-108, who described the mosque as an impressive building. Also see Mubashir O. Yusuf, "The Contribution of Shaykh Harun Sultan Matanmi (Imam Oke-Gege) to Arabic and Islamic Learning in Ibadan", University of Ibadan BA. Thesis, 1987, p.5. Imam Basunu

When the first mosque at Isale Oja near Oluyole quarters was destroyed, the central mosque was moved to the mud-built thatched mosque in front of the present Oja'ba site at Oke Oja. This was at the instance of Osi Balogun Osundina. Salat was being performed there until the time of Basorun Sunmonu Apampa (1907 to 1910), the son of Osi Osundina. By this time, more converts had been recorded by Islam. As a result, the mosque could not contain all the Muslims.

During the war years, Ibadan lost so many things, not only at the war front, but also at home. Their buildings were in the state of disrepair. The mosque at Oke Oja was already dilapidated, so was the Osi Osundina's mosque at Isale Osi. Apampa, the *Mogaji* of Osi Osundina family then, enlarged this mosque with corrugated metal sheets after the war. When Apampa became Basorun, he decreed that the central mosque of Ibadan be relocated to the quarter-mosque at Isale Osi area. This was the precedence of the central mosque shifting tradition that followed later at the wish of the traditional rulers. The mosque remained in use even after the death of Basorun Apampa. Baale Akintayo Elempe (1910 - 1912) and Baale Ireffin (1912 - 1914), who ruled after him never bothered about the central mosque as they were non-Muslims<sup>15</sup>.

However, the next Muslim ruler, Baale Shittu Latoosa (1914 - 1925) from Oke-Are quarters, decreed that the central mosque be relocated to the frontage of his compound. This helps to confirm the relocation tradition developing in Ibadan then. This was possibly to reduce the security risks involved when the ruler goes to another quarter of the town for Friday-noon prayers. His successor, Baale Oyewole Foko (1925 - 1930), a non-Muslim, did not relocate the mosque to his compound. This tradition was finally stopped by the first Olubadan of Ibadanland, Oba Okunlola Abass Aleshinloye (1930 - 1946), who was a muslim. He relocated the mosque to its original site permanently.<sup>16</sup> At his order, the former central mosque of Ibadan was rebuilt with the cooperation of Muslim chiefs, committees and well-known personalities. Prayers were offered here until the time of Imam

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(imam 1839 - 1871).

15 Basorun Apampa's junior brother, Aminu Balogun, rebuilt the present Apampa mosque at Isale-Osi to its present state in 1933. It has space for women, demarcated by wooden boards and a big main hall, ablution spot and toilets.

16 Oba Okunlola Abass Alesinloye is from the Isale Ijebu quarter of Ibadan.



Muili Abdulai (1940 - 1982), when a mosque building group requested to rebuild it. This group was led by Pa Abdul-Salami Ali from Oke-Oluokun quarter.

The current central mosque is a big rectangular block with four floors. It is made of reinforced concrete pillars and beams that were later covered with fancy blocks. It has a single buttressed tower on its top that ends in a dome at the centre of the *gibla* side. A beautiful architectural façade has been added standing free of the main structure at its western end, which serves as the main entrance into the compound. There are also wide spaces behind and at the two sides of the mosque. Despite all these, the rapidly growing population of Ibadan and the Muslim community therein brought about an unprecedented development in the mosque tradition of Ibadan. As enjoined by Allah, Muslims in a town are supposed to come together as one at noon every Friday for prayers. With this, unity and brotherhood are expressed freely among Muslims within that community.

Early in the twentieth century, some groups which had developed within the *ummah* started agitating for the establishment of their own mosque within Ibadan. They saw the city becoming too large and the mosque becoming too small for the large Muslim community. First were the Hausa Muslims from Sabo, Oja'ba and other places. They requested for permission to establish their own mosque at the Sabo area of Ibadan. Their request was granted after some resistance. The mosque was constructed with modern materials. It has four round towers on top of its three-floored structure.<sup>17</sup>

Sometime afterwards, Pa Lanase returned home from a northern trip and made a request for a *jumuah* (central) mosque. His request was refused on the ground that the central mosque is not supposed to be more than one in a town. It became a legal battle at the highest court then at Onireke (*Kootu Alapaadi*). Pa Lanase cited the dispute his group had with the central mosque authorities over burial rites and sacrifices (*Sarua Oku*) as the main reason why he should be allowed to build another central mosque. Pa Lanase won as the court saw this secession move as a way of promoting the worship of Allah. The central (*jumuah*) mosque at Oke-Ofa was therefore established and known as Lanase Central Mosque till date. At a much

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17 F.H. El-Masti, p. 256 reports that there were also legal proceedings to stop the Hausa Sabo Community from saying the Friday prayers at Sabo. According to Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.844, this was in the late 1940s and 1950s after an inspiring visit of Ibrahim Niass. The Ibadan Hausa Muslim identity drew the group from the Ibadan Central Mosque.

later time, the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society, founded in Lagos around 1923 and introduced in Ibadan in 1939,<sup>18</sup> also requested for a central mosque. The society was granted permission to establish its own central mosque at Salvation Army road at Oke-Padre area. The mosque, built with concrete blocks, has three floors. There are other Ansar-Ud-Deen Central Mosques today. Some of the famous ones are located at Odo-Ona and Oke Liberty (Oke-Ado area).

The agitation for the inclusion of female worshippers, which had hitherto been disallowed, brought about the establishment of some jumuah mosques in Ibadan. The Islamic Missionary Society, led by Abdul-Salami from Oja'gbo area, was permitted to establish an Islamic central mosque that would include female worshippers at Odo'ye. The first imam was Abdul-Rauf Arekemose from Popo area of Ibadan. Later, this Islamic group also decided to establish another one at Bode with Alhaji Haruna from Oke-Sapati area as the imam. These central mosques by the Islamic Society are located within the Islamic Primary School compounds at Odo'ye and Isale-Bode, respectively.

This was how jumuah mosques developed in Ibadan. As at 1967, El Masri was able to record fifteen mosques for Friday noon prayers and about five hundred for the five daily prayers. Today, they are innumerable, as they no longer seek permission to establish such mosques. An informant, Alhaji Raheem Gbadamosi, reported that individuals like Alhaji Pa Abdul-Majeed of Oke-Eleta area had also built mosques on their own. In Oke-Oluokun area alone, over six could be counted. As observed by El-Masri, the resistance for the establishment of jumuah mosques in Ibadanland had its economic reasons.

### **Implications on future religious and traditional leadership**

Yoruba settlements are generally organized into districts. Religious, economic and political activities are concentrated at the core of the settlements. Ibadan is not an exception. Oja'ba hill is the centre of the town. The central market, the Ose-Meji shrine, the palace of Iba Oluyole, the first mosque and, recently, the first permanent palace were built on this hill. For obvious reasons, with the appointment of a new ruler, the focus of power shifted to new compounds. Then, Ibadan had no permanent palace. The idea of centrality got mixed up with the rulership, and Ibadan central mosques at certain periods had to shift its locations at the wish of

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18 Ira M. Lapidus, p. 286.

interventions in the evolution of *jami* mosques of Ibadan and the proliferations that followed later have certain implications on the religious and traditional leadership of the city.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the chief imam of the central mosque and other posts were already recognized even by the traditional rulers. This emanated from the close association between these religious and traditional leaders. The Ibadan warlords patronized the Muslim leaders because of the belief in the efficacy of their prayers and their talismans to give protection in times of war.<sup>19</sup> This relationship continues till today. Presently, an imam elect of the central mosque has to be turbaned by the traditional head of Ibadan — the Olubadan of Ibadanland.

The close relationship between the religious and traditional leaders later influenced the method of selection to the leadership of the central mosque. Some similarities could now be observed in the hierarchical ladder of the two. To attain the traditional leadership of Ibadan, a contender must be either from the Otun-Balogun line or Otun-Olubadan line. He must have also joined the ladder from the Mogaji (the head of each quarter of Ibadan) line. This is related to the hierarchy of the office of the chief imam. The chief imam has two main assistants who traditionally hold the topmost posts of the two hierarchical lines from which the imam could be selected. El-Masri has observed the duties of these two assistants. One interprets the Qur'an during Ramadan and preaches in general, while the other is essentially responsible for preaching during Friday-noon prayers.<sup>20</sup> Again, the most powerful warlord was always appointed along political lines. The tradition of selecting the most learned Islamic scholar for the position of the chief imam, is now a political issue. Quasi-military titles like *Balogun-Imale* (Balogun of the Muslims), found among Ibadan Muslims as observed by Eades, are conferred on senior members rather than those with the best knowledge of Islam.<sup>21</sup>

The palace shifting culture that evolved with the settlement of Ibadan influenced the 'mosque shifting culture' that started during the time of Basorun Apampa (1907 - 1910). This was short-lived, as it was stopped during Oba Okunlola Abass Alesinloye's reign (1930 - 1946). The palace was permanently

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19 F.H. El-Masri, p. 252-253.

20 Ibid, p. 254.

21 J.S. Eades, p.130.



moved to the present site at the centre of the town. Some Ibadan indigenes built a permanent modern palace around Oja'ba hill in the 1970s. Two rulers had resisted this permanent palace settlement move consecutively—Oba Oloyede Asanike and Oba Adeyemo Operinde I. Rather they used the structure as their office. It could be discerned that they preferred to rule from their family compounds.<sup>22</sup>

The nature of the settlement of Ibadan, which was dictated by the militant attitudes of these early settlers, and the close relationship between the traditional leaders and the imams eventually brought about the unnecessary exertion of political control on the Islamic religious leadership. The traditional leadership (Olubadan) in Ibadan was also influenced. The various similarities discovered in the hierarchical ladder to the headship of both the imamate and the Olubadan, the shifting of the location of the mosque and the Olubadan's palace is an indication of the political control behind both offices.

### Conclusion

With the proliferation of sectarian mosques, Ibadan today has several imams leading various congregations for the Friday-noon prayer. These imams are subordinates to the national head of their groups in Lagos or elsewhere, rather than the chief imam of the central mosque at Oja'ba. Although, the chief imam of Ibadan may be informed when a new imam is installed in a new sectarian mosque, no approval or turbaning right is required from the chief imam. They are within his domain of jurisdiction, yet independent of his control and power. The authority of the chief imam is already becoming eroded. This, for now, is unlike the position of the Olubadan of Ibadanland. The outskirt villages and communities within the city are ruled by baales, who are loyal subordinates and appointees of the Olubadan. The power of the traditional leader of Ibadan can equally be eroded, and it may find itself in the kind of predicament the Ibadan central mosque found itself. As long as there is no attempt to limit the growth of Ibadan, there will always be more mosques for the jumuah services. Ratib mosques will be converted to jumuah mosques, while new ones will be established in the newly-opened up areas. Eventually, the rigid traditions about the central mosque and the appointment of the chief imam may, as time goes on, become less important.

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<sup>22</sup> Oba Asanike's complaint against the move was that the new palace was inhabited by large rats. This is a flimsy excuse, as the palace could have been easily protected from these rodents. The palace was also considered too small.

Traditional Medical Associations  
in Ibadanland between 1982 and 2002

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Aibinuola Osunwole

**Introduction**

In the 1980s the call by the WHO that government research institutes, organizations and individuals should work with traditional medicine practitioners with a view to integrating it with orthodox medicine gave traditional medicine a boost. Traditional Medicine Boards (TMBs) were proposed and healers on their part took more interest in becoming members of the traditional healers association (THA) throughout Nigeria. In Ibadanland alone, there are about a hundred of such associations, out of which only twenty-three are viable. The associations assist their members to settle disputes, and provides support against police harassment. The THA have cooperated with government by attending workshops and seminars organized by the government, NGOs or by their associations. With this development, traditional healers are now accessible, approachable and tolerant in their interaction with researchers and interested groups.

Traditional medicine was the only available health care system in Nigeria before colonial rule.<sup>1</sup> The practice was a separate system of health care and not an adulteration of orthodox medicine.<sup>2</sup> The first generation of practitioners throughout the Yoruba-speaking communities in Ibadan were religious traditionalists, who considered either personalized or community gods as having

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<sup>1</sup> S.A Osunwole, "Healing in Yoruba Traditional Belief Systems", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Ibadan, 1989, p. 221-223.

<sup>2</sup> D.T. Okpako, "Traditional African Medicines: Theory and Pharmacology Explored", *Trends in Pharmacological Sentences* 1999; 20: 482-485.

healing powers, while they equally believed in the potency of herbs. The belief in therapeutic gods by the practitioners made it difficult for people to distinguish between religion and medicine. The difficulty lies in the fact that the gods were acknowledged at almost every stage of health seeking. Past colonial administrations witnessed the participation of Muslim and Christian practitioners who were traditionally disposed to cultural values and practices. The practice was semi-structured along religious lines and each group of healers was headed by the chief priest of the deities from which they drew inspiration. The Muslim and Christian practitioners were however not part of deity veneration in the therapeutic practice, as they held on to their belief in either the Quran or the Bible.

There were associations of religious adherents who practiced traditional medicine along with their faith. In this regard, *Ifa* diviners, *Osun*, *Oya*, *Ogun* and *Osanyin* worshippers constituted distinct classes of association of traditional practitioners. In his own contribution to religious class structure in traditional medical associations (TMAs), Morris observed that:

There is a kind of class structure in traditional medical associations, since religion can be integrated within a ideological or materialistic framework, some association healers or members tend to remain a dominant class without due regard to a truly sustainable professional association of traditional healers.<sup>3</sup>

The class structure later created leadership problems among the various groups of health practitioners. The problem has remained unresolved even till this present time. It should be noted, however, that the different categories of healers were recognized in their communities as competent providers of indigenous healthcare based on their religious, social and cultural background.<sup>4</sup> In 1977, the World Health Organization convened a meeting of world experts to consider the various issues involved in the promotion and development of traditional medicine in order to make it relevant to national health delivery of African states. The resolution of the meeting known as the Alma Ata Declaration (1978), charged relevant institutions, individuals, governments and research institutes to identify the healers and collaborate with them, with a view to having a breakthrough in traditional medicine.

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<sup>3</sup> B. Morris. *Anthropological Studies of Religion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 19687), p. 44-50.

<sup>4</sup> WHO, "The Promotion and Development of Traditional Medicine", *World Health Organization Technical Report Series 622*, Geneva, 1978, p. 1-11.



It can be concluded from the resolution that effective communication and interaction between healers and various institutions interested in the development of traditional medicine would be through the associations of traditional medicine practitioners.

In quick response to this global trend in health care development initiative, the Nigerian government embarked on policies and programmes aimed at developing the sector. In the early 1980s, professional associations started along this line even though some practitioners had already registered their businesses personally under various trade ordinances. The emerging associations were not structured on religious belief, as membership was drawn from people of different backgrounds and leadership was not based on religious affiliation.

### **Methodology**

This research was conducted between March 2001 and May 2002 in Ibadan. Ibadan was chosen as the study location because all the presidents of the associations are based in Ibadan. Participant observation technique was the major method of data collection. The author participated in some of the general meetings of the associations and had the opportunity of knowing the members and the challenges they were facing. It was easy for the author to enjoy the cooperation of the members because he was a member of one of the associations and also a member of the Oyo State Advisory Board on Traditional Medicine. He therefore had access to useful information on the associations with regards to their establishment and mode of operation.

Out of the numerous associations that existed in Ibadan, only twenty-three were selected for the study because they were well organized and well focused, with a valid constitution and code of conduct. The presidents and members provided useful information on their associations and also gave us vital documents about their associations' history, and the duties and privileges of their members. The study revealed that there were leadership problems in nearly all the associations studied and these problems were often partially solved by the members of the associations. Some elderly members did not join any of the associations for personal reasons. But those who joined claimed that they gained a lot from being members of the associations.

### Traditional medical associations in Ibadan

The last two decades witnessed a rapid formation of traditional medical associations in response to the clarion call by the Oyo State government. Although the development affects all the states of the federation, Oyo State is believed to be at the vanguard of promoting its indigenous health knowledge and practice by retraining traditional birth attendants and incorporating them into the state's healthcare delivery system. The state government needs these associations for many reasons:

- to identify all traditional healers and their areas of competence
- to have a reliable statistics of their members and distribution within Oyo State
- to properly understand their mode of operation
- to pass on information and collaborate with healers on healthcare development programmes.

The various associations have their headquarters in Ibadan, while their branches spread across the towns and villages in Oyo State. As a result, the traditional healers are within the reach of government through their associations. In his discussion of traditional medical associations in Zaire, Good observed that in urban centres, the traditional healers find it necessary to cooperate and associate for mutual benefits and recognition.<sup>5</sup>

### Membership of the traditional medical associations

The membership of the various associations is open to all practicing herbal practitioners, diviners, traditional birth attendants, alfas and pastors who practice herbal medicine. It was gathered that quite a good number of the practitioners would not join any form of association. These are most especially elderly men and women in the profession, who see the development as highly political and a means of eroding the established leadership structure in traditional medical practice. For example, a majority of the knowledgeable Ifa diviners in Ibadan are of the view that they have been in the practice for a long time with a good leadership tradition and wonder why they should still belong to an association outside their own *Osemeji*

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<sup>5</sup> C. Good. *Ethnomedical System in Africa* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1987), p. 210-213.

cult. Hallgren<sup>6</sup> noted that this diviners assumed superiority over other Yoruba practitioners when he remarked that: "Ifa is the foremost system of religious authority within the traditional Yoruba society and reflects the entire culture." Thus, Ifa devotees have their own association called the Oyo State Association of Therapeutists of African Medicines (*Babalawo Ifa Adimula*), and membership is restricted only to diviners. It is a unique association because the focus is on promoting Ifa and occultism among Africans and Yoruba traditional worshippers in Brazil and the Caribbeans. Available statistics from the Oyo State Advisory Board on Traditional Medicine show that there are over one hundred associations of traditional healers in Ibadanland, with over three thousand members. However, most of these associations are family-based and operate like clubs without any professional responsibility and sense of direction. Most of the sub-standard associations operate as business partners and not as a professional group.<sup>7</sup> They are quite inactive, but members remain in their associations in order to validate their membership.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 16.1.** Associations of traditional practitioners in Ibadan

Name	Address	President
Amalgamation of Nigeria Medical Herbalists	Idi-Ose, Ibadan	Chief Dr. E.O. Olapade
Oyo State Traditional Healers Association	Anfaani Layout Ibadan	Chief Oresola Ayodabo
Nigerian Union of Traditional Healers	Anfaani Layout, Ibadan	Chief Olusola Ayodabo
Oyo State Traditional Medical Association	Osunpade, Ibadan	Chief Asiwawu Ajadi Monilola
College of African Culture and Traditional Herbage Research	Oke Eleta, Ibadan	Chief Osaluaye Kolawole Abidogun
Oyo State Association of Therapeutists of African Medicine ( <i>Babalawo Ifa Adimula</i> )	Ose-Meji, Oja'ba, Ibadan	Chief Fayemi Awopeju Bogunmbe
Nigerian Union of Natural Doctors	Oke Oluokun, Ibadan	Chief Ifalere Ifagbenro

<sup>6</sup> R. Hallgren. *The Good Things in Life* (New York: PLUS UBTRA, 1988), p. 100-104.

<sup>7</sup> C. Good, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> G.E. Simpson. *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1980), p. 93-94.



Name	Address	President
Mystery House and Son Temple	Ajeiegbo Compound, Elekuro, Ibadan	Chief Sankar Adegoke
Prepotent Traditional Institute for Ancient Philosophers	Bode Ibadan	Chief M.A. Sangonuga
Ifelodun Native Doctors Association	Temidire-Adeoyo, Ibadan	Chief Layiwola Otun Oluwo
Association of Native Pharmacy	G.P.O. Box 16589, Ibadan.	Chief M. Ade Onakoya
Osun Goddess (Egbe Olosun Spiritualists, Olomitutu)	Ibadan	Chief M.A. Osunwo
Ifedawapo Traditional Herbalists of Nigeria	Oke-Foko, Ibadan	Chief Awoko Anabi
Elewe-Omo Traditional Herbalists	Oje, Ibadan	Chief Amoke Elewe-Omo
Egbe Ifegbaye	Ile Omideure, Oja-Igba, Ibadan	Chief Ifasola Akinade
Ogboni Aborigin of Ibadanland	Ibadan	Chief Abolude Ad'olorure
Tobalase Medical Herbalists	Ibadan	Chief Murana Salami
Egbe Olosun	Oja'ba Area, Ibadan	Obirun Olosun, Chief Mojereola
Nigerian Union of Medical Herbalist Practitioners	Sango Area, Ibadan.	Dr. Monilola Aina
Ibadan Medicinal Herbs Sellers	Bode Market, Ibadan.	Chief Ade Adenike

**Table 16.2.** Frequency distribution of the presidents of associations of traditional practitioners in Ibadan

No. of Association	Gender		Designation			Religion			Education	
	M	F	Chief	Mr./Mrs	Dr	Islam	Christianity	Trad. Rel.	Uni. Degree Ph.D	Diplo-ma
23	20	3	23	--	23	8	5	10	2	21

In this study, it was observed that out of the 23 presidents of the associations that were studied, 20 were male and 3 were female. This suggests male dominance in the associations' leadership. All the 23 presidents are 'chiefs', because chieftaincy enhances their prestige and professionalism in the traditional setting where they practice. It is also interesting to note that every president and, indeed, their members use the designation 'Dr', which is an abbreviation for doctor, a word used to qualify experts in medicine. The practitioners are of the view that they earn respect from the public by using the designation. They also claim that they have the right to use it along with their names considering the severity of the training and mastery of the profession, as well as the fact that they attend to patients. However, due to the unstandardized nature of the profession, it is still very difficult to measure the practitioners of traditional medicine. Further, the nature of certificates being offered to members is only an accreditation to practice as healers within Oyo State alone.

#### **General objectives of the associations**

The associations' objectives focus on key areas as shown by the various articles of memorandum made available to the author during the field investigation. The objectives include:

- Protection of members against police harassment
- Promotion of economic well-being of members
- Resolution of both inter and intra association disputes and giving legal aid in matters of litigation between members and the public
- Providing corporate existence among members
- Serving as channels of communication between the healers and the government on the promotion and development of traditional medicine

An overview of these objectives reveals that members have a sense of security and belonging and can rely on their associations for assistance in time of social and economic crisis. Most of the practitioners find it easy to attend seminars, lectures and government programmes aimed at improving the practice of traditional medicine. The associations are able to foster peace and harmony among their members. Whenever any dispute occurs among members, the leadership of the association, which is charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and resolving conflict, usually provides solution by using religious, social and cultural parameters. The informal channel of conflict resolution within the association has

been found to be sustainable, as declared by a member who was involved in a case against his fellow member within the association.

It was true that I misrepresented him on one occasion outside our meeting that he was a quack who did not know the act of healing. When he heard about it, he decided to get rid of me through supernatural means. But for the intervention of respected leaders of our association, I would not have been alive today.

In traditional medical practice, practitioners are usually harassed by the police for offences like aiding armed robbers through the provision of protective charms, kidnapping and some other ritual killings or theft. Some members are of the view that the associations usually come to the rescue of members by providing both moral, financial and legal support in crisis situations.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Exhibitors' association of Oyo State, Ibadan branch**

The exhibitors' association is a recent development in the formation of a traditional medical association (TMA). It was gathered from available documents and leaders of the association that traditional medicine has not been given the necessary publicity it deserves both by government, the print and the electronic media. The members of this association are of the view that the public is not aware of the relevance of traditional medicine. They do not know about the practitioners' products and their potency. In this regard, the association was formed to give the desired publicity to the practice of the traditional medical practitioners through exhibitions. Part of its objectives also include widening the market for the products and improving the quality of hygiene, dosage and packaging of the products for cross-cultural use.

Unfortunately, the association has lost focus in recent times, as individual members indulge in unwarranted advertisement of their medications, claiming that apart from the potency of their medicine, a single remedy can cure all human diseases. A majority of our respondents saw this development as unethical and dangerous, in a profession that has to do with the health of human beings. Since the association is currently being run as a commercial venture, it has been characterized by internal rancour, rivalry, mutual suspicion, and self-assertion for

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<sup>9</sup> C. Good, *op. cit.*



the purpose of gaining popularity and patronage. This development is common in a profession that lacks unified training and standardized knowledge system.

In order to check practitioners who claim that a single remedy is a cure for all, the Oyo State Advisory Board on Traditional Medicine (ABTM) has introduced some regulatory guidelines for the advertisement and exhibition of herbal products. These include: product name, composition, manufacture date, expiry date, instructions for use, dosage for children and adult and storage. Practitioners are also requested by the board to get permission from it before embarking on any form of advertisement. These regulatory measures by the board are in compliance with National Food Drug Administration Control (NAFDAC) policy on herbal medicinal products and related substances.

In pursuance of its objective to give recognition to traditional medicine in Oyo State, an edict establishing Oyo State Advisory Board on Traditional Medicine was made in 1996 by the then military administration of Oyo State (Oyo State of Nigeria Gazette No. 2 Vol. 22). The duties of the board include:

- Preparation of the criteria for registration and maintenance of the register of all practitioners of traditional medicine, such as herbalists, traditional healers, traditional birth attendants or other practitioners in traditional medicine in the state
- Formulation of plans for the development of traditional clinics, health centres and traditional hospitals

Following the inauguration of the board in 1999, all traditional medical associations now come under government monitoring and control. The associations choose their representatives who meet with government periodically on matters affecting the profession in Oyo State. The board serves as an apex body for the control of all associations of traditional practitioners within Oyo State.

## **Conclusion**

Traditional medical associations (TMAs) have been in existence in various forms in Ibadan for the past twenty years and have been found to be relevant in providing necessary assistance to their members. They have educated and sensitized their members on the importance of seminars and training programmes, particularly on the standardization of traditional medicine. Those who benefited from such programmes have improved on their practice in the area of hygiene, preparation of

remedies, product packaging, information sharing with other practitioners and adherence to the ethics of the profession. They should cooperate more with government and researchers as they strive to find a cure to some life-threatening diseases that threaten human existence.

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## Ibadan 1960: Creativity and the Collective Impromptu

Dele Layiwola

### Introduction

It is true that Ibadan was founded in 1829. Over a century before it became the home of Nigeria's premier university and a conglomerate of publishing houses, the very roots of cultural nationalism and creative enterprise had always been evident. As a war camp, conquerors, wanderers, the weary and the mendicant found an accommodating home in Ibadan. Because of the planlessness and rowdiness of Ibadan, there had always been a strong sense of (in)security and heightened urban consciousness in the citizenry. In other words, the primary ingredient of drama – conflict – had always attended Ibadan. Her warriors became the strongest rallying point for the Yoruba nation just before the inception of colonial rule and the climax of Yoruba warfare. This paper to make the point that the hybridity and the complexity of Ibadan as an 'artificial' settlement played a crucial role in its being a centre of amazing creativity. Its fierce nationalism and violent municipal conflicts between 1830 and 1966 are signposts for cultural revival, identity re-formulation and re-invention.

As the Oyo Empire entered its steep decline at the beginning of the 19th century, the consequent vacuum and the basis of a new power bloc became imminent. The empire had been under pressure from the outside as well as from within. From the outside, the Fulani jihadists mounted an aggressive attack on the northern fringe of Yorubaland, while intrigues and betrayals of the ruling class precipitated internal revolts. Both internal and external pressures caused a massive southward advance from the seat of the empire situated on the northern fringe of Yorubaland. This dislocation, the demographic shift and the 'swarming' caused much unease on the southern fringe of the savannah and the northern fringe of the forest belt. The search for new homes and farmlands by the advancing population and the adventure prone chieftains and warlords "provoked a series of wars in the



central and southern areas of Yorubaland, with far-reaching consequences.<sup>1</sup>

Ife and Owu kingdoms were at loggerheads over the market town of Apomu.<sup>2</sup> The bone of contention would seem to be more economic than territorial. Ife, in alliance with Ijebu to the south, took advantage of the returning masses of Oyo army from the troubled capital in the north to prosecute the campaign. Owu was routed in the encounter. The allied army then turned on the neighbouring Egba settlements and began a systematic campaign. Ibadan happened to be one of these settlements.

Once the collapse of old Oyo was complete, a prince of Oyo by the name Atiba decided to re-settle the new capital of Oyo on the present site then named Ago. He gathered people from neighbouring settlements to populate the new capital. He was an astute leader, conscious of the traditions of his fathers. He built a palace based on the old models and kept the ceremonies of the king's court. He reached out to the new warlord of Ibadan called Oluyole and made him the *Basorun*. The charismatic leader of Ijaye, Kurumi, he made the generalissimo, the *Aare-ona-Kakanfo*. They had instructions to defend the territory of the dying kingdom. The chiefs were grateful for the honour and recognition, but they were quasi-independent because of their military capabilities. It was clear that in place of one monolithic and influential kingdom, there were several in its stead. Though Ijaye quickly emerged as a military power, Ibadan soon overtook her to become the most dominant of the three; Oyo became a cultural headquarters and a rallying point for all the fragmented bits of a once formidable empire.

### The emergence of Ibadan

Bolanle Awe had written on the rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba super power and empire.<sup>3</sup> At Ijaye, Kurumi subjugated the inhabitants of the town and brought the town under his firm control such that he dared anyone to dare him. In Ibadan, the situation was different. The city gradually got filled up. All those seeking refuge

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1 J.F.A. Ajayi and S.A. Akintoye. "Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century" in Obaro Ikime, editor, *Groundwork of Nigerian History* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980), p. 280 – 302.

2 A.L. Mabogunje and Omer-Cooper, *Owu in Yoruba History*. (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1971).

3 B. Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as A Yoruba Power, 1851 – 1893", Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford University, 1964.

from the turbulence of the 19th century steadily poured in from the four winds. Oluyole's ambition and ascendancy was terminated by his sudden and untimely death. His death left a gap for any talented or clever warlord from any background or location to aspire to leadership. Ibadan was an all comers' town, so there was room for aspirations irrespective of ethnic or ideological leanings. This made the town very popular to adventurers seeking a career in warfare and politics. This is the empirical explanation for its limitless expansion and drive for urbanization. As more able-bodied persons concentrated in Ibadan and were pretty idle, there re-emerged the tendency for military and political campaigns to the north and east of Yorubaland. This brought the Ibadan army into direct confrontation with Fulani jihadists who had annexed the fringes of the Yoruba country and had built their headquarters in Ilorin. Ibadan regained the control of Osun provinces and routed the Fulani army at Ikirun in 1840.

By 1854, Ibadan had annexed the Ife towns of Apomu, Ikire and Gbongan.<sup>4</sup> In fact, by 1893, when the British had succeeded in colonizing Nigeria, Ibadan warlords were still lamenting their uncompleted campaigns to fully regain Ilorin from the invading Fulani.<sup>5</sup> At the close of the 19th century, Ibadan had succeeded in replacing Oyo as the imperial power of the Yoruba country. The influence of Ibadan had been responsible for the continual migration and influx of peoples of diverse backgrounds into the metropolis in more recent times. There has been no other West African town that has expanded as unilaterally as Ibadan had done during the 20th century.

At this point, we need to look in greater detail at those other indices of identity formation that were responsible for the ascendancy of Ibadan as a unique settlement. Why, for instance did the Yoruba allied army not settle in Apomu, Gbongan or Ede? How did Ibadan become a popular choice?

I shall like to start with this *Oriki* or praise poem:

<i>Ibadan omo ajorosun</i>	Ibadan, descendant of
<i>Omo ajegbinyo</i>	African apple eaters.
<i>Omo ajegbin j'ekarahun</i>	Survivors on the flesh and shell of snails.

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4 J.F.A. Ajayi and S.A. Akintoye, op. cit.

5 S. Johnson. *History of the Yorubas* (Lagos: CSS Bookshops, 1921).

There were waves of migrations and there might have been aborigines. The earliest settlement, however, was that by an Ife warrior named Lagelu from the Degelu family of Ife. Lagelu settled near an open grassland, hence the name *Eba Odan* (a place near the savannah).

When he arrived, he found others who had no established means of livelihood. They were mainly brigands and ruffians. That first settlement broke up when Lagelu's children showed disrespect to an *egungun*. Lagelu and his children regrouped and settled on a range of hills called Eleyele. It was here that they feasted on the abundance of snails and African apples. These earlier settlements would seem to predate the one recalled by Bolanle Awe. Awe's account indicates that Oyo leaders like Oluyole and Olupoyi as well as Labosinde from Ile-Ife settled with their men around Mapo and Oja'ba.<sup>6</sup>

The nagging question on why the war leaders settled in Ibadan rather than, for instance, the recently liberated Apomu or the sacked Owu would remain a source of robust speculation. The unarguable fact, however, is that Ibadan's geographical location played a huge part in the choice of Ibadan over Apomu and Owu. Ibadan is located between the ancient city of Ile-Ife, the spiritual headquarters of the Yoruba, and Oyo, the political and military headquarters. Symbolically, it shared the characteristics of both settlements. The Oyo subgroup finally submerged the rest of the Egba, Ijebu and Ife minorities. Today, that is still the pattern. The consequence of this is that there are bits of nomadic identities discernible in the character and flavour of the city of Ibadan as it stands today. Its sprawl, the combination of serenity and of perplexing conflict continue to challenge theories of citizenship and productive living. This is what, I believe, precipitated the ferment of the 1960s. As May Joseph<sup>7</sup> puts it:

Gradually, there unfolded a peculiar condition for which theories of citizenship do not adequately account: that of nomadic, conditional citizenship related to histories of migrancy and the tenuous status of immigrants.

I believe that the indeterminable choice for the actual citing of the city and the fact of its being an all comers' commune generated the serendipity and panoply that we

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6 B. Awe, op. cit.

7 M. Joseph. *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship*. (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Pres, 1999).



witness in its cultural life. This is subtly highlighted in the city's anthem:

<i>Ibadan Ilu ori oke</i>	Ibadan of the hilly structure
<i>Ilu Ibukun Oluwa</i>	Blessed city
<i>K'Oluwa se oni'bukun</i>	May God make you a
<i>Fun onile at'alejo</i>	Blessing unto indigenes and settlers alike

The fact that Ibadan anticipates immigrants and welcomes them shows that she does not discriminate against settlers. This then gives room for relative anonymity, which is a sociological factor of genuine urban settlements. The hospitable nature of Ibadan also accounted for the establishment of certain key and vintage institutions situated in the land: the university, the publishing houses, as well as the Mbari Club.

## Ibadan's cultural institutions

### a. The University

From the latter half of the 19th century, there was an increasing need for higher institutions in Nigeria because the elite in Lagos had to send their children overseas for professional training. But the British government only seriously considered this need for the commonwealth, and particularly for West Africa, during the Second World War. The Asquith and Elliot Commissions were set up in 1943 to study the need and make a report to the colonial office. The commissions reported back in 1945. The reports of the Elliot Commission confirmed the need to establish a university college in Nigeria. The Asquith Commission concentrated on the principles, which were to guide the development of such institutions. It emphasized that the university to be founded should be a residential university affiliated with the London University. The commission also touched on matters relating to academic standards and university autonomy. Following all these, the University College Ibadan was founded in 1948 on an old site previously used by the 56th Military Hospital, about 6 or 7 kilometers from the present site. The new site covers 1,030 hectares of land leased by people and chiefs of Ibadan for 999 years. This was the site where Arthur Creech Jones, the then secretary of state for the colonies, and a reputable member of the Elliot Commission, turned the sod at the permanent site of the University College, Ibadan on 17 November 1948, which then became Foundation Day. A little over a century earlier, it was Lagelu, the Prince from Ile-Ife, who turned the first sod on Eleyele hill. History has it that the act repeated itself again.

Two very interesting factors are that the university, like its host city, was founded in phases at contiguous sites, except that it was a college of London University until 1962. The other factor is that it was founded near the site where Ibadan itself was founded, on Eleyele hill. This latter fact is symbolic and goes to the credit of the indigenes of the city, as we earlier affirmed, that they are hospitable. They willingly gave land to the university project without counting the cost, as they had the chance to do. It was clear from the very beginning that the fate of the university college was bound with the survival of not only its host city, but also that of Nigeria as a whole. In this regard, I shall like to quote excerpts from articles published in the premier journal of the university college known by the same name, *Ibadan*:

Clearly much of the stress of university expansion over the next eight crucial years must fall on Ibadan. It is suggested that the number of undergraduates in residence in this college ought to reach about 3,375 by 1968. This would be out of a total student population in Nigeria of 7,500 which, allowing for failures and courses longer than 3 years, should produce 2000 graduates annually. The other universities proposed at Nsukka, Zaria and Lagos would have a proportionately smaller contribution to make in this eight-year period.<sup>8</sup>

The other quotations are by Lalage Bown, who was writing on the principle of a liberal education and the indigenization of the curriculum on the African subsoil:

One of the attractive features of life at U.C.I. is the versatility of one's colleagues – a linguist turns out to be an opera singer and a biochemist anthologizes West African poetry. Presumably it is because we are working in the context of a vital and fast developing society that many of us are unafraid of traditional disciplinary boundaries and are conscious of a brave feeling that what touches any is the concern of all. One's first reaction, therefore to the idea of a classic and mathematician sitting down together to discuss the function of a university in a new nation is one of pleasure is yet another example of this community's intellectual liveliness<sup>9</sup>

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8 I. Espie, "Decades of Decision 1960 – 1970: Some Aspects of the Ashby Report" in *Ibadan* 1961; 11: 9-12.

9 L Bown, "Emergent University?" in *Ibadan* 1960; 11:17-19.

On the Nigerianization of the curriculum she observes, *inter alia*:

They do not mention the value of refresher courses for teachers at a time when school syllabuses still need to be more Nigerianized, nor the way education staff can help to provide worthy school textbooks. They also ignore the fact that one of the main activities of the U.C.I. extramural department is the organization of residential courses which enable people from all over Nigeria to come in contact with the college staff (so that it is untrue to say the internal staff can only influence people living in or near Ibadan).<sup>10</sup>

The vision of Ian Espie and Lalage Bown were borne out of the landmark contributions of the school of drama to the identity reformulation of a culture whose floodgates have just been burst open by the impetus of political independence and cultural revival. With corresponding grants from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, the school of drama at the University College Ibadan and its arts theatre became a monumental laboratory. Indigenous plays fused with European and American concepts created a ferment of cultural miscegenation and reformulation. Yoruba operas and court dramas were adapted for the proscenium arch and folk dances were choreographed. A most successful example of theatrical diffusion was that carried out by Dapo Adelugba in collaboration with the University College Ibadan Dramatic Society in 1960/61. It was an adaptation of *Les Fousberies de Scapin* as *That Scoundrel Suberu*. The earthy sense of humour is universal, but the characterization has metamorphosed from the original French to Yoruba or Nigerian. This is justified thus in the prologue:

Our hero, Scapin, lived in Italy  
 He's now Suberu and he's played by me.  
 A clever rogue – young Wole's friend and tutor –  
 The scene, however's more like Abeokuta  
 Or some such place – it's really all the same –  
 Boys with their fathers play this little game  
 Whether it's Naples, Katsina or Calabar  
 [Substitute according to place of performance].  
 And daughters too, they sometimes go too far;  
 They give their hearts to those they love,  
 And never ask their parents to approve,

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10 Ibid.



And when they are in a mess, they come to me...

The Arts Theatre at the University College, Ibadan, which performed stuff ranging from folk operas to Shakespeare and Ionesco, has been remarked by a host of commentators.<sup>11</sup>

### b. Publishing houses

The impression from 1960 onwards was that a pioneering cultural renaissance of national import had begun in Ibadan. This is indeed true because Ibadan is often referred to as Nigeria's cultural capital. Further, major publishing houses were set up near the old site of the university college at Eleyele and Jericho. Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Evans and Heinemann were among the first to set up publishing houses in Ibadan. At first, they were fully foreign-owned investments, but they have now become jointly Nigerian. At least two major newspapers also emerged in Ibadan: *The Daily Sketch* and *The Nigerian Tribune*. This is beside the fact that the first television station in Africa was established in Ibadan in 1959. A lot of printing presses quickly followed the establishment of the media houses. The printing houses were concentrated around Mokola and Oke Ado areas to cope with the elite trooping into Ibadan to make a living, to seek education and to seek adventure. In a secondary response to this fact, there was an upsurge of avenues for leisure, relaxation and creative expression. The Mbari club catered for this creative yearning by bringing folk sensibilities to cross-fertilize with the art of the intelligentsia. It also had a journal to document this cultural production as they emerged.

### c. The Mbari (Mbayo) Club

This club was established to further the interest of artists around Ibadan and Osogbo in the 1960s. It was a pan-cultural group that brought together all the artists, writers and poets under the patronage of Ulli Beier. Its publishing organ was the journal called *Black Orpheus*, in which writers like Christopher Okigbo, John

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11 U. Cockshott, "Dance of the Forests" in *Ibadan 1960*: 30-32; G. Axworthy, "Ibadan: Its Early Beginnings" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and Bolanle Awe, editors, *The City of Ibadan*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 11- 25; D. Adelugba, "Theatre Critique – *Faux Pas* – at Ibadan University Arts Theatre", *Ibadan 1969*; 26; D. Adelugba, "Professor Martin Banham: A Personal Tribute" in Dele Layiwola, editor, *African Theatre in Performance* (London: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), p. 1-4; A. Banjo, "The Lion and the Jewel at the Arts Theatre", *Ibadan 1969*; 26: 83-84.

Pepper Clark, Aig Higo, Duro Ladipo and Wale Ogunyemi first published their seminal works. Artists in other media like Demas Nwoko (a sculptor and builder), Tunji Oyelana (a singer/composer), and Segun Olusola, Femi Johnson and Dapo Adelugba, who were actors and impresarios along with Wole Soyinka, were all part of Mbari Club.

### **Conclusion**

Though Ibadan became the centre of 19th century Yoruba civilization after the collapse of the Oyo Empire, the cultural capital of Nigeria at political independence in 1960, the home of Nigeria's premier university and enlightenment, the epitome of civil service bureaucracy and one of the most hospitable cities anywhere, it had also been Nigeria's hottest political bed. It was the political troubles in Ibadan that led to the collapse of the First Republic. This high turnover may be indicative of high political consciousness, but it also depicts instability and flux. In spite of the façade of a dull civil service town, the ebb and tide are hyperactive, and the terrain is volatile.

It is clear that conflict is the soul of drama and the re-invention of a newfangled identity. We may therefore safely conclude that this supreme evidence of dazzling, unpredictable, and even cinematographic changes are responsible for the concentration of home videos, drama and performance groups in Ibadan. These are not only transformations of Ibadan's 19th century mendicant groups, they also represent her warriors earning a living on the flipside of a polity where war has become gravely unpopular.

Cultural Radio Mast – University of Ibadan and its  
Outreach in the Arts and Literature 1960 –1966

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Lalage Bown

Ibadan,  
running splash of rust  
and gold – flung and scattered  
among seven hills like broken  
china in the sun.

Introduction

John Pepper Clark's poem,<sup>1</sup> which captures the vision of Ibadan so splendidly, and also symbolizes its sprawl of tradition (rust), creation (gold) and social fractures (broken china), ran through my head on 16 January 1966, the day after independent Nigeria's first coup, when I stood in the ruins of Chief S.L. A. Akintola's house (having paid a shilling to go in) and saw the smashed dinner service scattered about in the courtyard. The real broken china was an augury of new fractures which were to change so substantially the character of life in the city that (among many other consequences) the relationship between the university and its surrounding community were to become far less creative and joyous than they had been in the early 1960s. We had been aware of the coming of change—the disturbances to which people had become inured, with such newspaper headlines as: "Only 153 people killed in the West" and the souring of mood in Ibadan's nightlife. I recall a disaffected policeman in one nightclub, openly expressing his disgust at the orders he was supposed to obey. I

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<sup>1</sup> John Pepper Clark, "Ibadan" in G. Moore and U. Beier, *Modern Poetry from Africa* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).



remember a rousing song, which gave the main politicians' tribes, and ended up with *Akintola Ole* (Akintola, Thief).<sup>2</sup>

The 1966 coup was a watershed of the most dramatic kind for Nigeria as a whole, and it was also a watershed for the subject of under discussion, the efflorescence of creativity in the University College/University of Ibadan on the cusp of independence and in the immediate post-colonial phase. The doors closed after 1966. This paper contends that one of the reasons why Ibadan was so notably creative in the early 1960s was because of its particular relations with surrounding communities and its mechanisms for links with the wider nation. One of these mechanisms was the university's Department of Extra-Mural Studies, whose work will be highlighted here, as a sort of radio mast beaming cultural communication across the country. Other African universities also had such departments, but other factors gave them a different character, with much less coherent cultural strategies and engagement.

Some of these contextual factors will be mentioned and it will also be underlined that there was in the Ibadan Extra-Mural Department, a rather strong team of dedicated staff with a serious commitment to cultural study and activity. These included: Ayo Ogunsheye, the director, who convened the first-ever conference on African culture held on African soil; Obijunwa Wali and Gerald Moore, who taught African Literature around the country when it was still ignored on campus; Ulli Beier, who collaborated with Nigerian writers and artists in pioneering the *Mbari* movement and stimulated an array of community arts activities; Ezekiel ("Zeke") Mphahlele of South Africa, already an applauded writer – his book, *Down Second Avenue*, having been published by Faber in 1959, and Arthur Drayton of Jamaica, who enriched the programme with a wider international perspective.

The people mentioned were not of course the whole membership of the Extra-Mural Department, which also had other missions and interests beside the cultural, and employed scholars in disciplines such as economics, politics, geography and history. The point here is that it included a very strong and diverse group committed to arts and literature. The diversity, it ought to be noted, led to differences of opinion. Ezekiel Mphahlele, for instance, held very

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<sup>2</sup> The full version ran something like this: Tafawa Balewa, Hausa; Azikiwe, Igbo; Okotie Eboh, Bini man; Akintola ole!

different views from the director, which he has recorded with some pungency.

### The context for university–community engagement

There were three broad features of the context for university cultural activity, which fostered a link with Nigerians beyond the campus. The first was the upsurge of Nigerian nationalism, expressed in a varied and lively press (much more lively than in countries with smaller populations and fewer readers), and encouraging a new pride in Nigeria's traditions and culture. This may seem obvious, but not all post-colonial African nations entwined political nationalism with cultural nationalism or an assertion of cultural identity. When Northern Rhodesia/Zambia became independent, for instance, it was a shock to West Africans working there to see how Zambians adhered to European cultural norms in such matters as dress and in the media. Ezekiel Mphahlele, coming from a country still in the grip of apartheid felt the contrast strongly.<sup>3</sup>

In Nigeria, national pride was bound up with cultural self-confidence; there was a huge interest among a wider public (not just the intellectuals) in traditional institutions. The Extra-Mural Department gave a platform to the *Ooni* of Ife to explain the legal basis of debt bondage<sup>4</sup> and traditional arts. The department also gave a platform to the *Timi of Ede* to demonstrate the talking drum. However, nationalism was also about a new situation, so the interest was not just in time-hallowed culture; it was also in new arts and the new media. Radio especially gave rein to new literary forms. Nationally, some of the early Ibadan literature graduates produced excellent radio essays, poetry and drama, even under quite severe technical restraints – examples are the Aig-Imoukhedes and Ralph Opara.

A second favouring wind to the university cultural work beyond the campus was a movement, largely from francophone Africa, to a reassertion of African culture in the wider world. The work of *Présence Africaine* and Alioune Diop, made fashionable among the French intelligentsia by Jean-Paul Sartre,

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<sup>3</sup> E. Mphahlele. *Afrika My Music, An Autobiography 1957-1983* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Sir Adesoji Tadienawo Aderemi, Ooni of Ife, "Iwofa", Address delivered at the opening of a University Extra-Mural Course", Western Region Ministry of Education, 1956.

percolated to English-language speakers through UNESCO, which also gave opportunities for cultural exchange between African countries. Ibadan grasped these opportunities – hence the important seminars hosted in Ibadan and the key role played by Ibadan in the establishment of the International Congress of Africanists, the appearance on the Ibadan campus of so many intellectuals from elsewhere in Africa, and of international scholars of African studies fructified work in literature, history and Islamic studies, while the extra-mural network enabled these men and women to travel elsewhere in Nigeria and encounter Nigerians outside the academic community.

A third influence at work at the particular stage when Ibadan was emerging as an independent university was the expansion of higher education internationally. There was a general optimism about universities at the time. From Britain, the messages came from the Robbins Committee on Higher Education which reported in 1963 and recommended a substantial expansion of the UK university system. The Ibadan Lecturers' Association organized a very well-attended seminar to discuss the prospects for Nigerian universities in the light of the Robbins proposals. Public expectations ran high and there were demands on Ibadan and the other new universities starting up (Nsukka in 1960, Lagos in 1962, ABU and Ife soon after) for a wider access to their services. Universities in some other parts of Africa came to maturity in periods when the international mood about higher education was less sanguine (and more governed by economic considerations).

Besides these major contextual factors encouraging cultural interaction between the university and the community, there were some others, more local to Ibadan, which should be mentioned. First, there is the question of resources for cultural scholarship. Ibadan had a library comparable to those in metropolitan universities in the late 1950s/early 1960s, and this was an important enabler. It was reinforced by specialist resources in Arabic and Islamic documentation, and by collections of exemplars of Nigerian arts – the Danford Collection (which was originally on display for all to see in Trenchard Hall) and later the collections in the Institute of African Studies. The multiple resources available in Ibadan cannot be overestimated.

Then, there was the nature of the Ibadan university community. While many other African universities were residential and formed a miniature world of students and academics, Ibadan uniquely had on campus an adjoining world of



junior and middle-level staff (Abadina Village), with its own schools, clinics, children's library, etc. This provided a ready-made audience, of some thousands as the university expanded, for drama, folk opera and other performing arts, so that the university productions were subject to the appraisal of a diverse cross-section of the Nigerian people.

A third element was the nature of the city of Ibadan itself. The town's personality was too strong for it to be ignored, for the university to be an ivory tower. Its position as the seat of a powerful oba, as well as its multi-ethnic population, meant that it seethed with a wide variety of indigenous ceremonies, festivities and rituals. It was also home to several newspapers and the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation. This made for webs of connection between university people and lively individuals on the wider Ibadan stage. There were also international agencies, such as the British Council (which in those days could bring such visitors as the whole Nottingham Playhouse Troupe) and major publishers, who naturally had an affinity with academics and writers. By the early 1960s, many of the Nigerian branches of those publishers were headed by Nigerians – Christopher Okigbo (Cambridge University Press), Aig Higo (Heinemann) and Chief Tanimowo Solaru (Oxford University Press).

The clubs and eating places were of a nature to encourage all kinds of town-gown cultural activity. I cannot resist recalling the 'seminars' which I used to run at midnight on the upper floor of one of the nightclubs, with the highlife and other music all around. We met once a week – a group mainly composed of young army officers, but also including traders and a journalist or two. We discussed all sorts of topics related to psychology, economics, African history, and if the university had any important African scholar visiting, I would bring them along to add to the discussion.

Of far greater significance in the history of modern Nigerian culture, however, was the foundation of *Mbari*. This could only have happened because of the existence of a favouring club ambience – the good Lebanese food, with Star beer, and the open courtyard available for performance. Among performances there were Fela Ransome-Kuti's first appearance back in Nigeria and the first production of J.P. Clark's *Song of a Goat*.

### The extra-mural project

The background painted so far relates to the whole of the university's cultural activities. The context was peculiarly favourable to the kind of activities undertaken by an Extra-Mural Department. A whole web of agencies was involved in the Ibadan cultural flowering. The Extra-Mural Department's distinctive role was that of facilitating the university's engagement with a wider community, nationally and internationally, as well as of taking its own initiatives in literature, history and the arts, which was fed back into the university community, and ultimately into the university and school curricula.

Its work was, I believe, catalytic, and I wish to focus on it, not just because I was an actor in that work for five years, but because it is so often overlooked, perhaps because it is the style of university outreach to work jointly with other university departments and facilitate their knowledge diffusion. The department is little mentioned in the official histories and studies of the university. Saunders' chapter on the department is the same length as his chapter on the royal visit.<sup>5</sup> Pierre van den Berghe has no extra-mural studies in his comprehensive index (which does include extra-marital affairs!). Even Ajayi and Tamuno's Silver Jubilee history has only a meagre reference. Tamuno's *Ibadan Voices* has no voice from the extra-mural side.

Interestingly, the very first historian of the university (and first principal), Kenneth Mellanby,<sup>6</sup> is the one 'official' writer with an insight into the nature of the extra-mural project. Extra-mural work, as he found, pre-dated the university. Classes had been organized in centres throughout the country in 1947 - 1949, by the University of Oxford. And as Mellanby saw, they paved the way for the work of the University College which, as he said, was when they started "an object which existed only in the imagination of a few people." He saw an Extra-

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<sup>5</sup> J.T. Saunders. *University College, Ibadan*. (Ibadan: Cambridge University Press, 1960); P. Van Den Berghe. *Power and Privilege at an African University*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); J.F. Ade Ajayi and T. Tamuno. *The University of Ibadan 1948-73: A History of the First Twenty-five Years*. (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1973); T.N. Tamuno. *Ibadan Voices, Ibadan University in Transition*. (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Mellanby. *The Birth of Nigeria's University*. (London: Methuen, 1958).

Mural Department as familiarising the public with the idea of a university, and the ideas and activities which it is about.

The first director of Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Robert Gardiner of Ghana, had a wide vision, that the department represented the university's commitment to the whole community. That commitment was of course not only to conveying cultural activities. It was informational. The department from 1949 to 1951 ran a radio programme called *The Voice of the University*. It was about scientific knowledge and, from early on, conducted classes and vacation courses related to science and technology. It was, in the run-up to independence, about political understanding. One of its interesting programmes was a vacation course on problems of representative government in 1959, at which one of the participants was Patrice Lumumba! The department saw itself as having an inter-African remit and Kenneth Mellanby noted a beginning of this work in the early 1950s, saying "unlike most other departments, the Extra-Mural Department, to a limited extent, achieved the ideal of West African inter-territorial cooperation so desired by the Elliot Commission."

At the time, the operation of the Extra-Mural Department was subject to a spectrum of criticism, and one of the best sources for its history is a rather hostile study by A. A. Yousif.<sup>7</sup> It is not the purpose here to defend or critique its underpinning philosophy or its mode of operation. The intention is simply to explain the kind of role it undertook, in order to explain how it became so bound up in the cultural activities of the university.

### **The cultural engagement of the Extra-Mural Department**

Until 1960, the University College, Ibadan with a handful of students, was the only scholarly institution in a population of over 30 million Nigerians. It was not just a national institution, it was the only one, hence the long-standing view of itself as Nigeria's premier university – not a title assumed by any of the other African universities.

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<sup>7</sup> A. A. Yousif, "The Origins and Development of University Adult Education in Ghana and Nigeria, 1946-1966), Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, 1974).



How was it to communicate with and relate to the rest of the country, given the physical size and the large population? One medium was, as has been mentioned, the radio. But the standard pattern of extra-mural work was the planting of a small network of university lecturers in centres away from the campus. Traditionally known as resident tutors, they were fully acknowledged as university staff in status and pay, and undertook the orthodox university activities of research and teaching. Some of their research resulted in important books, for instance the work of the political scientists, Eme Awa and Billy Dudley. Their teaching, mainly in structured courses outside normal working hours was, however, not constrained by university curricular demands. They could work with their adult audiences on whatever subject interested both of them.

These full-time university lecturers were responsible for recruiting part time tutors to expand the number of classes which could be taught. With regionalization of government in 1954, funds became available to pay for full-time extra-mural lecturers in Maiduguri, Sokoto and Zaria, as well as in Onitsha, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Warri, Ilorin, Abeokuta, Oshogbo and Lagos. Not all the persons appointed to these posts were successful, but by and large, the full-time tutors and their network of part-timers (often young and enthusiastic Ibadan graduates) formed an important set of relationships between the university and the nation. As other universities were established, they took over the responsibility for adult education in their regions and Ibadan's whole-nation linkage disappeared. Interestingly, however, Ibadan resident tutors continued to be placed in the Mid-West and West, and there continued to be a strong Ibadan extra-mural programme in Lagos, without any full-time staff, until the late 1960s.

The point, for our purposes here, is that while it lasted, the extra-mural structure enabled and coloured cultural activities associated with the university. If an academic from the campus wanted to go into the field to undertake work in archaeology or anthropology or languages, there was a university presence for him or her to have recourse to, a fellow-academic on the spot to help with contacts (since a relationship of trust had already been built up) and some basic facilities to use. When performing arts programmes were taken round the country, there were university people in the various milieux to help set them up. Conversely, when the department developed its programme of vacation courses

on campus, the classes and extra-mural centres provided a feeder population of interested men and women to attend them.

The full-time extra-mural staff were of course not just providing technical support. Several took advantage of their situation away from campus to produce programmes of cultural studies and activities. The best-known example was Ulli Beier, appointed by Gardiner in 1951 and based in Oshogbo from 1956. He and his wife, Suzanne Wenger, immersed themselves in the Yoruba culture, encouraged metal workers, sculptors and musicians and linked traditional performers with the young Ibadan intelligentsia. Gerald Moore and Obi Wali also became involved in these types of activities.

The Extra-Mural Department had a conscious policy of cultural activity. The second substantive director of extra-mural studies, Ayo Ogunshye, who led the department through the late 1950s and much of the 1960s, had three main emphases in his programme: industrialization and agriculture, indigenous literature and arts, and political development. The first theme was almost entirely pursued through seminars and residential courses, but the others were pursued in the community, as well as through campus projects because Ogunshye had very strong cultural interests himself. He had started life as a school-teacher, becoming the assistant secretary-general of the Nigerian Union of Teachers and then graduating in economics at the London School of Economics. He joined the Extra-Mural Department in 1953 and became director in 1957. He had very wide interests, with a passion for music (and a large collection of classical records) and the revival of Yoruba culture. He was also interested in newer arts, such as photography and radio. He had the imagination to initiate the department's many cultural activities, appointing able and often maverick staff, and giving them opportunities to develop daring programmes (which many other academic leaders would have been shy of). He had an interest in international African movements and taught himself French in order to connect with francophone intellectuals – to a standard that he was invited to lecture at the Sorbonne. He had a strong partner in his wife, Adetowun, a Cambridge graduate, who later became the first Nigerian woman professor.

Because he was a facilitator rather than a producer of written scholarship himself, his powerful role in the Extra-Mural Department's initiatives could be less recognized than it should be. His imagination and drive fashioned the major

university/community programmes of the 1950/1960s era at Ibadan. Ayo Ogunsheye set the agenda and the tone. He personally led the various international political and cultural initiatives and found money to support his staff's activities, for instance, Arthur Drayton's radio programmes and for Ulli Beier to travel to other African countries and build links, which resulted in invitations to artists from elsewhere to come to Ibadan and some of the other extra-mural centres, often to work with Nigerian artists. Among people who came were: the Sudanese painter, Salahi; the Mozambican artist, Valente Malangatana, and the South African architect, Julian Beinart. Ogunsheye also encouraged the work of Ulli Beier in editing the *Black Orpheus*, much of the typing and preparation for publication being done in the department. The journal's editorial team was joined quite early by Ezekiel Mphahlele, who broadened its scope to include fictional writing.

### Cultural content of the extra-mural programme

The cultural subject-matter of the Extra-Mural Department's work was broad-ranging. While the focus was generally on indigenous culture, a wider interest in pan-African, Caribbean and Black Studies also featured, strengthened by the presence of Mphahlele and Drayton, as already said, and also enlisting other campus scholars, such as the Guyanese O.R. Dathorne (literature) and Denis Williams (art). The latter first came to Ibadan at the department's invitation, although later on he worked for the University of Ife, the campus of which was at that time, next to the University of Ibadan. The broader interest in Afro-Caribbean and Black literature was outstandingly promoted by the journal, *Black Orpheus*. It was also furthered by the radio education programmes, produced by Drayton and used by organized listening groups, mainly in the Western Region.

Samples of the subject matter in the extra-mural classes included: *The Influence of African Carvings on Modern European Art*, which was linked with an exhibition of carvings brought from various centres to Ibadan, and *Yoruba Culture in Brazil*. The Brazilian relationship was explored with the well-known scholar, Pierre Verger, and later the department had an arrangement with the government of Brazil to provide a base for a visiting lecturer. The first holder of a two-year appointment was Vivaldo da Costa Lima of the University of Bahia, who gave lectures to undergraduates and extra-mural groups.



Some of the seminars and conferences organized by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies included:

- 1953: West African Culture
- 1957: Four African Kingdoms
- 1958: Islamic Thought and Culture
- 1961: African Culture, History and Prospects

The first of these attracted 40 participants, while the 1958 event had over a hundred. The 1961 event was a full-blown international occasion, with support from UNESCO. Because Ogunsheye had some knowledge of French, there were representatives from francophone Africa, including Mallam Ahmadou Hampate Ba, a scholar, literary figure and diplomat, whose dignity and knowledge made a major impression at Ibadan.

In spite of all these activities and the cultural ferment engendered by the Extra-Mural Department and others, the curricula of the university remained largely unaffected. Vincent Ike<sup>3</sup> has commented that of all the Nigerian universities, Ibadan showed the least originality in curricula. Many academics, Nigerian and foreign, and others in society were anxious to see change. Ogunsheye and his colleagues made a conscious effort to encourage curricular shift. Workshops were held for Nigerian writers in indigenous languages in 1958 and 1959 with the Western State Ministry of Education, and for teachers in 1963 in the writing of radio scripts.

The department was involved throughout the 1950s in the production of appropriate visual aids for mass education and it took some interesting initiatives to develop relevant course materials. One unusual one came about when an international oil company closed down its film unit in Lagos. The Extra-Mural Department bought the equipment and obtained a grant to produce films on cultural subjects appropriate for undergraduate and adult student use. The film maker was Frank Speed, senior technician at the University College Hospital. He worked with various Ibadan staff members to

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<sup>3</sup> V. C. Ike. *University Development in Africa, The Nigerian Experience*. (Ibadan: Oxford University Press), 1976.

produce films which became classics, films on Benin kingship rituals, traditional healing in mental illness and the *Ozidi Saga* recorded by J. P. Clark.<sup>9</sup> I was personally involved in one piece on educational resource development. Arthur Drayton, with the support of Ogunsheye, organized a workshop for education officials, secondary teachers and publishers to find means of Africanizing the school literature courses. The cry was that relevant material in English did not exist, so we set ourselves to research for African-authored texts. As a result, I put together a book of prose pieces called *Two Centuries of African English*.<sup>10</sup> It was used all over Africa and quarried by academics teaching African literature in the UK and the USA, and I was surprised to see a journal reference to it by a South African author in 2003.<sup>11</sup>

### Partner agencies of the Extra-Mural Studies Department

As said at the outset, extra-mural work is usually collaborative. Initiatives sometimes come from the department, sometimes from another university agency and sometimes from an external source, such as an education ministry.

The Extra-Mural Department's most important partner at Ibadan in the early 1960s was the Institute of African Studies, founded by the university's first Nigerian head, Kenneth Onyuka Dike, but overwhelmingly associated with Michael Crowder. The latter's work on *Nigeria Magazine* gave him a plethora of contacts among writers and artists, historians and sociologists, and also gave him a conviction about the need to develop a cultural lighthouse at the university. The institute found a natural ally in the School of Drama. A three-way collaboration between the Institute of African Studies, the School of Drama and the Department of Extra-Mural Studies resulted in the vision of a National Theatre and, in 1963, the three together put on a course called *Words, Music, Movement and Design*, to identify young Nigerians who could form the nucleus of such a theatre company. There were days of auditioning, followed by courses and workshops, particularly in dance-drama.

<sup>9</sup> J.P. Clark. *Ozidi, A Play*. (London & Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1966).

<sup>10</sup> Lalage Brown. *Two Centuries of African English*. (London: Heinemann, 1973).

<sup>11</sup> Chris, Dunton. "Pixley Kaisaka Seme and the African Renaissance Debate" in *African Affairs* 2003; 102.

At the international level, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and the Institute of African Studies worked together for a number of years on the International Congress of African Studies. Kenneth Dike was the founding president and I was the secretary to the organizing committee, joined later by Michael Crowder when the Institute of African Studies was established and he moved to Ibadan. We had major responsibilities for the first congress in Accra and the second one in Dakar. The involvement of the Extra-Mural Department followed from Ayo Ogunsheye's original culture conference in 1960/61, which put Ibadan on the map as a leader in African history, literature and the arts.

Outside the university, independence brought new diplomatic missions to Lagos, as well as cultural institutions such as the Maison Française and the British Council. These became a source for visiting scholars and artists and, with their help, the department embarked on a rather different international project – the establishment of an international film festival. The first one was quite modest, with only a dozen countries sending films, but it was tremendously popular with the Ibadan crowds and was used as a catalyst for lectures and seminars on the various countries whose films were shown. Film-makers from other African countries took part and there was some evidence that the event encouraged Nigerian film-makers. The second festival involved Mbari, the Institute of African Studies and others on the organizing committee, and it was inaugurated with a memorable sacrifice and ceremonial, choreographed by Wole Soyinka. Plans for the third one were on such a scale that government involvement had to be sought. Funding was offered but, in the end, the Federal Ministry of Education gave the event the kiss of death by censoring many of the films and unilaterally dismissing the Nigerian film-maker who was working with the organizers.

## **Conclusion**

The failure of the film festival was perhaps symptomatic of the larger failure of the Nigerian polity. Military rule was not particularly conducive to cultural innovation. While the Ibadan campus continued to host interesting work in history, performing arts and Islamic studies, community engagement in cultural ventures more or less faded, and among the reasons were the ending of the resident tutor system, the departure of a number of key extra-mural staff, and



the rising tide of demand for university adult education to provide for formal school examinations. But, fundamentally, the university lost heart, for the time being, for its role as a cultural leader beyond the campus. New forms of engagement emerged later, but the work of the Extra-Mural Department in the field was finished.

While it existed, much of its work was not credited to it and this paper has therefore attempted to highlight its very real contribution to cultural flowering and innovation in the 1950s and 1960s. Its functioning was sometimes controversial, but Ayo Ogunshye and his colleagues had a serious cultural purpose and strategy. To be involved with it was to take on a heavy burden of work, but also to be constantly stimulated and enlivened. I personally enjoyed all its facets.

*Et in Arcadia Ego.*

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

Ibadan, 1960<sup>1</sup>


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 Martin Banham

Ibadan,  
 running splash of rusts  
 and gold – flung and scattered  
 among several hills like broken  
 china in the sun<sup>2</sup>

John Pepper Clark's wonderful image of Ibadan in the 1960s evokes energy and anarchy in equal measure. It is an affectionate and graphic picture that anybody who lived in Ibadan in those years would recognize. My own recollections will have about them the same randomness. They are images that remain with me more than half a century on from going to teach in Ibadan in 1956 – an innocent abroad, if ever there was.

I am taking the liberty of interpreting '1960' very broadly. My 1960 started four years earlier. We are not looking at a date, but at a time. What marked that time most significantly for me was the politics of emancipation. In 1957, I stood on the Ibadan campus when, from every student and staff radio set, the national anthem of the newly independent Ghana was played at full volume, directly

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1 First presented at the AHRB Centre, CATH Seminar on 'Ibadan 1960' at the University of Leeds, September 23/24 2004; an earlier version of this paper was published in the LUCAS BULLETIN (University of Leeds Centre for African Studies) no. 69, 2007.

2 J.P. Clark-Bekederemo, "The Poems 1958-1998" (Lagos: Longman, 2002), p. 23.

relayed from the celebrations in Accra. Nkrumah called for an encore and, at the University College Ibadan, students sang and danced with their distant colleagues knowing that Nigeria's own freedom was near. It was a time of great optimism. Constitutional conferences, internal regional self-government, political manifestoes and newspaper debates all dominated thought and action.

It has to be remembered that as this new sense of freedom was sweeping through West Africa, colonial and oppressive regimes still dominated Kenya, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Mozambique, Angola and, of course, South Africa. I do not think it an exaggeration to say that Nigerians saw themselves in the vanguard of the struggle for the whole continent. Political refugees from these areas found a welcoming home in West Africa, many of them as teachers at Ibadan, enriching our understanding of the continent and informing and radicalizing our politics. Certainly on the campus there was a sense of confidence. The students—an elite group of 600 men and women when I arrived—looked forward to their own role as administrators and ambassadors of the new Nigeria.

No doubt there were incipient political tensions and rivalries, and indeed they were to arise only too destructively over the next few years, but they were not apparent to a young expatriate lecturer. It is interesting to note, however, that in 1952, seven Ibadan students from different ethnic backgrounds—Wole Soyinka, Frank Aig-Imoukhuede, Olumuyiwa Awe, Nathaniel Oyelola, Pius Oleghe, Ralph Opara and Ben Egbuchelam, founded a college club, the Pyrates confraternity, specifically to combat 'elitism and tribalism'. A note in the book titled *WS: A Life in Full*,<sup>3</sup> shows how the Pyrates grew nationally and internationally over the years, formally registering with the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1980 with the name National Association of Seadogs and having as its creed: 'Against Convention, Against Tribalism, for Humanistic Ideals, and for Comradeship and Chivalry'. I recall, however, the optimism symbolized by the federal election manifesto of Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group, a democratic socialist document, directed beyond the party's Yoruba heartland to the peoples of the east and the north, that spoke of universal healthcare, free education, theatres and arts centres in every regional capital! And, vitally, political emancipation brought with it cultural emancipation, an

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<sup>3</sup> B. Olayebi, *WS: A Life in Full* (Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2004), p. 137.



outpouring of pride in the indigenous arts, skills, languages and traditions of the nation.

I will return for a moment here, if I may, to the 'elite' student body that I referred to. Inevitably they were high-flyers, people who had come through the very competitive government colleges, or through the major high schools in Lagos, Ibadan, Umuahia, Ughelli, Enugu, Benin, Keffi, Kaduna or Zaria—six hundred students from the whole of Nigeria! But they were also students—often in their middle age—who had fought against all odds, persevering in their determination to reach UCI. I think that, at the age of 23, most of my students were my own age or older. The academic route that had brought them to Ibadan was entirely based on a traditional British school curriculum. At the university college, they got more of the same. As a recent graduate, I was made tutor to a very bright student, Ben Obumelu, and we spent hours discussing T.S. Eliot's *The Wasteland*. There were moves made by staff to bring into the English curriculum works from a more international, and specifically Commonwealth base, and ease it away from its rather previous Oxbridge bias, where twentieth century writings themselves were regarded as dangerously immature. But these were generally resisted. I suspect that it was the creation of the School of Drama in the early 1960s, hosting Kola Ogunmola's wonderful travelling theatre company in a version of Amos Tutuola's *The Palmwine Drinkard*, staged by Demas Nwoko, together with the enterprising work of the Student Dramatic Society and the Travelling Theatre (with, for instance, an adaptation of Nkem Nwankwo's 'Danda') that did the most to shift a focus towards Nigerian writing and performance.

I became close in those early days with John Pepper Clark, who was then a student in the English Department and who has become a lifelong friend. We were about the same age and almost shared a birthday. The 'Pepper' in Clark's name was a nickname given to him by his brother on account of his hot temper, and based on the familiar name given to an equally irascible British district officer in the Rivers, a certain Captain A.P. Pullen. Clark's tale of how he received an education amazed me and has stayed with me always, it also heightened the admiration I felt for the students who had made their way to Ibadan. In a nutshell, Clark's father, from his home at Kiagbodo in the Rivers, determined to obtain an education for his sons, sent J.P. at the age of 7, together with his two elder brothers, down the Forcados River in a canoe to the Native

Administration School at Okrika. He placed his boys under the guardianship of a man called Yekpe (who, I believe, their father knew only by reputation), described by Clark as the most feared man in town. It was there I think that Clark heard for the first time the great Ijaw epic of 'Ozidi,' a version of which he was both to record and to use as the basis of his own play of that name.

I recall this anecdote because it brought home to me the extraordinary cultural resources that so many students brought with them, but which were for far too long ignored by the educational system to which they were subjected. No wonder that once the floodgates opened so much poured out. Clark incidentally published a collection of new poems entitled *Once Again a Child*<sup>4</sup> which is an autobiography of his childhood presented in verse. Typically, his inscription in my copy reads: "With warm greetings from the stroppey one!" I now want to try and illustrate the mood and vigour of those times, particularly in the cultural field, through looking at various publications, created in Ibadan, which flourished in the 1960s.

I start unapologetically within Chinweizu et al's phrase—the scandalous Leeds-Ibadan connection which honoured me by a direct association with Wole Soyinka as joint agents of neo-colonialism!<sup>5</sup> This was the creation of the student magazine, *The Horn*, modelled on the Leeds' *Poetry & Audience*, founded by myself and a group of English department students, funded by me and first edited by J.P. Clark. A simple *circa* 12-page cyclostyled magazine, laboriously typed on to sticky stencils and run off in the English department office, predominantly devoted to student verse and selling for three pence, *The Horn* went on to be edited by a roll-call of talented Ibadan students, amongst them Juliet Udezue, Abiola Irele, Minji Karibo, Dapo Adelugba, F. Onyema Iheme, Tayo Morgan, and Omolara Ogundipe. Abiola Irele, in his introduction to Clark's *Collected Plays 1964-1988*, comments that *The Horn* eventually developed into something more than an outlet for new poetic talent; it came as well to function as a medium of intellectual reflection and in particular as a forum among the students for debate about the place of culture in the new Nigerian

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<sup>4</sup> J.P. Clark-Bekederemo, *Once Again a Child* (Ibadan: Mosuro, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> O. J. Chinweizu and M. Ihechukwu *Towards the Decolonization of African Literature* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension, 1980), p. 196-7.

society that we felt, as if on our very pulses, was coming into existence.<sup>6</sup> It was in Volume 4, No.1 of *The Horn* that Wole Soyinka's challenge for national cultural self-confidence appeared: "[T]he duiker will not paint 'duiker' on his beautiful back to proclaim his duikeritude; you'll know him by his elegant leap."<sup>7</sup> In 1960, I published a slim volume called *Nigerian Student Verse 1959*. Sadly,<sup>7</sup> it contains nothing of Clark's early work, as in true peppery style, he said he wrote poetry, not verse—and I think he was right! But the collection gave rise to two interesting comments when it was reviewed in a later issue of *The Horn* (Vol. 4, No.1). Wole Soyinka said: "I can say, very fairly, that this booklet proves that the student writer at least has overcome the 'Golden Treasury' days of his poetic formation. This is a highly cheering revelation."

Abiola Irele, rightly chastising me for being too cautious in my claims for the verse, makes some important points about the tension the young Nigerian writer often found himself or herself experiencing at this period. He says: "however conversant we have been with English, it still remains for us something of a second language, if not less. The difficulties of expressing our own national sentiment and our own native sensibility in a language radically different from ours are no less for constantly hearing the language and using it in our academic work... The truth is that we not only study in English, we study it—do not, like an English undergraduate, come up to read it." Irele continues to observe that the young writer in this context is unable to avoid influences, and then goes on: "The result is perfunctory or an unnaturally detached treatment of the themes that should form the nature of our national literature, themes that form the centre of our myths, our folktales, and our indigenous religions, and are expressed in our oral literature."

On the back page, the associate editor, Dapo Adelugba, the late professor of theatre arts at Ibadan, dedicating *The Horn* to the cause of a national literature, writes:

To the fanatically negritudinous who like to assert with Roy Campbell.

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<sup>6</sup> J.P. Clark-Bekederemo, *Collected Plays 1964-1988* (Washington DC: Howard U.P., 1991,) p. xvii.

<sup>7</sup> M. Banham, *Nigerian Student Verse 1959* (Ibadan: University Press, 1960).



True sons of Africa are we,  
 though bastardized with culture indigenous,  
 and wild, and free as wolf,  
 as pioneer and vulture

We extend our hand of welcome, no less than to those whose concept of 'culture' is more sympathetic... The cock has crowed: it is day: let us work to uphold the glories of the new nation.

There were other campus-based publications, including the often parochial *Ibadan* journal, which rather gave away its otherworldliness by carrying a pretty cover design created in Ipswich. But it was in the town, and specifically at the Mbari Writers and Artists Club, of course, that publications of great richness and significance flourished, many of them the initiative of Ulli Beier and often magnificently illustrated by Suzanne Wenger. Beier is described by Wole Soyinka as a "wanderer who came, saw and was conquered, whose approach to life rescued the word 'expatriate' from its usual negative connotations."<sup>8</sup> The Mbari club itself was situated in the heart of Ibadan, in a district called Gbagi, close to the thriving Dugbe market. Soyinka, in his memoir *Ibadan: The Penkelemes Years*,<sup>9</sup> aptly describes the members of Mbari as a "suspect breed of artists and intellectuals." Soyinka's memoir, incidentally, is a rich source of information on the artistic and political life of Ibadan in the early 1960s, *penkelemes* being described as 'peculiar mess'.<sup>10</sup> A suspect breed, that is, to the Lagos-based arts establishment that was so confused by the play *A Dance of the Forests* that Soyinka submitted as an independence celebration that it turned it down, allowing the playwright to stage it himself with his company *The 1960 Masks*. Here was a play that opened with the stage direction: "...An empty clearing in the forest. Suddenly the soil appears to be breaking and the head of the Dead Woman pushes its way up." It then developed into what I, at the time,

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<sup>8</sup> W. Ogundele, *Omoluabi: Ulli Beier, Yoruba Society and Culture* (Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies 66, 2003) , p.9.

<sup>9</sup> W. Soyinka, *Ibadan: The Penkelemes Years. A Memoir 1946-65* (London: Minerva, London, 1995), p.302.

<sup>10</sup> W. Soyinka, 1995, p xiii.

could only grasp as a vast kaleidoscopic pageant of Yoruba myth, history and lore, engaged with characters and events from the contemporary world. I cannot pretend I fully understood this complex play—in many ways I believe the source book for everything he wrote subsequently—but I knew that, in terms of imagination, character, language, comment and theatrical dynamic, I was seeing something extraordinary. I take encouragement from the fact that Ulli Beier had the same difficulty with aspects of the play. Reviewing the text in *Black Orpheus*,<sup>11</sup> he comments that the play is almost as obscure as the second part of 'Faust'. Staged as an 'alternative' contribution to the 1960 independence festivities, the play made it clear that Soyinka's satiric view of events was a deal more sceptical than that of the official programme organizers. Here, bursting onto the stage, was theatre that, in common with so much new dramatic writing from Nigeria, made much contemporary western theatre look positively anaemic.

Returning to Mbari, the club, though Ibadan-based, was both national and international in its membership and significance. In addition to Beier, Soyinka, Clark, the poet Christopher Okigbo, the South African writer Ezekiel Mphahlele and artists Demas Nwoko and Uche Okeke were founders or early members. Wole Ogundele describes the founding and early years of Mbari in some detail in his tribute to Beier, *Omoluabi: Ulli Beier, Yoruba Society and Culture*<sup>12</sup> published by Bayreuth African Studies. The early days of Mbari were packed with artistic action—exhibitions, readings, discussions and productions, the last famously—or perhaps infamously—was Soyinka's production on Mbari's open courtyard stage of J.P. Clark's first powerful play *Song of a Goat* in which, at least in early performances, an attempt was made to sacrifice a live goat on stage. The line by the character Zifa: "My wife, see how with one stroke of my knife/I sever the head from the trunk," was not always successfully followed by the action, but no one could fault the director on his demand for realism! The lasting legacy of Mbari may well, however, be its publications. They ranged from the magnificent *Black Orpheus*—which though officially published by the Ministry of Education in the Western Region, had its spiritual home in Mbari—to exuberantly produced collections of poetry, plays, art and cultural commentary. The

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<sup>11</sup> No. 8, p. 57-8.

<sup>12</sup> W. Ogundele, p. 104-26.

production standards were confident and ambitious. This was probably one of the most exciting and concentrated publishing ventures in the arts that one can imagine. A novel, *A Walk in the Night* by Alex la Guma, *Drawings* by Uche Okeke, Clark's *Song of a Goat* and *Poems 1962*, *Heavensgate and Limits* by Christopher Okigbo, *African Songs* by Leon Damas, *Oriki* by Bakare Gbadamosi, *Three Plays* by Wole Soyinka, and so on. These publications not only celebrated Nigerian arts, but also introduced, through translation, work from other parts of Africa or the diaspora. And this latter quality was one of the defining attributes of *Black Orpheus* and of *Mbari*, and one of the great influences on the arts of Ibadan in the 1960s. In the first issue of the journal in 1957, the editors, Beier and Janheinz Jahn wrote:

The young African writer is struggling hard to build for himself a literary public in Africa... It is still possible for a Nigerian child to leave a secondary school with a thorough knowledge of English literature, but without even having heard of such great black writers as Leopold Sedar Senghor or Aimee Cesaire. One difficulty, of course, has been that of language; because a great deal of the best African writing is in French or Portuguese or Spanish. *Black Orpheus* tries to break down some of these language barriers by introducing writers from all territories in translation... [W]e shall not forget the great traditions of oral literature of the African tribes. For it is on the heritage of the past, that the literature of the future must be based.<sup>13</sup>

The subsequent issues of *Black Orpheus* were astonishing in the range of writers introduced, in the vigour of critical debate, the promotion and discussion of traditional and contemporary arts, and the encouragement of new, specifically Nigerian, writing. Appropriately the journal celebrated the Nigerian independence in its 8th issue with a poem in Yoruba by Adebayo Faleti, translated by Bakare Gbadamosi and Ulli Beier:

There is nothing so sweet as independence.  
It is a great day on which the slave buys his freedom.  
When a slave can go to fetch water  
And nobody will tell him: you are coming late!

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<sup>13</sup> 'Black Orpheus'. No. 1, September 1957, p.4.



When a slave will fetch firewood  
 And use it to cook his own food!

.....  
 No day is like the day when the elephant served under the  
 duiker.

Duiker sent elephant to the river,  
 But elephant did not return in time.  
 Duiker beat elephant until he was unable to shit!  
 Duiker beat elephant until he was unable to piss!  
 Duiker abused elephant on the bridge.  
 He reminded elephant he was rich enough to own him  
 But the elephant accepted the punishment with love.  
 He said: it is not because I am stupid,  
 Or because I have not grown up  
 If the slave moves carefully,  
 He may still buy his freedom after a long, long time.  
 It is not too late for the elephant  
 To buy himself free and become head of the animals.  
 Let us learn wisdom from the elephant.  
 Let us shake off our suffering with patience.  
 Gently we will kill the fly on our own body.  
 Let all of us get ready to buy ourselves back  
 After all: we have land, and we have hoes.  
 We have cocoa trees and we have bananas.  
 We have palm kernels and we have groundnuts.  
 Let us fight, so that we may cultivate our own farm  
 To escape from being slaves and pawns  
 Let all our people be free<sup>14</sup>

Finally, a thought about the outside world, from which Ibadan was by no means isolated. I have recorded the fact that political refugees from other parts of Africa made Ibadan their home, conscientizing both students and staff. External events were reacted to vigorously, whether protesting Britain and France's invasion of Egypt and the Suez Canal in 1956, or the murder of Patrice

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<sup>14</sup> *Black Orpheus*, No 8.

Lumumba in 1961. On the latter *The Horn*<sup>15</sup> carried a poem by Akpan Essien graphically accusing western powers of complicity in his death and anticipating a revenging Russia:

Rape, ravish, grab!  
Till that Red Eagle from the Ural Heights  
With beak of Hammer, claws of tested brass  
With vengeance swoop upon you murderous heads  
And raise the fallen.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) lobbied energetically, with phone links to protest meetings in Britain and the US, this, you will recall, being the period of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Russia's achievement in sending the first satellite into space caused astonishment: *The Horn*, ever in the forefront of comment, carried Ralph Opara's light-hearted 'Ballad of Sputnik' in which the imagined Russian inventor, Professor Shinsky, unable to buy whisky from America, gives his wife an alternative birthday present:

Take this, my dear, your birthday gift;  
Tis SPUTNIK', he did croon;  
Though WHISKY cheers, yet Sputnik, dear,  
Trajects you to the moon!<sup>16</sup>

In May 1964 *The Horn*<sup>17</sup> editorialized against the banning by the Western Nigerian government of the Hubert Ogunde Concert Party with their play *Yoruba Ronu!* ('Yoruba Awake!'), saying that 'their only crime is that they have not been chanting hallelujah to a crippled and blinkered regime'. The then editor said 'Politics is outside the authority of *The Horn* but the fact of the matter was that in one way or another politics, in one guise or another, dominated the period around 1960, and astonishingly often found its most vigorous expression in the arts.

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15 Vol. 4, No. 3

16 Ibid.

17 Vol. 3, No. 3

## Appendix

### BAALES AND OLUBADANS WHO HAD REIGNED IN IBADANLAND

S/ No	NAMES OF RULERS	COMMUNITY / QUARTERS	PERIOD OF REIGN
1	Lagelu	Awotan	
2	Baale Maye Okunade		1820-1830
3	Baale Oluyedun	Labosinde	1830-1835
4	Baale Lakanle	Agbeni	1835-1836
5	Basorun Oluyole	Oja'ba	1836-1850
6	Baale Opeagbe	Idiomo/Kure	1850-1851
7	Baale Oyesile Olugbode	Ita Baale	1851-1864
8	Basorun Ogunmola	Mapo	1864-1867
9	Balogun Beyioku Akere	Oritamerin	1867-1869
10	Baale Orowusi (Awarun)	Kobomoje	1869-1871
11	Aare Latoosa	Oke-Are	1871-1885
12	Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun	Kobomoje	1885-1893
13	Baale Fijabi I (Omo Babalola)	Oritamerin	1893-1893
14	Baale Osuntoki Olosun	Agbeni	1895-1897
15	Basorun Fajimi (Yerombi)	Oranyan	1897-1902
16	Baale Mosaderin	Sunlehin/Oranyan	1902-1904
17	Baale Dada Opadare	Mapo	1904-1907
18	Basorun Sunmonu Apanpa	Isale-Osi	1907-1910
19	Baale Akintayo Awanibaku Elenpe	Bere, Aboke	1910-1912
20	Baale Irefin (Omo Ogundeyi)	Oke-Ofa Babasale	1912-1914
21	Baale Shitu (Omo Are)	Oke Are	1914-1925
22	Baale Oyewole Aiyenku Omo Foko	Oke Foko	1925-1930
23	Oba Okunola Abaasi Alesinloye	Isale Ijebu	1930-1946
24	Oba Fagbinrin Akere II	Oritamerin	21/6/46 – 18/10/46
25	Oba Oyetunde I	Eleta	21/11/46 – 13/12/46
26	Oba Akintunde Bioku	Oleyo, Oranyan	10/1/47 – 16/1/48
27	Oba Fijabi II	Oritamerin	26/2/48 – 12/3/52
28	Oba Memudu Alli-Iwo	Gbenla	21/3/52 – 27/6/52
29	Oba Igbintade Anete	Oke Ofa	11/7/52 – 7/2/55
30	Oba Isaac Babalola Akinyele	Alafara	18/2/55 – 26/5/64
31	Oba Yesufu Kabiowu	Oranyan	3/7/64 – 10/12/64
32	Oba Sahawu Akanbi Aminu	Adeoyo	2/4/65 – 18/11/71
33	Oba Shittu Akintola Oyetunde II	Eleta	21/1/72 – 1976
34	Oba Gbadamosi Akanbi Adebimpe	Odinjo	1976 – 1977
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Courtesy, Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII)



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Chief Moses Okunola best captures the essence of the city of Ibadan in his foreword with a quote in Yoruba: "iwo t'anwo Ibadan, apakan laari" –which means, "irrespective of the perspective from which one views Ibadan, one can only see a side of it". Indeed the city of Ibadan is a sprawling African metropolis which seems to defy any attempt at categorization.

The *Ifa* ministrations at the founding of the town predicted that it would be a hospitable abode for visitors and settlers. Even vagrants might find prosperity in this liberal, conducive town. Its chieftaincy line has been liberal and generous to both aborigines and newcomers. It is thus a cosmopolitan and representative Yoruba town; hospitality being its mainspring.

The republican nature of Ibadan partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded Oyo as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century. It was an all-comers community which did not foreclose the participation of a pan-Yoruba community in its military service. This helped to build an influential and popular army which pushed the frontiers of Oyo military expeditions. This singular fact remains the basis of her cosmopolitan composition. The population continues to increase and there appears to be a new continental experiment on state making and urban conurbation.

*The City State of Ibadan—Texts and Pretexts* is a broad-based study of Ibadan from earliest times to the present. Each of the 17 contributors brings an interesting facet of the city into focus, as a cursory look at the table of contents reveals. It is hoped that this seminal study would open pathways for other studies on culture and identity development in post-colonial African states and nations.

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